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**Tradition and identity
the architecture of Greek churches in Cyprus (14th to 16th centuries)**

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TRADITION AND IDENTITY

THE ARCHITECTURE OF GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS
(14TH TO 16TH CENTURIES)

VOLUME I

THOMAS KAFFENBERGER

MAINZ 2016

TRADITION AND IDENTITY
THE ARCHITECTURE OF GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS
(14TH TO 16TH CENTURIES)

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TRADITION AND IDENTITY

THE ARCHITECTURE OF GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS (14TH TO 16TH CENTURIES)

VOLUME I – TEXT AND LIST OF REFERENCES

Thomas Kaffenberger

VOLUME I TEXT AND LIST OF REFERENCES

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NOTE ON CONVENTIONS OF INNER-TEXTUAL REFERENCE

This study deals with a considerable amount of material, consisting of over 300 vanished and still standing churches. All of these are treated individually in the catalogue of buildings in the second volume, including comprehensive bibliographies. Therefore, I refrained from providing bibliographical references each time one of those buildings is mentioned in the main text, unless a specific aspect or scholarly position is concerned. Instead, a reference to the corresponding catalogue entry number is provided in square brackets. Arabic numerals refer to the main catalogue of preserved or well-documented structures, while Roman numerals refer to the catalogue of vanished buildings.

In order to simplify the cross references within this study, the same numeral system was used for the images. General references to a catalogue entry provide the link to the entire set of images of this specific building, while additional Arabic numerals link to a specific image of this building.

An exception are image references, which concern objects not forming part of the catalogue, mainly *comparanda*. These are generally ordered by their appearance in the text; images belonging to one object are grouped, where possible. The Arabic number of these figures begins with the prefix 'A.', marking the first part of the image collection. Occasional references with the prefix 'P.', followed by Arabic numerals as well, point to the separate larger plates.

PART I

THE ARCHITECTURE OF GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS: TEXT

1 LATE MEDIEVAL GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS: INVESTIGATING BUILDINGS OF 'NO IMPORTANCE'?

*"Alle Stilarten Südeuropas [...] gaben sich hier ein Stelldichein und mischten sich wahllos mit Nachahmungen verjährter Formen, byzantinischer so gut wie frühgotischer, bis endlich Venedig auch künstlerisch die Oberhand gewann"*¹

Georg Dehio (1901)

When Georg Dehio, one of the most influential architectural historians of the late 1800s in Europe, discussed the architecture of Cyprus in his *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, his struggle to name and classify its characteristics became more than obvious. Apparently, Dehio was only familiar with those buildings studied by the French scholar Camille Enlart previously, so the large urban Latin structures and very few rural churches.² Nevertheless, to someone like him, a person who had been well trained in describing the 'pure' styles of France and Germany, these buildings must have looked strangely diverse and unfamiliar. In spite of this – or perhaps as a result – he does not fail to recognize one of the central characteristics of Cypriot history in his attempt to name a multitude of influences: the island's function as a crossroads, a place of exchange, mixture and blending. Both geographical position in the Eastern Mediterranean and political changes during the late Middle Ages and early modern times had created a probably unique social environment on the island, a multi-cultural society consisting of Byzantines, Franks and (mainly Christian) Levantines, subdivided by a multitude of different religions and denominations [A.1]. In particular, the Latin conquest of the island in 1191 and the subsequent establishment of a Latin kingdom on the island played key roles, as these political changes led to an important role for Cyprus in the Crusades as well as in Levantine trade, attracting people of the most varied ethnic backgrounds. The artistic production was naturally deeply affected by this 'hybrid' composition of society, causing the diverse overall image apprehended by Dehio.

¹ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 440. – transl. 'All Styles of southern Europe [...] had a rendez-vous here and were mixing arbitrarily with imitations of outdated Byzantine and Gothic forms until finally Venice prevailed also artistically'.

² It is not impossible that he also was in contact with the German architect Friedrich Seeßelberg, who at the time prepared a never-published comprehensive volume of the Cypriot Gothic (Seeßelberg 1901, p 1–10).

Nevertheless, his opposition of ‘pure’ and ‘arbitrarily mixed’ styles failed to recognize the importance of exactly those mixed buildings for the understanding of the Cypriot society of the late Middle Ages – many parameters of which still remain unclear or disputable, even after a further century of research.

As Dehio already underlined, the 13th and 14th centuries were certainly one of the heydays of Cypriot church building: The splendid Latin cathedrals of Nicosia, capital of the island, and the harbour city Famagusta, the main political and economic centres of the island throughout Frankish rule, were erected during this period, as well as numerous congregational churches in both cities. However, none of these were intended to serve the Greek population of the island, which was much larger in numbers than the smaller groups of Latins, who only came to Cyprus from the late 12th century onwards. Following Dehio’s argumentation, the Greeks started to copy the Gothic buildings from the mid-14th century onwards (in which way they built their churches before, he does not tell us).³ The largest and most remarkable of these buildings – and apparently the only one, which caught Dehio’s interest – is the cathedral Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. Erected in the second half of the 14th century, it is not only the most ambitious late medieval Orthodox church in the Eastern Mediterranean but also remarkable for its use of specifically Gothic elements of decoration. These, however, provoked Dehio to dismiss the church as a mere copy of the Latin cathedral [A.1]; an opinion, which was surprisingly still perpetuated in recent scholarship. Nevertheless, Dehio adds further on that Saint George might show more of a ‘translation’ than a ‘transcription’ of the Gothic style of the Latin cathedral.⁴ Here the opposition of linguistic terms instead of usual artistic ones (like ‘influence’) is of some interest.⁵ A translation usually means the rendition of a text into another language, which requires an active understanding of the style as well as content of the original, while a transcription does not necessarily require any understanding of the content or the meaning. In the case of Saint George, the term refers to the translation of the Latin

³ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 438. – “Nach Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts hörte die unmittelbare Einwirkung der nordischen Kunst auf [...] Daneben aber beginnen die Einheimischen die gotischen Bauten der älteren Zeit nachzuahmen.”

⁴ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 439. – “[...] aus der Abschrift ist unversehens eine Uebersetzung geworden.”

⁵ For a similar replacement of art historical with linguistic terminology, see for example Schmidt 1999, p 30, who argues for using ‘idiom’ instead of ‘style’ – an option that was, however, not followed in this study.

style of sacral architecture into a new artistic language. This concept reveals that Dehio sensed already that, instead of copying the Gothic buildings rather bluntly and without understanding, the process of adapting elements of the Gothic style for Greek churches must have been based on purposeful consideration.

While the Latin buildings of the island, admittedly more spectacular in their appearance and better documented in the sources, have received considerable scholarly attention (see below), the same cannot be said about the Greek churches. This now sets the first cornerstones for the research in this thesis: the cathedral complex of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta – including the adjoining older church of Saint Epifanios – as central monuments of the Greek church architecture of the island; as well as the possible implications embedded in the choice of their style. However, researching a building in an isolated way, even if it is admittedly of the highest importance, can only lead to incomplete results. Especially the scarceness of historical sources directly referring to the erection of church buildings makes it necessary to widen the view on the side of the material legacy. Dehio certainly did not feel this need, as he was interested in writing a compendium of only the most important and influential buildings, which left little space for further detailed research. As mentioned above, he seems to have based his thoughts solely on Camille Enlart's *L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre*, which had been published shortly before, in 1899.⁶ As in this volume only those buildings were included, which Enlart considered to be sufficiently 'Gothic', while especially later rural ones were dismissed as of minor quality, it is hardly surprising that also Dehio did not recognize the later, mainly Greek church architecture to be of any interest: "Für den Kirchenbau aber hat das 15. und 16. Jahrhundert keine Bedeutung mehr."⁷ While this verdict was certainly based on his central European viewpoint (with contemporary buildings such as the cathedral of Florence (dome from 1420 on), the Albrechtsburg in Meißen (since 1471) or Saint Peter in Rome (from 1514 on) in view), it is certainly not true for the research of the specific situation in Cyprus. In particular, the period of Venetian rule between the late 15th century and the final loss of

⁶ Enlart 1899.

⁷ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 440. – transl. 'For the church building, however, the 15th and 16th centuries were of no further importance'. Enlart did indeed acknowledge the exuberance of Greek churches on the island and the importance of their painted decorations but, referring to his lack of time for on-site studies, generally excluded them from his book. (Enlart 1899, p XX–XXI.)

the island to the Ottoman Empire in 1571 saw a second wave of church building at the very fringes of the late medieval period. A second wave, as will be shown, which produced several remarkable structures that are not less revealing about the genesis of Cypriot church architecture than the earlier buildings in Famagusta. Furthermore, perceiving a culture through its 'minor' works of art adds a further dimension to the occasionally rather flat image created by the study of nothing but the 'high culture' objects.⁸

It is, therefore, the inclusion of exactly those churches – largely neglected by scholarship until today – and their comparison with the key monuments of the respective periods, which adds a third dimension, the necessary depth to the following investigation. Even if more questions will be raised than can be answered, the awareness of these questions should be seen as a step forward towards a better understanding of one of the most fascinating as well as puzzling places in the patchwork of late medieval and early modern Mediterranean.

1.1 EARLY APPRAISAL, LONG NEGLIGENCE, RECENT REDISCOVERY – THE RESEARCH HISTORY

As already mentioned, Dehio was not the first well-known scholar who dealt with the historic monuments of Cyprus. In fact, the island, with its historical connections to France (as the origin of its kings of the Lusignan dynasty) and England (as administrative power from 1878 on), provoked a high scholarly interest in the late 19th and early 20th century. Claude Delaval Cobham's *Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus* comprehensively summed up this first main phase of research, which was succeeded by a phase of increased restoration activities following the creation of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities in 1934.⁹ An updated bibliography can be found in Tassos Papacostas' article *Gothic in the East* from 2006, which underlines the more recent new interest in the material testimonies of Cyprus and comprehensively sums up the main protagonists and phases of research up to this time.¹⁰ Nevertheless, a brief summary of

⁸ For a review of the scholarly misperceptions of the buildings, see also chapter 1.3 on the question of the 'francobyzantine' style. On general thoughts of the relation between central and minor works of architecture as well as questions of style already Möbius 1988, esp. p 7–9.

⁹ Cobham 1929.

¹⁰ Papacostas 2006b.

these bibliographical accounts, supplemented by the rich output of the past decade, is necessary at this point to highlight the position of the late medieval Orthodox churches within the general frame of scholarship.

All early studies also function as primary sources for the – already then gradually deteriorating – historic buildings. It is therefore often difficult to draw a line between primary sources and secondary literature. Among the early scholarly literature we find mainly historical overviews, most notably Louis de Mas Latrie's *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* from 1852–1861.¹¹ This compendium contains "the most comprehensive collection of documentary sources on Frankish Cyprus",¹² but only covers a small part of the period to be investigated here. Cypriot archaeology emerges around the same time and its origins are closely connected with Luigi Palma di Cesnola, who was the United States' consul in Cyprus between 1865 and 1877.¹³ During this time on the island, he excavated several sites and published *Cyprus, its ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*.¹⁴ This book, even if it was rather intended to be a travel guide, apparently triggered further interest in the island.¹⁵ A paper by the Victorian architect Edward L'Anson on *Medieval and other buildings in the island of Cyprus*, published in 1883, starts with the remark: "Having read a recent work written by the Chevalier di Cesnola [...], I determined to visit the island [...] to see if I might not discover some fragments of Grecian architecture; but in this expectation I was disappointed."¹⁶ What he and his companion Sidney Vacher discovered instead were – in addition to some excavation sites and the fortifications of Famagusta, Nicosia and Kyrenia – the medieval churches. Even if the focus of the study lies on the Latin, 'crusader' churches erected by the Lusignan, L'Anson and Vacher already mention Saint George of the Greeks as "Church A" and also refer to a small number of other, mostly

¹¹ De Mas Latrie 1852–1861.

¹² Beihammer 2008, p 10.

¹³ Cesnola is one of the most controversial personalities connected with the research of the historic legacy of Cyprus. The fact that he commissioned the findings of his excavations to be sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York right before becoming its director exposed him to accusations of looting. See also Davis 1989, p 164.

¹⁴ Cesnola 1877.

¹⁵ Already before L'Anson's publication several travelers interested in the architecture of the Eastern Mediterranean visited the island, resulting in – among other accounts – the magnificent drawings of Edmond Duthoit from the 1860s. However, most of the accounts remained unpublished – the Duthoit drawings until the 1990s (see Bonato 1999 and Bonato, Severis 1999). For this early phase see also Papacostas 2006b, p 513–516.

¹⁶ L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 13.

unnamed Orthodox churches on the island, even if in a rather random and general way.¹⁷

The long article and probably the adjoining, detailed drawings of the buildings made such a strong impact on scholarship that from the 1880s onwards Cyprus appeared in a number of general publications on medieval church architecture.¹⁸ This tendency came to a culmination with Camille Enlart's already mentioned *L'art gothique et la renaissance en Chypre*, a comprehensive analysis of buildings with a detailed consideration of historical sources.¹⁹ This study, even if incomplete and biased in some respects, still provides the first access for a scholarly treatment of the buildings.²⁰ However, his distinctly French viewpoint strongly influenced his perception of the Orthodox churches, which he deemed either 'French in style', like Saint George of the Greeks, and thus discussed in some extent, or dismissed as irrelevant for his study. This book nevertheless already shows that a study of the late medieval Orthodox churches of the island is almost inseparably connected with remarks on the Latin, Gothic churches. At the same time, the German architect Friedrich Seeßelberg undertook extended studies of the Cypriot medieval architecture, of which only his dissertation on Bellapais Abbey was ever published.²¹ In his foreword, he shows distinct awareness of the methodological restrictions of Enlart's study, which, appropriately for the historical period, he did not fail to underline, in order to devaluate the Frenchmen's study.²² Nevertheless, his interest in the Greek churches was not more developed either: with

¹⁷ The 'early church' in Famagusta is the multi-domed building adjacent to Saint George of the Greeks, Saint Epiphanius [68]; Church B in Famagusta is the building known as Saints Peter and Paul today. Chapel D 'on the heights between Larnaca and Famagusta' is "typical of many in the island" and certainly means Saint George of Angonos in Ormideia [159]. Chapel E, a small dome-hall with west extension cannot be identified with certainty and was probably destroyed during the past century [LXIX]. (L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 24–25)

¹⁸ See for example Corroyer 1893, p 121–127.

¹⁹ Enlart 1899.

²⁰ The importance of this publication is underlined by its translation into English and subsequent re-edition. (Enlart 1987)

²¹ Seeßelberg 1901. It is not certain, why Seeßelberg abandoned the project. Later, he became a well-known professor for architecture and controversial founder of the nation-conservative *Werdandi-Bund*.

²² Seeßelberg's expedition to Cyprus in the late 1890s has not been studied yet and it is not clear, if any of the material gathered, be this photographs or drawn plans, remains. The Archive of the TU Berlin holds a single plan of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta, drawn by him.

reference to the French Gothic he attests the Greek churches on Cyprus “manche ziemlich belanglose Akkomodationen”.²³

The next valuable contribution to scholarship was published soon thereafter by George Jeffery, Curator of Ancient Monuments in Cyprus between 1903 and 1935. He not only rescued many of the neglected buildings during his over 30 years in charge of the antiquities on the island, but he also compiled the first thorough topography of Cypriot monuments: *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus*.²⁴ Here as well as in his numerous articles and reports, which were often overlooked by later scholarship,²⁵ Jeffery does not fail to mention the medieval Orthodox buildings of the island, even though his interest was initially rather directed towards the elegant Gothic churches – again apparently because of their stylistic ‘purity’. However, especially his early study of Saint George and the adjacent older church, which includes the only attempt at a visual reconstruction of the ruined complex, and a survey of ‘Byzantine’ churches between the Middle Ages and the 19th century provide not only important factual information but also a number of plans and sections.²⁶ While Enlart’s study was highly selective and strived to embed the Cypriot architecture into a wider context, Jeffery towards the end of his life attempted to include every monument regardless of its period of origin and topographical context, which led to the first – and due to subsequent destructions often only – observations of numerous rural monuments. However, his remarks show how many buildings, especially in rural regions, had been already replaced by ‘uninteresting buildings without architectural character’.²⁷

During the 1930s, the amount of scholars dealing with Cypriot antiquities was rising steadily, mainly concerned with questions of preservation and sustainable protection of the monuments. The immense state of decay in which many monuments

²³ Seeßelberg 1901, p 9. – transl. ‘[...] some rather insignificant appropriations [...]’

²⁴ Jeffery 1918. – For Jeffery’s life and achievements as well as a comprehensive bibliography see Pilides 2009.

²⁵ See for example Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a; Soulard 2006a and Soulard 2006b, where no reference to the early studies of Saint George of the Greeks by Jeffery is made.

²⁶ Jeffery 1904, Jeffery 1916.

²⁷ See for example Jeffery 1907. This small volume, which only covers the Kyrenia district, was thought to be the first of a series of six. Apparently the other volumes of this intended gazetteer were never printed and the information mainly included in Jeffery 1918. A later continuation of the series under a slightly changed title focused solely on the key monuments: Jeffery 1931–1937.

were at that time – and which led to a number of collapses²⁸ – triggered the interest of mainly British scholars and architects as well as wealthy aristocrats. A large number of detailed reports were compiled, by the Directors of Antiquities John Hilton (1935–1936) and Arthur Megaw (1936–1960), the Deputy Director of Famagusta Theophilus Mogabgab, and by the newly founded Cyprus Committee for the Protection of Ancient Monuments.²⁹ The reports were mainly published as ‘grey literature’ and only distributed among government officials and members of the Cyprus Committee, with the exception of those included in the printed annual *Report of the Department of Antiquities*, starting in 1936.³⁰ While these reports contain valuable factual information about damage and repair works, they hardly contributed to a better understanding of the buildings.

The same can be said of Rupert Gunnis’ *Historic Cyprus*, a publication with similar qualities of a gazetteer as Jeffery’s *Historic Monuments*, but thought of as an inventory of historic buildings as well as a travel guide, which was written during the author’s tenure as Inspector of Antiquities between 1932 and 1935.³¹ No other publication until today has included a similar number of remote Byzantine churches, especially of the late medieval times – to an extent that a dozen completely vanished churches are only documented in Gunnis’ book. However, Gunnis was not formally trained as an art historian and thus his occasionally hazardous datings and interpretations of the churches have to be treated with considerable care.

Already some years earlier, the British architect William Douglas Caröe had planned the publication of a thesis on the fusion of architectural styles on the island, but sadly the manuscript was lost in the fire of the Government House in Nicosia in 1931, which was a consequence of a public uproar against the British colonial regime.

²⁸ The collapse of the dormitory at the abbey of Bellapais was probably the biggest loss in the 20th century, while the fall of the southern wall of Unidentified Church 18 in Famagusta [76] in 1935 might be one of the latest incidents before renovation works started on many buildings (the collapse is mentioned in a Letter of John Hilton, kept in the King’s College London Archive).

²⁹ The Cyprus Committee published conference proceedings in 1934, immediately after its creation, and from 1935 on a short annual report, which seems to be largely identical with the then unpublished, internal reports of the Department of Antiquities to the colonial government.

³⁰ Some reports are preserved in the National Archive KEW, even if they were apparently not filed systematically. For the year 1936 see for example KEW CO 67–272–13. The contributions to the RDAC: Hilton 1936; Megaw 1939; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951; Mogabgab 1936; Mogabgab 1939b; Mogabgab 1951.

³¹ Gunnis 1936, the edition used for this study was Gunnis 1956, an exact reprint. For remarks on Gunnis’ life and time in Cyprus see Symons 1987 and Knox 2004.

Nevertheless, the short article published as a summary of the lost thesis – although not influential for subsequent scholarship – provides some very intriguing first ideas on the impact of Gothic and Renaissance architecture on the local Byzantine style.³²

The first comprehensive study focusing on the Byzantine churches was started around the same time by Georgios Soteriou, but of this study, entitled *Βυζαντινά Μνημεία Της Κύπρου*, only the volume of plates was published in 1935.³³ Two shorter articles from 1931³⁴ and the detailed captions in the 1935 publication nevertheless reveal a good part of his thorough work, accomplished apparently in cooperation with Theophilus Mogabgab, who seems to have been responsible for some datings as well as stylistic remarks.³⁵ It was Soteriou's work that introduced the term 'francobyzantine' into Cypriot scholarship for all those Orthodox churches erected after the Latin conquest and showing a certain stylistic dependence on the Latin buildings of the 13th and 14th centuries. Even if this term is rather problematic, as will be discussed in detail below, Soteriou's work paved the way for most of subsequent research into the 'Byzantine', i.e. Orthodox churches of Cyprus.

Subsequently, research into the late medieval buildings of the island, Orthodox as well as Latin, was interrupted for several decades. Apart from the Second World War an important reason for this interruption might be the anti-colonial struggle of the 1950s, resulting in the Cypriot independence in 1960. This caused a restructuring of the Department of Antiquities and a strong turn towards research into those periods of Cypriot history, that were considered specifically Greek – i.e. the Classic and Byzantine periods.³⁶ Also foreign scholars rarely found Cypriot churches worth mentioning, especially after the Turkish occupation of the northern half of the island in 1974, which made the study of most key monuments impossible for several decades. One important

³² Carøe 1931. – Carøe also designed several important buildings in Cyprus, most notably the Anglican church of Saint George in the Forest near the modern resort of Troodos. For this and his general achievements as an architect see Freeman 1990.

³³ Soteriou 1935.

³⁴ Soteriou 1931a; Soteriou 1931b.

³⁵ The plan of Saint George disclosed a detailed study of the phases of building and was signed by Mogabgab, so it is most certainly the only published record of his excavation works in the church in the 1930s. (Soteriou 1935, p 55)

³⁶ Also the intense repair of the buildings, most notably of Saint George of the Greeks, continued until 1960, whereas in the 1960s and 1970s only the most necessary maintenance was secured. The general turn towards the 'Greek' heritage – i.e. excavation sites and Byzantine monuments has to be seen as part of the political affiliation with Greece after 1960. Furthermore, the Latin key monuments were partly inaccessible during the 1960s as they were located within Turkish enclaves.

exception is Thomas Boase's posthumously published study of the *Ecclesiastical Art in Cyprus* from 1977.³⁷ Even if this article is rather a summary and faulty in some aspects, it marks the beginning of a rather slowly evolving, supranational rediscovery of the monuments. Furthermore, his work – which includes both late medieval Orthodox cathedrals in Famagusta and Nicosia – is remarkable for its methodological approach, which saw the whole of Europe (not only France) as the origin of the Latin styles in the crusader countries, and also "proposed the idea that there was give and take, a genuine exchange of artistic ideas".³⁸ While these thoughts of course refer to a genuinely different group of buildings than the one to be studied in this thesis, they also indicate a slowly emerging willingness of western scholars to include the late medieval Orthodox churches of Cyprus, the product of the 'exchange', into their considerations.

However, with Athanasios Papageorgiou it was a Cypriot scholar who, in succession to Boase, first studied *L'art Byzantin de Chypre et l'art des Croisées* in 1982 – not only surveying the Orthodox cathedrals of Famagusta and Nicosia, but also the churches of Agios Sozomenos, Morfou and the Neofytos Monastery. His attempt to create a well-defined 'francobyzantine' group of buildings, 'combining the gothic basilica with a Byzantine dome and choir', is not entirely convincing, as will be discussed below.³⁹ Nevertheless, unlike most of the early 20th century scholars, he does not reduce the monuments to their 'Gothic' elements and thus opens the ground for a better-balanced discussion.

This discussion did not start, though, before the mid-1990s, when Papageorgiou published his results again in a more international context, the proceedings of the conference *Cyprus and the crusades*.⁴⁰ The same volume contains other remarkable papers on the topics of cross-cultural exchange between the native Orthodox community and the Latin settlers, even if the focus lies of course on the first centuries of the Latin domination and thus outside of the timeframe of this study. Among these papers is a study of Annemarie Weyl-Carr, who subsequently contributed in several articles largely to a better understanding of the relationship between art and identity in

³⁷ Boase 1977.

³⁸ Folda 2005, p 12. – See here for a more comprehensive record of Boase's contribution into research on 'crusader art'.

³⁹ Papageorgiou 1982a, p 222. – See chapter 1.3 for the further discussion of the term 'francobyzantine'.

⁴⁰ Papageorgiou 1995.

Cypriot society during the first centuries of the Lusignan reign.⁴¹ Even if she mainly dealt with the decorative arts before 1400, certain aspects of her methodological approach, which emphasized the importance of rural monuments for an understanding of the whole society, could be further assigned to the architectural antiquities.

After 2000, the research on a variety of Cyprus-related topics was further stimulated in 2003 by the relaxation of movement across the inner-Cypriot borders of 1974. The monuments in the occupied half of the island became once more accessible, which, together with a strong interest in the evaluation of historical sources, resulted in various publications – occasionally described as an “explosion of Cypriology”⁴². However, in the tradition of most previous scholarship, the focus was laid on the time between the conquest of the island by Richard the Lionheart in 1191 and the death of King Peter I in 1369, which marked the beginning of the subsequent takeover of the island by the trading empires of the Mediterranean – Genoa and Venice.⁴³

In 2006 Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux published a new volume on the Gothic and Renaissance art of Cyprus, which clearly stood in the tradition of Enlart’s fundamental work of the late 19th century.⁴⁴ While the inclusion of many new sources and on site observations certainly improved the level of knowledge about the discussed monuments, the rather uncritical adoption of many of Enlart’s ideas together with a number of factual errors somewhat limits the surplus value of this nevertheless important contribution. However, as its predecessors, the book discusses only few of the late Orthodox churches on the island, most notably Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta.⁴⁵ Thierry Soulard, who contributed the chapter on Saint George, simultaneously also worked on the major Orthodox monuments of the island and their stylistic roots in the Gothic architecture of the Latin cathedrals in several articles.⁴⁶ Even

⁴¹ Weyl Carr 1995a; Weyl Carr 1995b; Weyl Carr 1999. Weyl Carr already published on Cypriot art from the 1980s on, see the collection of articles in Weyl Carr 2005c and the monographic study Morrocco, Weyl Carr 1991.

⁴² Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2005, p. vii.

⁴³ For the time before 1369 see most comprehensively Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2005, a volume comprising of contributions dealing with all aspects of Cypriot society during the 13th and 14th centuries.

⁴⁴ De Vaivre 2006a.

⁴⁵ Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a.

⁴⁶ Soulard 2006a; Soulard 2006b.

if these articles raised further awareness for the specific character of the buildings, they hardly exceeded the results published in the larger volume.

The most recent publications dealing with the art and history of medieval Cyprus are numerous and in their variety add on to a more colourful picture of the island's culture and society during the five centuries of Latin rule.⁴⁷ Three major conferences held in 2008 and 2012 on the topic of Famagusta, as well as one on *Identity / Identities in Late Medieval Cyprus* in 2011, all resulted in the publication of conference proceedings, which bring together the most up-to-date scholarship and include several contributions on the question of stylistic hybridity, interconfessional artistic influences and issues of art and identity. Contributors of the first volume *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta*,⁴⁸ edited by Michael Walsh, include among others Justine Andrews, who studies the religious topography and stylistic peculiarities of the city with reference to the respective confessional context.⁴⁹ This article encourages future scholarship to be more aware of individual protagonists instead of a generalization of 'groups' and their equation with the specific artistic output. The second proceedings *Medieval Famagusta*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr and Christopher Schabel, includes articles by Michalis Olympios and Tassos Papacostas, which are of the highest interest for the understanding of the Orthodox episcopal complex of Saint George in Famagusta and the adjoining older church – the latter never having been studied thoroughly before.⁵⁰ The question of the complex chronology and much discussed original appearance of this most important urban Greek complex on the island was also addressed in an article of the author in the third conference proceedings, *Lusignan to Venetian Famagusta*, edited by Michael Walsh and Nicholas Coureas.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Many contributions follow new methodological approaches (e.g. Schryver 2005, who combines archaeological research with the study of architecture) or investigate unusual topics (e.g. Walsh 2008 on ship graffiti in the churches of Famagusta).

⁴⁸ Coureas et al. 2012. – Michael Walsh himself is one of the most prolific scholars of the past years, bringing to general attention a number of the neglected minor monuments in Famagusta. See for example Walsh 2004; Walsh 2006; Walsh 2007; Walsh 2010.

⁴⁹ Andrews 2012.

⁵⁰ Papacostas 2014a; Papacostas 2014b; Olympios 2014c; Olympios 2014d. Olympios also recently published some highly detailed articles on several less known Latin church buildings in Cyprus: e.g. Olympios 2009b; Olympios 2009c. His forthcoming comprehensive volume will certainly function as a reference study for all Latin Gothic churches on the island.

⁵¹ Kaffenberger 2014.

An earlier article by Papacostas raised a previously widely neglected issue: it addresses the so-called group of 'francobyzantine' buildings, which was brought up by Soteriou in the 1930s and further defined by Papageorghiou from 1982 on.⁵² It is of importance for the present study that Papacostas underlines the different historical as well as stylistic backgrounds of the monuments discussed and thus argues for a more careful investigation of each monument instead of a non-viable generalization under a misleading label. A forthcoming article by the author further investigates the problematic notions transported by the term 'francobyzantine', with respect to not only the key monuments – including Saint George – but also the widely ignored rural buildings of the epoch.⁵³ While scholarship evolved rapidly during the past years in the fields of general history, decorative arts, Latin church building and even some major Greek ecclesiastical monuments of medieval Cyprus, the rural buildings still await a thorough investigation. Little research has occurred since the immensely valuable accounts of Jeffery and Gunnis, even if a recent book by Papageorghiou and a guidebook with scholarly ambition by Allan Langdale collected the available information on a selection of urban as well as rural churches of all periods in the occupied half of the island.⁵⁴ The following thesis is thus aimed at addressing this apparent gap in recent scholarship by not only concentrating on Saint George in Famagusta and other large urban structures, but also reviewing the relevant rural monuments and connecting them to the scarce historical evidence.

1.2 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MATERIAL LEGACY: APPROACH, PROCEDURE AND AIMS

Unlike the written evidence, the material legacy of late medieval churches in Cyprus is overwhelming. In spite of several losses of buildings since the studies of Jeffery and Gunnis, around 300 churches and chapels erected between the 14th and 16th

⁵² Papacostas 2010a.

⁵³ Kaffenberger forthcoming-e.

⁵⁴ Papageorghiou 2010; Langdale 2012.

century are preserved in their original state, as ruins or as part of later buildings.⁵⁵ Since most of these churches, especially in the north of the island, are hardly documented, the creation of a comprehensive gazetteer of the buildings had to stand at the beginning of this research. The sources from which the catalogue could be assembled were naturally restricted: apart from Jeffery's and Gunnis' books, which proved to be incomplete, the Annual Reports of the Department of Antiquities revealed several previously unpublished sites in the south of the island.⁵⁶ Further additions were made after the consultation of various sources of scholarly and non-scholarly nature, which featured lists of buildings in specific areas.⁵⁷ A number of entirely unpublished smaller structures were added as a result of on-site observations during the field surveys.

Several major issues had to be addressed during this process. First of all, hardly any previously proposed date for the buildings can be regarded as safe; therefore, in a first step a larger number of churches were listed, to rule out or include doubtful cases later on during on-site visits. While this method, which bases the date of the erection on the technical and stylistic evidence, is rather unproblematic for many European areas in the late Middle Ages, the case of Cyprus is slightly different. Here, a very strong formal tradition of the artistic output led to a long lifespan of characteristic elements of style as well as methods of construction. In addition, the 'unarchitectural' character of many churches that was already mentioned by Jeffery reduces the amount of distinctive elements to a minimum. Historical sources are rarely of any help, as here only very few buildings are mentioned at all, let alone precise building dates. In consequence, it is occasionally inevitable to follow the dangerous path of assumptions, even if the stylistic analysis in this volume (see below) developed new criteria, which can be of certain help.

⁵⁵ The most deplorable losses in this period are the collapse of most parts of the church of Mari [141] after 1936, the replacement by new churches of the 16th century buildings in Dora [VIII] and Gypsou [XX] in the 1970s and the demolition of the Avghasida Monastery [208] near Famagusta under ominous circumstances after the Turkish invasion of 1974. See also the "Catalogue of vanished churches" for further examples.

⁵⁶ This annual report (ARDAC) has its origins in the 1950s, when the previously internal reports were turned into printed publications for the first time.

⁵⁷ E.g. Yapıcıoğlu 2007. Of help was also the website www.cyprustemples.com, which features numerous photographs and site plans of churches in the north of the island, regardless of their age, importance or state of preservation.

An additional challenge for the dating of buildings is the frequently complex relative chronology, as only a small part of the medieval buildings remained unchanged until today. If we compare the statements of Jeffery and Gunnis on one of the most interesting ecclesiastical monuments of the late medieval period, the village church of Agios Sergios near Famagusta [13], the consequence of a superficial study of building phases becomes evident. While Jeffery claims that the church was erected in a “medieval Byzantine style [...], planned as two naves ending in apses, an arrangement common in the village churches of the XVIth century; [...] of the poorest rustic character”,⁵⁸ Gunnis only speaks of a “byzantine medieval church”.⁵⁹ As neither realized the multitude of phases, which led to the current, complex shape, the proposed dates – as similar as they may sound – can only be misleading: indeed the church contains middle Byzantine parts, as suggested by Gunnis, but also 16th century additions, noticed by Jeffery. Only few of these palimpsest-like church complexes, many of which can be found in the vast lowlands of the Mesaoria between Nicosia and Famagusta, have been studied with respect to their building phases. In consequence, a *Bauforschung* was undertaken for all chronologically complex buildings documented in the catalogue, thus clearing up the relative chronology and uncovering indicators for an absolute chronology.⁶⁰

The second big issue connected with the assembly of a reliable gazetteer is the question of the confessional attribution of the churches. The aim of this study is to investigate the characteristics of the island’s Greek church architecture, but in the absence of historical sources, it often remains unclear for which community a church was originally erected. Quick intuitive attributions frequently bear the danger of circular reasoning: the church *looks* ‘Latin’ or ‘Greek’, thus it must belong to this confessional group – because it was erected by this group, the style can be described as typical Latin or Greek. The evidence, of course, draws a more complex picture: not only does this simplified model ignore the possibility of the parallel use of churches, for which we can find occasional evidence,⁶¹ but it also excludes the smaller religious

⁵⁸ Jeffery 1918, p 240. – In his previous articles he related the church to an assumed type of double aisled churches erected in the 17th century. (Jeffery 1916, p 125)

⁵⁹ Gunnis 1936, p 203.

⁶⁰ Evidently, the possibilities of this process were occasionally limited by factors such as inaccessible interiors and the complete whitewash of many buildings.

⁶¹ For the question of simultaneously used churches see in particular Bacci 2009a.

communities on the island – such as Nestorians, Jacobites, Melkites or Maronites.⁶² These are, except for the Maronites, mainly documented for larger cities such as Famagusta and Nicosia, whereas in the rural areas the Greek population seems to have been predominant. As in the case of the dating of the churches, there is no easy solution to the problem. Small indicators, such as the presence of a *piscina* south of the altar, can help to identify Latin churches, but the almost complete absence of such indicators in most cases would not necessarily exclude a Latin origin or participation. In fact, we must wonder, if the question of a division between Latin and Greek churches is even relevant for rural areas, as the former are either not preserved or totally in accordance with their Greek counterparts. Thus, I decided that all rural buildings, which are not clearly attributable to a Latin origin through sources or distinct indicators (for example the church of Karmi or the so-called Royal Chapel in Pyrga), will be included in the study. The situation in the cities is more complex – here one would expect that the multitude of religious groups had their own respective places of worship, even if the sources do not reveal much more about these than the patron saints. Stylistic arguments have not been studied enough and thus hardly help with identifications (see the aforementioned danger of circular reasoning) and the presence of inscriptions or distinct wall paintings, which can function as ‘markers of identity’ occurs rarely.⁶³ In Famagusta, buildings of the Jacobite, Nestorian and Armenian community have been identified (and variously studied in-depth) – they are not included in the catalogue of Greek churches in this study, but figure prominently as reference buildings.⁶⁴ Others, where a connection to the Greek community is not clear, but not excluded all the same, were included just as in rural areas.

The only group of Greek churches that has been excluded almost entirely from the gazetteer are the so-called timber roof or barn roof churches of the Troodos Mountains.⁶⁵ These buildings differ so profoundly from the general customs of church building, while at the same time being of largely unarchitectural, extremely plain character, that their inclusion in this study would have hardly contributed to the results. Only few ‘transitional’ cases, which incorporate older building parts or elaborate portals

⁶² For a detailed survey of the history of oriental Christians in Cyprus see Grivaud 2000.

⁶³ For such ‘markers of identity’ see most recently Bacci 2014a.

⁶⁴ See chapter 4.2.

⁶⁵ On these most recently Maravelaki, Prokopiou 1997 and Feraios 1999.

were added, as they can be analysed in the context of the remaining island's architecture (Arakapas [35] and Fini [78]).⁶⁶

Much has been said now about the gazetteer, which is a necessary precondition, but not only goal of the study, which also strives to contextualize the catalogued churches. In continuation of the recent work of Papacostas, the third part of this introduction questions the validity of the scholarly model of a 'francobyzantine' style as umbrella term for the late medieval churches of Cyprus. This deconstruction of the current, imprecise framework and the highlighting of its problematic aspects will be essential to the further contextualization and interpretation of the monuments. The questions resulting from these preparative thoughts all aim in the vague direction of the catchphrase of 'tradition and identity', a field that is admittedly as wide as it is abstract. More precisely, the main questions include: How important are specific (architectural) traditions as well as a purposeful breaking with others? Do these aspects serve to display, to convey a meaning, or do they depend on simple fashion? Furthermore, what can we learn about the role and the identities of protagonists through the legacy of the ecclesiastical architecture?

Especially for the investigation of architectural traditions, it is necessary to widen the focus of the study before coming to the main timeframe. Thus, the second chapter gives a very brief summary of the architectural development of Cypriot architecture until the Latin conquest in 1191. It is important to discuss the architecture against the general background of Cypriot history, as most ruptures as well as consistencies were caused by – or at least happened contemporaneously to – changes or continuities of the general socio-political situation.

This discussion of the preconditions concludes the introductory part of the study. It is followed by the main part, which, as base for the discussion of interpretative questions, contains an in-depth analysis of the material legacy documented in the gazetteer. The chosen approaches are rather traditional and promise sound conclusions.

Chapter 3 presents a diachronic, formal overview of the morphology of the churches, referring to the typology, the main decorative elements, technological

⁶⁶ Panagia Iamatiki, Arakapas [35], Saints Cosmas and Damin, Fini [78].

aspects and typological patterns of church enlargements. This approach was chosen to create an objective base for further research in the future, thus no qualifying interpretation of the presented evidence was included at this stage of the study. Evidently, questions of spatial typology can cater to studies of persisting and changing liturgical use, an aspect that was not placed in the focus of this study.

The second part of the analytical stage is formed by two chapters dealing with a chronological discussion of stylistic developments. Chapter 4 focuses on the 14th century: the leading question is, how the Greek churches react to foreign impacts, the central of which was the erection of Latin churches in the 13th and 14th centuries. The key monuments of this group are featured in the first part of the chapter, while the second part is devoted to the smaller early 14th century buildings in Famagusta, including the church of Saint Epifanios, which display strong links with the Levantine Crusader architecture. As suggested above, the Greek episcopal complex in Famagusta is not only the largest but also one of the most ambitious monuments in late medieval Cyprus. Thus, the focus of the next chapter lies on the church of Saint George of the Greeks and its stylistic roots. The direct impact of both churches of the episcopal complex on a number of later monuments on the island is apparent, even if it has not been sufficiently investigated yet. In consequence, the last two parts of chapter four address the immediate dissemination of the new architectural ideas in Famagusta and beyond, also investigating the role of Saint Epifanios in the development of a first stage of the 'translation' of Latin architectural elements into a new Orthodox stylistic 'language'.

Chapter 5 continues the stylistic analysis by addressing the next stages following the first impact of new forms. In the first part, the role of the previously rarely studied 15th century is discussed in order to establish a framework within which the dating of churches to this century is made possible.⁶⁷ The next question addressed is, to which extent the Venetian rule, starting in 1489, entailed an import of up-to-date Renaissance forms to the island and how these were included into the traditions of church building subsequently. Due to the insular character of the architecture in this period, this chapter largely relies on the evidence of Cyprus itself. Occasionally, a reference to 15th and 16th-

⁶⁷ Olympios 2015a, p 345: "Fifteenth-century rural Greek ecclesiastical architecture remains an understudied field waiting to be mined."

century architecture in Venice, Crete (under Venetian rule since 1212) and Rhodes (property of the Knights Hospitallers since 1309) helps to grasp the specifically local character of the Greek church architecture of Cyprus. A microgeographical differentiation is used as a reminder that even on a small island, the architecture is never entirely homogenous and depends on certain geographical factors. A comparison between building groups in the Pafos and Famagusta regions, thus in the west and east of the island, shows the occasionally strong role of close urban centres and local models for the architectural development in the rural regions.

Chapter 6 then leads over to the last group of considerations, which aspire to interpret the material evidence by means of the socio-historical background, elaborating on issues of 'tradition' and 'identity'. As becomes clear already in the investigation of the stylistic development, the churches frequently show signs of certain means applied to secure 'tradition', either symbolically or visually. Manifested in recent scholarly works such as Stephan Albrecht's *Inszenierung der Vergangenheit im Mittelalter* or Hauke Horn's *Die Tradition des Ortes. Ein formbestimmendes Moment in der deutschen Sakralarchitektur des Mittelalters*, aspects of displaying the past in architecture enjoyed a significant interest in the past decade.⁶⁸ How did the location, the appearance and the actual fabric of a building interact with ideas of conveying tradition? Following this scholarly paradigm, a focus will lie on the study of Saint George of the Greeks and Saint Epifanios as reference buildings for the development of veneration sites on the island during the 14th to 16th centuries.

Chapter 7 then attempts to create a brief insight into the functioning of church architecture within the multi-religious Cypriot society throughout the late Middle Ages. Aspects of cultural identity will be linked with the previously presented ideas of tradition. The individual protagonists receive further attention as far as this is possible: What was the influence of specific social roles – donors, builders, clerics – on the final appearance of church buildings? The chapter concludes with an attempt to use the collected evidence as markers for changing and persisting identities in Cyprus throughout the three main political phases of the late medieval times.

⁶⁸ Albrecht 2003; Horn 2015. See also Schmidt 1999, Müller 2011.

Evidently, the scope of this study has to remain delimited in some way: the importance given to the unstudied material legacy means at the same time that historical sources were only used exemplarily, where connectable to the studied buildings. Furthermore, the questions discussed in the chapters 6 and 7 are only a small selection of possible approaches to discuss the interdependence of tradition and identity. In addition, it was not attempted to compare the Cypriot situation systematically with that on other Eastern Mediterranean islands such as Rhodes or Crete.

Thus, the concluding remarks do not only attempt to draw a new picture of the – metaphorical – ‘identity’ of Greek church architecture in Cyprus during a time, which is of highest interest for a better understanding of the late medieval Mediterranean. They also include suggestions and starting points for future research.

1.3 THE ‘FRANCOBYZANTINE’ – DECONSTRUCTING AN UNTENABLE SCHOLARLY MODEL⁶⁹

As mentioned above, previous scholarship has frequently commented on the question of style in late medieval Cyprus, occasionally intertwined with typological aspects. The reaction that the ‘hybrid character’ of the churches, perceived as offspring of both Latin and Greek building traditions, caused in art historical debates is clearly outlined by Georg Dehio’s initially quoted statement. Though he was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time, he was as well trained to think in clearly outlined categories of style and thus perceived this part of Cypriot architecture as a random blending of inferior quality – inferior, because it was not possible for him to trace it down to one of the ‘classic’ lines of stylistic development or compare it with central European examples. In his view, the impact of Venetian Renaissance forms marked a drastic change in quality because afterwards the Cypriot style gets more easily classifiable or ‘pure’.

⁶⁹ This sub-chapter is partly identical with a paper given on the 06.09.2012 at the Medworlds 4 conference in Istanbul, Turkey. The text was originally selected to be published under the title „The Imaginary Model of a ‘Franco-Byzantine’ Style: Reapproaching Late Medieval Orthodox Church Architecture in Cyprus” in the conference proceedings, a project that currently [March 2016] seems to have come to a halt. Therefore, the text was included as chapter in this thesis.

Even though more than 100 years of further research naturally produced new results and changed the paradigms of the past, the problem of finding appropriate labels for the multitude of phenomena deriving from the hybrid society of late medieval Cyprus persists. This becomes most obvious when examining the scholarly term ‘francobyzantine’, which until today is used as a keyword not only for the late medieval Greek church architecture but also occasionally for any cultural interaction on an artistic level.⁷⁰

Originating in the 1900s, the term was initially used to describe Romanesque buildings in the West, which were thought to be of Byzantine origin. One example is the group of multi-domed structures in the region of Perigueux, France which are described as “domical churches of [...] ‘francobyzantine’ type in Aquitania” by Hamlin in his *History of Architecture* in 1904.⁷¹

It was only with Georgios Soteriou’s *Βυζαντινά Μνημεία Της Κύπρου* that the term started being used for Cypriot buildings.⁷² Even though it suggested a more differentiated approach to the subject, the implementation of this term by Soteriou actually grouped buildings of fundamentally different character together. It also intensified the scholarly paradigm of an – arbitrary or purposeful – mixture of two opposed styles, thus being understood as a mirror of the political situation on the island. This concept was in use until recently, dividing scholars into the franco-centric and the byzanto-centric groups.⁷³ Whilst the former underlined the predominance of ‘modern’ Gothic elements brought to the island by the Latin rulers, the latter emphasized the survival of local architectural traditions which were only complemented by new influences, thus assigning a specific statement to the choice of the style. At the same time, the term ‘francobyzantine’ became a rather vague but frequently used keyword, without having been examined or explained more thoroughly.⁷⁴ Nonetheless it must be underlined that recently an increasing number of scholars started to doubt the valence of this concept. Already in 2005 Maria Georgopoulou argued against most

⁷⁰ See for example Folda 2005, p 436–441. He uses the term “Franco-Byzantine Crusader style” to describe a group of icons painted in the mid-13th century.

⁷¹ Hamlin 1904, p 373.

⁷² Soteriou 1935, pl. 44–54. – Chapter-Title: “φραγκοβυζαντινοί ναοί”.

⁷³ On this aspect, on a more general level, see Nicolaou-Konnari 2014, p 38–39.

⁷⁴ Especially publications with a focus on historic questions frequently make use of the term (among others Kyrris 1993a, p 244).

characteristics inherent to the model of a 'francobyzantine' style, even though she did not refer specifically to this term.⁷⁵ More recently, Tassos Papacostas concluded his article on Greek churches in Cyprus with the statement that none of the major monuments discussed in his text "corresponds to the imaginary 'francobyzantine' model".⁷⁶ The aim of this chapter is, to further challenge the concept of a 'francobyzantine' group of buildings by historiographically discussing and assessing four aspects of how the term has been defined in the past, with respect to not only the major monuments but also the hitherto neglected buildings on the island.⁷⁷

1.3.1 The 'Francobyzantine' as a homogeneous concept?

When we refer to a concept or a term that classifies a group of buildings, it always suggests a certain amount of uniformity or at least a close similarity of all included structures – primarily in their physical appearance. It is easy for example to outline a group of cross-in-square churches or a group of dome-hall churches because of the layout of their specific ground plans. While this is a purely typological classification, it is more challenging to define stylistic groups, as more transitional cases exist here. Nevertheless, as Dehio's initially quoted statement illustrated, "art historians tend to define a period by one particular style [as they are] taught to uncover the origins of forms and to fit their material into neat categories."⁷⁸

In the case of churches in Cyprus, scholarship had reached a widely accepted yet problematic consent of classifying certain buildings to the 'classic' antipodal groups of French Gothic on the one side and traditional Byzantine architecture on the other.⁷⁹ The 'francobyzantine' on the other hand poses a dual problem as a classifying terminus: it refers simultaneously to typological and stylistic features, and it tries to group buildings

⁷⁵ Georgopoulou 2005, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Papacostas 2010, p 126.

⁷⁷ For a comprehensive historiography of Cypriot Gothic research see Papacostas 2006b.

⁷⁸ Georgopoulou 2005, p 225. On the numerous works that reconsidered and challenged this approach see for instance Schmidt 1999, p 28.

⁷⁹ For further observations on this concept see aspect two below as well as Papacostas 2010a and Andrews 2012.

of transitional zones together – buildings that are “thought to hover between the two principal traditions [and are] of perceived hybrid character”⁸⁰.

When Soteriou published his topographical overview of Byzantine monuments in Cyprus, he displayed about 15 buildings under the header ‘francobyzantine churches’ – a small number, considering that a total of more than 300 Greek churches, which were erected after the beginning of the Latin rule in Cyprus, still exist. Assuming that Soteriou intended to display a representative choice of buildings, we can use his choice as material foundation for further observations.⁸¹

It is possible to isolate five timber-roofed churches standing in the Troodos region from the rest of Soteriou’s list, as they are part of a distinctly different group, even though he considered them to also be influenced by building techniques brought into the country by the Latins. He apparently classified these buildings as ‘francobyzantine’ due to the use of pitched roofs, which were uncommon for the local church architecture during middle Byzantine times. Yet, wooden roof structures were of course well known and in use as well in previous periods as in the contemporary domestic architecture. A connection of this typical Cypriot building tradition with Frankish builders or influences seems highly unlikely and must be rejected.⁸²

The ten remaining churches listed by Soteriou were erected in a time span of almost 400 years, beginning with Saint George of the Greeks, Famagusta [69] in around 1350 and ending with Saint Dometios in Agios Dometios, probably in the late 17th or early 18th century.⁸³ They are all stone-vaulted but we find a wide variety of ages, scales, building techniques, styles and particularly the typologies. Four of the churches, namely Saint Mamas in Sotira [210], Saint James in Triкомо [233], Saint Dometios in Agios Dometios and Saint Eulalios in Lambousa [127], can be included in the large group of dome-hall churches.⁸⁴ While Saint Mamas and the small chapel of Saint James are strictly centralized buildings, Saint Dometios and Saint Eulalios show an elongated

⁸⁰ Papacostas 2010a, p 117.

⁸¹ Soteriou 1935, pl 44–54.

⁸² This opinion has been widely shared by scholarship with the exception of a recent study of the timber roofed churches by Charis Feraios, which specifically takes up the expression “Franco-Byzantine” (Feraios 1999).

⁸³ Most of these buildings have never been treated in scholarly works and only appear in the topographical overviews of George Jeffery (Jeffery 1918) and Rupert Gunnis (Gunnis 1936), some also in the gazetteer of this study.

⁸⁴ See chapter 3.1.2.

plan. As Saint Eulalios once possessed open porticoes along the nave, the outside impression might have rather evoked thoughts of a basilical plan, which is represented by three other buildings in Soteriou's list.⁸⁵ The three important large-scale buildings of Saint George in Famagusta, Saint Mamas in Morfou [149] and the Archangel Michael of Trypiotes Church in Nicosia [153] are all three aisled buildings (once) surmounted by domes over their central bay. Yet only Saint George was a 'real' basilica with a clerestory, while Saint Mamas and the Trypiotes-church are in fact three aisled hall churches on a basilical ground plan. The two other multi-aisled churches (Archangel Michael in Lakatamia [123] and Saint Nicholas in Famagusta [70]) were both repeatedly changed and received a second nave at a later time. A completely different typology is represented by the cross-shaped church of the Holy Cross in Kouka [116].

The technical and stylistic variation of these buildings seems less obvious on a first glance but a more careful examination reveals that in most of the cases the main reason for this resemblance is the use of ashlar masonry of varying quality. Only the small rubble-built church in Kouka shows a completely different building technique and was probably included in the list by Soteriou due to its (later?) ribbed vault over the crossing. Following the chosen examples, one must conclude that Soteriou classified all those buildings as 'francobyzantine' that possess at least one feature which he assumed to be alien to the local building tradition before 1191: ashlar masonry, pointed arches and barrel vaults, rib vaults, tracery and sculptural decoration.⁸⁶ This approach to trace 'western' influences in Greek church architecture is by no means restricted to Soteriou's work on Cyprus. When Georgopoulou states that "scholars have taken the appearance of any of those features on a monument as an unmistakable sign of Western influence without questioning its provenance or possible infiltration in the local architecture idiom, as may be the case with the numerous rural churches of Crete [...]", the parallels to the Cypriot case become obvious.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ See chapter 3.1.4.

⁸⁶ On "markers of Gothic influence" see also Georgopoulou 2005, p 236. She notes correctly that some of these elements seem to have appeared on Greek and Cypriot territory earlier. Especially the question of pointed arches is of importance, as they were frequently used for a post-fourth-crusade dating of buildings in question. This is contradicted by examples like the Panagia Arakiotissa in Lagoudera, which predates the fourth crusade and nevertheless shows a pointed barrel vault. See also Papacostas 1999, I, 167–175 and Papacostas 2008, p 100, 138 with further references.

⁸⁷ Georgopoulou 2005, p 236.

Papageorgiou narrowed down these very general criteria in 1982 by assigning the term 'francobyzantine' to the combination of a basilica plan, a dome over the nave and a three-apsidal choir.⁸⁸ His assumption that the basilica plan should be considered 'Frankish', while the dome and the choir derive from the 'Byzantine' tradition, is not entirely convincing, as examples for each of these elements can be found in different contexts. Furthermore, even though Papageorgiou's definition might appear to solve the problem of the typological variety, it creates new problems with respect to the stylistic features. If we would accept his typological specification as the singular criterion for a 'francobyzantine' church, buildings such as the Panagia Kanakaria in Lythragkomi [135] would also have to be included. This church, erected in diverse phases between Late Antiquity and the time of Frankish rule, is three aisled, has semicircular apses and a dome over the nave but does not show remarkable signs of Gothic craftsmanship or ashlar masonry – except for the late antique apses.⁸⁹

It is easy to see that the term 'francobyzantine', even though purporting to enclose a homogenous group of buildings, has in fact been applied to a wide variety of buildings. Thus, depending on the respective scholarly approach or individual definition, the specific buildings vary, leaving first doubts about the validity of the concept.

1.3.2 The 'Francobyzantine' as a bipolar style?

The second aspect is already implied by the name of the concept itself, combining the social groups of 'Franks' and 'Byzantines'. This division correlates with the problematic separation of church buildings into the antipodes of 'Gothic' and 'Byzantine'. While the problematic aspects of an oversimplified categorization according to elements of style have generally long been noticed, in the case of Cyprus also more recent publications still make use of this model of bipolarity.⁹⁰ Papageorgiou in particular makes it clear, that in his opinion the buildings in question

⁸⁸ Papageorgiou 1982a, p 222–223. – “[... le] style francobyzantin, dans lequel on voit une combinaison de la basilique gothique avec la coupole et le chœur byzantins.”

⁸⁹ For a discussion of the chronology of this church, see Megaw 1977.

⁹⁰ For a recent, critical approach see Andrews 2012.

are indeed derived from two defined sources: the Gothic style, brought to the island by the Franks, and the local Byzantine style.⁹¹ Again, a superficial look at the group could affirm Papageorghiou's opinion while a closer examination of particular churches reveals it as too imprecise.

Probably the most important church of Soteriou's initially presented group is Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. Erected in the second half of the 14th century, it is a three aisled basilica of five bays with a three-apsidal choir.⁹² The third bay of the nave is wider than the rest and once carried a high dome on a drum. This unusual setting accords exactly with Papageorghiou's definition of a 'francobyzantine' church – and may have even been the model for his definition – but the church demonstrates how much more complex the concept is with respect to typological influences and stylistic appropriation.

Indeed the plan of the church resembles the plan of the neighbouring Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas [A.3]: a three aisled, cross-vaulted basilica without a transept. Even though Saint Nicholas surely inspired the (unknown) builders of Saint George, as will be discussed in more detail below, the basilica type is by no means alien to the local building traditions. From the early roots of church building in Cyprus, three aisled basilicas formed the standardized type. Vaulted basilicas were erected especially throughout the middle Byzantine time in the Karpas region, where the bishop of Famagusta was residing in exile between 1222 and ca. 1350. Even if these buildings did not show groin vaults or rib vaults, they may have well been an additional inspiration for the choice of a basilica plan for Saint George.

On the other hand, the tri-apsidal choir, considered as a Byzantine element by Papageorghiou, does not only appear in these local churches. While most Gothic churches in Cyprus indeed have rib-vaulted, polygonal choirs, these appear rather rarely among the Latin buildings in the Holy Land. There simple rounded apses with semidomes are widespread, especially among the 12th and 13th century buildings in Syria and Palestine (e.g. the church of Saint John in Byblos / Gibelet [A.104], the cathedrals of Beirut [A.105], Caesarea and Tyre, Saint Joseph in Nazareth).

⁹¹ Papageorghiou 1982a, p 222–223.

⁹² For a more detailed discussion of the aspects concerning Saint George of the Greeks see also chapter 4.3.

Furthermore, the origin for the stylistic treatment of the building might also lay in the Crusader countries: plain ashlar walls instead of decorated buttresses and dogtooth-mouldings instead of run-on profiles, to name only the most striking features.

The forms of Crusader architecture, even though differing deeply from the later High Gothic architecture used for the Latin cathedrals of Cyprus, have originally been brought to the eastern Mediterranean region by the Franks. Yet the transfer to Cyprus was conducted not only by the Franks but also by the eastern Christian communities, such as Jacobites, Nestorians etc.⁹³ Thus the influence from the Crusader states adds a third – in itself already ‘hybrid’ – component to the initially bipolar concept, breaking up the imagined dichotomy of ‘foreign’ and ‘local’. Thus, instead of being a mere mixture of newly imported Gothic and local Byzantine elements, Saint George seems to be a new invention, a reaction to a multitude of different ways of building. Indeed these stem partly from formerly Byzantine regions and partly from Frankish territories but the complexity of influences contradicts the concept of a bipolar style. In fact, as Justine Andrews stated recently, the “arts of Famagusta [exceed] the binary framework of Gothic and Byzantine” thus indicating a more flexible model for the whole of Cyprus.⁹⁴ One has to think back to Dehio’s initially quoted perception of Cypriot architecture („All Styles of southern Europe [...] had a rendez-vous here [...]”⁹⁵), who recognized this complexity, yet failed to appreciate the quality of the architecture.

1.3.3 The ‘Francobyzantine’ as an artistically inferior style?

Dehio was certainly not alone in his judgment – Enlart, who was the first to study the Gothic art in Cyprus in-depth, was also not fond of the architectural forms, which were to be labelled ‘francobyzantine’ some years later. Writing about the small cemetery church in Dali [59], he states: “Cette église montre parfaitement ce que devinrent au XV^e siècle les traditions françaises en Chypre entre les mains de Grecs

⁹³ This process was heavily triggered by the events of 1291, the fall of Acre, which caused Christians of all descents and confessions to flee to Cyprus. See chapter 4.2 for an elaboration of this topic.

⁹⁴ Andrews 2012, p 166. See also Andrews 2013.

⁹⁵ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 440.

dirigés par des Vénitiens.”⁹⁶ Unlike for Dehio, the influence of Venetian architectural traditions does not seem to resolve the imagined lack of quality for Enlart, as it contributes to a further diluting of the High Gothic style. Furthermore, when he describes the Panagia Eleousa [204] on the Karpas Peninsula as a “petit édifice hybride [...qui montre une] mélange même et [une] dégénérescence des éléments dont il se compose”, this statement includes the conviction that only a building erected in a ‘pure’ style (of course meaning the French Gothic) should be regarded as of high quality.⁹⁷ Furthermore, we see here a problem of the period in which these early scholarly works were written – as Nicola Coldstream aptly underlines (even if referring to the Latin churches of the island):

*“Archaeological thinking in the nineteenth century was influenced by the political attitudes of the day, when European great powers were seeking influence in the Levant in the dying days of the Ottoman Empire. But those days are gone, and we should no more allow our own attitudes to be governed by them than impose modern ideas of colonialism on to a very different world.”*⁹⁸

Furthermore, Enlart suppresses the fact that the individual character of the buildings, even within the island, is also a matter of financial means available for the buildings and the aspired size and architectural standard. Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta clearly is the spearhead of building activities of that time. Having been built in the same dimensions as the neighbouring Latin cathedral and even exceeding the older neighbour in overall height, Saint George was one of the most courageous building projects in the late medieval Mediterranean. The technical quality of the building fabric also does not lag behind the Latin, Gothic buildings of the time: Sophisticated techniques such as the use of trapezoid ashlar to minimize the width of

⁹⁶ Enlart 1899, p 291, transl.: “This church perfectly demonstrates what happened in the fifteenth century to the traditions of French architecture in Cyprus when they fell into the hands of the Greeks directed by the Venetians.” in Enlart 1987, p 173. – Weyl Carr aptly speaks of “Enlart’s [...] romantic ideal of colonial implantation” when describing his ideological background (Weyl Carr 1995a, p 251). Enlart’s coeval Friedrich Seeßelberg is less poetic, when claiming that he was not able to share “Enlart’s Grundanschauung, dass die cyprisch-gothische Baukunst nur sozusagen ein Appendix der französischen sei [...]” (transl. “[...] Enlart’s presumption that the Cypriot, Gothic Architecture was a mere appendix of the French [...])” – Seeßelberg 1901, p 6–7.

⁹⁷ Enlart 1899, p 409, transl.: “small hybrid building [...] showing] a mixture of styles and [a] degeneration of its component elements”, in Enlart 1987, p 313.

⁹⁸ Coldstream 2014, p 69.

the visible joints have been employed. Enlart was seemingly aware of the high quality of this specific building, which did not match his contemptuous opinion of the island's Greek church architecture. In consequence, he treated Saint George as a purely Gothic church – also with respect to the comparatively early date of erection in the 14th century.⁹⁹ While this can be ascribed to the early stage of scholarship and the fact that the dome of the church had long been destroyed, similar reasoning in recent publications is hardly understandable.¹⁰⁰

Thus, the problem of the dismissive interpretation of Enlart, still passively inherent in the term 'francobyzantine', is in fact twofold. On one hand, it is biased by the simple fact that he is a child of his time, trained to truly believe in the superiority of French Gothic, which, for him, evidently must have been considered as highest artistic aim also in medieval Cyprus. While this position has evidently been largely overcome for generations of previous scholars, the second aspect proves to be more problematic. It is mainly the church of Saint George, which takes part in what one could call architectural innovation, so its consideration for the description of stylistic specifics is obvious. However, as Klaus Jan Philipp asked already in 1986, referring to parish churches in southern Germany: "How does it come that the architectural historiography feels entitled to only accept the most progressive form as point of orientation?"¹⁰¹

1.3.4 The 'Francobyzantine' as marker of conflict and identity?

One reason for the occasional neglect of the material evidence might lay in the focus on an iconological interpretation of the appearance of the architecture. The word 'francobyzantine' does not only imply a bipolarity of styles, as was discussed above, but refers on a different level to a social and political conflict, which was virulent for

⁹⁹ Enlart 1899, p 311 – "[...] une cathédrale orthodoxe en style gothique s'éleva à la lisière du quartier hellénique, en regard de la cathédrale latine, qu'elle imite, avec plus de simplicité et une longueur un peu moindre"; transl. in Enlart 1987, p 253: "[...] a Greek Orthodox cathedral was built in the Gothic style on the edge of the Greek quarter. It faces the Latin cathedral of which it is a plainer and slightly shorter copy".

¹⁰⁰ See for example Soulard 2006a, title: "L'architecture gothique grecque [...]" (transl. "The Greek Gothic architecture [...]") and p 359: "Le choix d'un modèle purement latin [...]" (transl. "The choice of a purely Latin model [...]"). For a confutation of Soulard's argumentation see Kaffenberger 2014 and chapter 4.3.

¹⁰¹ Philipp 1987, p 148.

centuries. One could, admittedly oversimplified, say that since the Latin occupation of Cyprus in 1191, a small Latin leading class shared the island with a large majority of an indigenous Byzantine population, following the Orthodox rite. This situation remained more or less the same throughout the first centuries of the Latin occupation, even if other communities flourished on the island in particular in the aftermath of the fall of crusader Acre. In this situation of a formal opposition of the two churches, numerous different phases of conflict as well as phases of a *convivencia* can be traced in historic documents.¹⁰² A low point might have been reached in the mid-13th century, specifically with the synodes of Limassol and Famagusta in 1220 and 1222 as well as with the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260 – events that at least formally limited the influence of the Orthodox bishoprics for almost 100 years and, as stated before, exiled the Orthodox bishops to remote locations on the island.¹⁰³ An important turning point towards a less tense relationship must have been reached in the course of the 14th century. Even though there is no written evidence for the formal return of the Greek bishops into their cities, the erection of the splendid cathedral in Famagusta indicates that the Orthodox clerics and community were rapidly recovering at that time. To claim a peaceful coexistence of these two groups might be an exaggerated view, induced by modern concepts of multi-ethnicity, but it seems obvious that the population groups in Cyprus certainly had come to terms with each other.

The proximity of the Latin and the Orthodox cathedrals in Famagusta (and as well in Nicosia) had always been considered as a built testimony of the perhaps improved but certainly changed relationship between the two main religious denominations after the 1340s [69.8]. A point of interest has been the way that the indisputable appropriation of western architectural elements, by the main church of the Orthodox community, should be interpreted. The differing opinions are, once more, closely connected with the question, if the church carried a dome from the beginning. When Thierry Soulard claims, that the church “témoigne des bonnes relations établies par les Lusignans avec leurs sujets grecs”, he draws a concept of benevolent French kings

¹⁰² This complex array of research is not to be treated thoroughly here. In addition to the comprehensive publications (Hill 1948 or Nicolaou-Konnari, Schabel 2005) see also, for specific questions related to the two churches: Kyrris 1990–1991 and Kyrris 1993a; Englezakis 1995; Schabel 2003; Coureas 1997 and Coureas 2010. In particular Schabel more recently argues for a more positive assessment of the events.

¹⁰³ Richard 1996.

donating a (domeless) church erected in their own, yet simplified, style to the Greek Orthodox community.¹⁰⁴ Saint George would then have been the visual sign of the Orthodox community's assimilation and peaceful subordination under the Latin rule. The presence of a dome on the other hand would contradict this model of subordination. It instead led to investigations, which interpret the church in particular and the 'francobyzantine' in general as sign of an open confrontation – or, as it is accurately summed up by Papacostas, as "intentional expression and indeed bold advertisement of a vigorous attachment to the traditions of the island's Orthodox church during a period of animosity and even confrontation between the Latins and the Greeks".¹⁰⁵ As presented in the author's recent article, the dome most likely existed from the beginning and as a result one cannot argue for a conscious subordination.¹⁰⁶ Yet what might seem like a confrontation, a purposeful challenge of the Latin rulers in order to secure the 'Greek' identity by means of the architecture, indeed allows various interpretations. Could it be imaginable that the hybrid character of Saint George is instead a sign of a chiefly untroubled *convivencia* – or *rapprochement*, as already suggested by George Jeffery in 1904 – of the different parts of society, solely choosing between the best offers for artistic expression?¹⁰⁷ Could one argue that in such a diverse society, the intent may have been to allude to distinctively individual traditions, even though generally accepting parts of new trends, and using up-to-date techniques and decorations? We will come back to questions such as these in the final part of this study – for now, the variety of possibilities already underlines the invalidity of an inflexible scholarly concept aiming only at a small part of the possible interpretations. Or, in the plain but apt words of Nicola Coldstream: "[...] in assessing a building as a cultural representative one cannot ignore the elements that do not fit the theory."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Soulard 2006b, p 98. – transl. '[...] testifies to the good relations established by the Lusignan with their Greek subjects'. Not only the overall style of the church is taken as argument, but also the presence of the coat of arms of the Kings of Jerusalem in the aisle vaults of the church.

¹⁰⁵ Papacostas 2010a, p 118. – Papacostas discusses the general position of scholarship here, but further on argues against this position.

¹⁰⁶ Kaffenberger 2014, p 185–187.

¹⁰⁷ Jeffery 1904, p 32; Papacostas 2010a, p 129. – The question, if artistic appropriation can be analyzed at all as marker of social processes certainly has to be discussed in this context in the future. See also Weyl Carr 1999.

¹⁰⁸ Coldstream 2014, p 70.

1.3.5 Towards a new perception

Having examined the four main defining traits of the 'francobyzantine', it becomes clear that the generalized concept of a 'francobyzantine' style has to be rejected as a scholarly imagination. Nevertheless, it would be an invalid generalization to reject all specific ideas that have been connected with this concept. There is no homogenous group of buildings that can be labeled as 'francobyzantine', but rather a multitude of partly diverse buildings. As Annemarie Weyl Carr remarked already in the mid 1990s, "the styles on Cyprus were varied and not readily categorized by class, faith or ethnic group."¹⁰⁹ This makes it hard to find any appropriate overall term, so the aim of further research – including the present study – has to be attempting to specify instead of generalizing. In order to do so, the question of style has to be re-approached carefully, as will be done in chapters 4 and 5. It is as apparent as it is unsurprising that most Greek churches built after ca. 1350 show a different approach to modulation, technique or stylistic finish than the older ones, often using elements of non-byzantine origin. Yet we could see that there is no such thing as a binary or bipolar east-western style. Also the attempt to assign buildings to the main stylistic groups of 'Gothic' and 'Byzantine' has to be treated with the utmost care, as is shown by the example of three modest churches: the so-called Hospitaller church in Famagusta [A.14], always treated as a 'Gothic' building; the church of Saint Barbara between Sotira and Agia Napa [5], variously treated as 'Gothic' or 'francobyzantine'; the Panagia Ambelikiotissa near Kapileio [93], treated as 'Byzantine'.¹¹⁰ Yet, if we put it bluntly, the Templar church has very plain walls for a 'Gothic' building, the Saint Barbara church possesses a barrel vault instead of a 'Byzantine' dome, and the Panagia Ambelikiotissa additionally possessed an apse window with tracery. Does this make the Templar church and the Panagia Ambelikiotissa 'francobyzantine' buildings, and the Saint Barbara a Gothic one? If yes, does this have any implications for the interpretation of the Latin-Greek relationship, especially regarding the extremely different geographical and socio-historical contexts of these three examples?

¹⁰⁹ Weyl Carr 1995b, p 357.

¹¹⁰ For the most recent studies of the church see De Vaivre 2002 and De Vaivre 2003.

The comparison shows a whole range of open problems that are unanswered so far: Firstly, the study of factual stylistic aspects should be separated more from the interpretation of the context, since an (unconsciously) mixed classification based on unequal aspects is likely to fail. Recent investigations questioned the “correlation between ethnic identity and religious affiliation on the one hand, and artistic and architectural styles on the other”.¹¹¹ While indeed a generalization of such correlations has to be rejected, a treatment of individual cases proves to be fruitful. Secondly, the monolithic treatment of styles as well as social communities, suggested by various previous approaches, has to be replaced by a stronger appreciation of individual phenomena, dynamic processes and, if detectable, protagonists.¹¹² If Justine Andrews underlines “the ability of the inhabitants of Famagusta, as well as Cypriots as a whole, to accept a variety of artistic styles and iconographies without simplifying these into distinct categories of cultural identity”, why should current scholarship not have that ability?¹¹³

¹¹¹ Papacostas 2010a, p 128 – referring to Annemarie Weyl Carr (Weyl Carr 1999).

¹¹² See in particular Bacci forthcoming-b.

¹¹³ Andrews 2012, p 166.

2 PRECONDITIONS: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF CYPRIOT HISTORY

Examples of close connections between the political, historical situation of a country and its artistic output are numerous. Art often follows a 'policy', which only in part is established consciously, but more often influences artistic decisions on a subconscious level. Numerous factors can affect this policy or rather practice and one aim of this study is to establish those relevant for the builders of the late medieval period in Cyprus. Local tradition certainly is one dominant element for artistic practice, which could be regarded as the part of a 'collective identity' that enables a distinction between groups of different religious or national background. Therefore, if we want to discuss the parameters of late medieval Greek church architecture in Cyprus, we have to go back to the origins: to the first churches erected after the Christianization of the island and those of the Byzantine period, which followed.

2.1 ROMAN CYPRUS AND THE BASILICA TYPE

Cyprus had been Roman province since 58 B.C., when it was taken from the Ptolemaic empire. In 22 B.C., it became official senatorial province, having been controlled by Romans and Egyptians in the meantime.¹¹⁴ Even if the subsequent centuries were peaceful, several catastrophes struck the island: natural disasters as earthquakes, as well as "terrible drought and famine" are attested for the first half of the 4th century and endangered the peace.

By that time, Christians had not been persecuted anymore for several decades and the religion was known to the Cypriots for more than 300 years.¹¹⁵ In spite of this, early churches are hardly traceable: if at all of a permanent character, they certainly suffered in the earthquakes of the 4th century and the subsequent droughts lead to an impoverishment, hardly creating ideal conditions for large-scale building projects. Around the year 400 several large churches were erected, most notably the seven-

¹¹⁴ The historic evidence is taken from George Hill's *History of Cyprus*, which is still the most comprehensive account of Cypriot history, and from Costas Kyrris' *History of Cyprus*. A summary of events from the 4th century onwards in Flusin 2012.

¹¹⁵ Hill 1949, p 247–257, Hackett 1901.

aisled basilicas of Pafos [A.15], in the south-west, and Salamis [A.16], in the east of the island. The two cities were among the most important urban centres since at least Ptolemaic times. In the 4th century, under bishop Epifanios of Salamis, the role of his episcopate was strengthened and Salamis became the new capital.

While the date of the unusual structure in Pafos (straight external wall, internal apse in the central nave) is unclear, the more influential building of Salamis was probably built before 403. In this year bishop Epifanios reportedly died on the way back from Constantinople and was buried in the church he had commissioned before.¹¹⁶ The church was among the largest structures in the Late Antique Mediterranean. Of its multiple aisles, the central three ended in rounded apses, the lateral ones appearing only in the wall thickness. The church possessed galleries in the main nave, underlining the exceptional standard of the project.¹¹⁷ While the aisled basilica became almost ubiquitous in Cyprus, only few of these show any evidence of galleries. Thus the standard type was rather simple: three aisles, ending in mostly rounded apses, divided by columns, which carried clerestory and wooden roof. Rare exceptions include the first basilica of Soloi, which possessed wooden piers and architraves instead of stone colonnades,¹¹⁸ or the episcopal church of Karpasia, which probably followed the Epifanios Basilica in the use of galleries.¹¹⁹ Typological exceptions are even scarcer. Only two basilicas with transept are known so far: the small church west of the large basilica in Peyia and the highly unusual, recently discovered Katalymmata ton Plakoton church on the Akrotiri Peninsula, which seems to have possessed a large western transept with apsidioles.¹²⁰ Remarkably, no vaulted structures or centralized buildings have been unearthed up to now and it seems highly likely that these explicitly 'Byzantine' types of late antique architecture never made their way to Cyprus.

At the time of the first 'building boom', Cyprus was under the administration of the patriarch of Antioch, whose authorization to consecrate the bishops of Cyprus had been formalized in 325 during the Council of Nicaea.¹²¹ Cyprus, however, pointed out

¹¹⁶ Hill 1949, p 249; Stewart 2008, p 63–66; Maguire 2012, 3, p 60–61. It is unclear, if the church was finished by the time of the burial.

¹¹⁷ For the archaeological evidence and a comprehensive bibliography see Stewart 2008, p 64–66, Papageorgiou 2010, p 381–388 and Maguire 2012, 3, p 60–67.

¹¹⁸ Recently Neal 2010 and Maguire 2012, 3, p 69–75.

¹¹⁹ Du Plat Taylor, Megaw 1981; Maguire 2012, 3, p 27–29.

¹²⁰ Peyia: Maguire 2012, 3, p 52–57; Katalymmata ton Plakoton: Maguire 2012, 3, p 3–6.

¹²¹ Here and below see Stewart 2008, p 67–69.

its apostolic foundation and did not accept the subordination under Antioch – a situation that was addressed in 431 during the Council of Ephesos, which resulted in church privileges similar to those of an autocephaly. Nevertheless, autocephaly was only formally backed up by Emperor Zeno after the discovery of the alleged tomb of the Apostle Barnabas in 488.¹²²

The architectural references to these events mainly become manifest in the changing shape of baptisteries, which suggest a modified rite.¹²³ Indeed, the evidence of the early churches also indicates knowledge of diverse Eastern Mediterranean examples, such as the basilicas of Korykos and Gerasa, but their impact on the Cypriot buildings seems to fade gradually around the mid-5th century. On the other hand, the previously virtually inexistent use of Proconnesian marble furnishings apparently originates around the year 500, when the large Campanopetra basilica in Salamis was erected [A.19–21]. This basilica, typical in its plan of a nave and two aisles ending in round apses, most likely served as a pilgrimage site, since a large court behind the apse contained a shrine-like structure.¹²⁴ Yet, apart from the marble furnishings, the dependence on metropolitan models is rather weak. Until the end of Late Antiquity, Cypriot church architecture mirrored its position at a crossroads between influential regions in the Eastern Mediterranean: it is a genuinely Cypriot blend of a diverse range of specific antecedents. Absent from this blend is, however, any trace of the Justinian architecture: the dome reaches Cyprus only several centuries later.

2.2 ARAB THREATS AND THE INTRODUCTION OF STONE VAULTS

In 639, most of the eastern Byzantine provinces came under rule of the Arabic caliphate, resulting in a destabilized political situation in the Eastern Mediterranean for the subsequent centuries. For Cyprus, a period of constant threat seems to have arisen: in 649 the coastal cities of particularly the East of the island were raided and looted.¹²⁵

¹²² Kyrris 1985, p 168–169. Stewart 2008, p 68 gives 477 as year of the discovery of the tomb.

¹²³ Most recently discussed in Michail 2012.

¹²⁴ Roux 1998 and Maguire 2012, 3, p 64–67.

¹²⁵ On this issue, numerous articles and books have been published, creating an increasingly differentiated image. See recently Zavagno 2014; Mansouri 2014 and also Mansouri 2001. A summary of events in Flusin 2012.

More raids were to follow throughout the following century, and the effect on the religious architecture in the coastal regions must have been devastating. As the roofs of the churches were constructed of wood, most of these were burnt down together with the settlements. For the subsequent centuries, research had for a long time drawn a rather gloomy image of a deserted island, not able to produce significant works of architecture.

Nevertheless, the settlements were often not abandoned in their entirety and only a small number of churches given up altogether. More frequently, they were rebuilt, this time using the more robust technique of stone vaulting.¹²⁶

One of the most instructive cases for this can be found on the northern shore of the Karpas Peninsula. The church of the Asomatos in Afentrika was originally built as basilica with aisles and a columned arcade, with three apses in the east [A.22]. After a destruction presumably connected with one of the Arab raids, the arcade was replaced by a much sturdier one made from piers. While the western and eastern end, the latter with the preserved apses, were kept, the lateral walls had to be redoubled, to be able to cope with the weight of the new barrel vault. The vault of the nave was higher than that of the aisles, but did not possess a clerestory. Thus, the introduction of a new type of church, the barrel-vaulted hall church, was a product originating in the rebuilding of destroyed late antique basilicas. Among the numerous examples for this, the most prominent ones are indeed found in the same area of the Karpas Peninsula, including the Panagia Kanakaria in Lythragkomi [135], preserving until 1974 its late antique apse mosaic, and the Panagia in Afentrika [2], both of which were remodelled on further occasions in the late medieval period.

The basilica of Saint Epifanios in Salamis was not rebuilt according to the same model [A.17–18]. However, the cult surrounding the tomb of the holy bishop, situated in the southern aisle, continued to exist. For this, a new church was erected in the ruins of a south-eastern annexe building, adjoining the location of the venerated tomb. In the

¹²⁶ While Arthur Megaw was the first to discuss this topic in Megaw 1946 and Megaw 1986, a recent study of Charles Stewart has refined the ideas and sheds new light on the churches of this previously presumed 'dark age' (Stewart 2008; Stewart 2010 and Stewart 2014). A summary of the developments given in Papacostas 2012b.

first phase, only piers were inserted, but in a second phase three domes were added above the bays of the central nave, while the lateral aisles received barrel vaults.¹²⁷

It is uncertain, which of the churches of this period on the island was the first to introduce this scheme, but its connection to the veneration sites of local saints was evident: a church of similar character, but significantly more systematized, was erected over the basilica of Saint Barnabas near Salamis [A.23]; the church of Saint Lazarus in Larnaca seems to have followed this example. The inner structure of these buildings was complex and a first, belated, reflection of Justinian architecture on the island: cross-shaped compartments with barrel vaults surrounded the domes, the corners were filled by hollowed-out piers allowing for lower vaulted spaces. The type has also been described as a succession of cross-in-square plans, a type otherwise arriving in Cyprus only from the 10th century onwards. Smaller churches of the period are usually hard to date precisely, but in the case of Saint Paraskevi in Geroskipou [A.24], an aniconic painted decoration indicates the 8th century origin.¹²⁸ Here, the three domes on the central nave were later complemented by lower domes above the originally barrel-vaulted aisles, perhaps as a vague imitation of the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople.

Once more dated through the evidence of the paintings is the small church of Saint Solomoni near Koma tou Gialou [A.25], a chapel of a single nave with semicircular apse and a barrel vault.¹²⁹ It underlines the fact that there must have been a multitude of small barrel-vaulted churches, testifying to the early origins of this most common type of late medieval church architecture.¹³⁰ Interestingly, it was built on an elevated hill, away from the shore, presumably marking a new settlement place, which was harder to reach for invaders coming via the sea.

In total, it is apparent that the period of Arab raids indeed deeply influenced the church architecture of the island. The rupture is, however, none that resulted in a lacuna. Instead, it paved the way for the introduction of stone vaults, complex spatial typologies as well as the establishment of the simple rural chapel type. While the

¹²⁷ Stewart 2008, p 82–87.

¹²⁸ Wharton 1988, p 63; Papacostas 1999, II, p 63–64; Stewart 2014, p 119.

¹²⁹ Dresken-Weiland 2005. – From the same period surely Saint Athanasia in Rizokarpaso and another nameless, unpublished church in the woods of the northern Karpas.

¹³⁰ See chapter 3.1.1 below.

imperial powers of Byzantium and the Arabs continued to fight for preponderance in the Eastern Mediterranean, the local population seems to have been able to continue life, including the expression of their religion through new church buildings.

2.3 CYPRUS AT THE PERIPHERY OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE: THE PREDOMINANCE OF THE DOME

The period of instability continued up until the late 10th century.¹³¹ In 965, Nikeforos II Fokas, who had already brought Crete back under Byzantine rule, succeeded in reconquer Cyprus as well. While the Population had remained predominantly Greek throughout the early Middle Ages, so the shift in the population might not have been as drastic as imagined in older scholarship, the changed formal status indeed affected the church architecture.¹³² The dome had been known on the island at least since the 8th century, but genuinely Byzantine church types were more or less absent from the island. In the late 10th century, the cross-in-square church was introduced. Composed of a central domed bay with surrounding barrel-vaulted bays forming a cruciform shape and lower corner compartments, this type was firmly established in the Byzantine empire as early as the late 9th or early 10th century (one of the best known examples being the church of the Myrelaion in Constantinople).¹³³

In Cyprus, the churches of Saint Prokopios in Sygkrasis [A.26] and Saint Anthony in Kellia [98] are firmly dated in the late 10th century, the former through a funerary inscription, the latter through its oldest layer of paintings.¹³⁴ They indicate that, upon its arrival in Cyprus, the type appeared as a local variation: while the majority of churches in the mainland were equipped with columns in the domed bay and possessed separate bema bays in the east, the latter were omitted in the Cypriot examples.¹³⁵ Instead, the plan appeared slightly elongated and the corner compartments were covered with barrel vaults instead of centralized vaulting solutions. As a result, the Cypriot cross-in-square somewhat resembled the idea of a basilica with transept – a

¹³¹ A summary of the events between 965 and 1191 given in Malamut 2012.

¹³² With the idea of a devastation and depopulation of the island in the ‘dark age’ of the Arab raids, the idea of a repopulation under the Byzantines was connected.

¹³³ Striker 1981. – For the development of the type see Bouras 2006, p 62–74.

¹³⁴ On Sygkrasis see in particular Papacostas 1999, II, 69–70, 170–173.

¹³⁵ For other Cypriot examples and a detailed discussion of the characteristics see Papacostas 1999, I, p 147–150; Papacostas 2012b, p 106–107.

local development perhaps explicable as result of the absence of centralized building types in the late antique period.

Presumably at the same time as the cross-in-square, also its 'compressed' variation, the dome-hall was introduced.¹³⁶ The small ruined churches of Saint Theodore in Sotira and of the Archangel in Mesa Geitonia possess somewhat hybrid plans, which illustrate the process of transition between the cross-in-square and the dome-hall.¹³⁷ In both cases, there are freestanding piers in the north, creating the corner compartments typical for a cross-in-square. However, this was not functional on a small scale, as the lateral compartments and archways became rather unusable, if shrunk too much. Thus, in the south, the piers are engaged to the wall and only form out deep niches. The latter is a characteristic element of in particular the earlier dome-halls, such as the perhaps oldest example, Saint Fotios near Gialousa [A.28].¹³⁸ While a number of buildings maintained the idea of a cruciform element within a simple single nave church, there is a number of significant variations of the type. The 11th–12th century Panagia in Kofinou received additional eastern and western bays, resulting in an elongated structure, while Saint George in Afentrika, probably of the late 10th century, is a short building with large dome and an unusual twin apse.¹³⁹

The centralized plan of the latter might perhaps be seen as one of the first manifestations of a building of this character on the island, but it remained without succession. More successful was a group of buildings, which were built according to the type of the 'domed octagon'.¹⁴⁰ Today only more represented by the ruinous chapel of the Hilarion castle and the late Antifonitis Monastery church [6], it was, as it seems exclusively used for monastic foundations. The prototype on the island surely was the katholikon of the Chrysostomos Monastery above Koutsovendis, dated to 1090 and destroyed in the late 19th century.¹⁴¹ It was a centralized building with two engaged circular piers on the northern, western and southern walls and two freestanding round

¹³⁶ On the Cypriot dome-hall churches before 1191 see exhaustively Prokopiou 2006 and in a summaric way Papacostas 1999, I, p 151–152.

¹³⁷ Sotira: Prokopiou 2006, p 363–368; Mesa Geitonia: Prokopiou 2013, p 264.

¹³⁸ Prokopiou 2006, p 16–24. – The proposed 7th–8th century date seems too early.

¹³⁹ Kofinou: Prokopiou 2006, p 369–383; Afentrika: Prokopiou 2006, p 25–33. – The twin apses for a single nave, widespread on other Mediterranean islands are only known from one more building in Cyprus, Saint George in Choulou (Prokopiou 2006, p 304–316).

¹⁴⁰ Jeffery 1916, p 113–116; Papacostas 1999, I, p 153–158.

¹⁴¹ Papacostas 2008.

piers in the west; the thus formed octagon surmounted by a dome, the bema bays covered with barrel vaults, all ending in three apses. In this group, the increased use of brick instead of rubble and ashlar masonry, testifies to closer connections to the capital, perhaps through foreign masons.

Apart from these more elaborate building types, the simple single nave church with barrel vault remains in use, whereas no domeless basilicas or hall churches are attributable to this period with certainty.¹⁴² This shift away from the vast basilicas towards more intimate, centralized buildings can be observed in most areas of the Byzantine Empire.

2.4 AFTER 1191: LATIN AND GREEK CHURCH BUILDING AS INITIALLY SEPARATE TRADITIONS

The next remarkable rupture in the history of Cyprus came in the year 1191.¹⁴³ During the Third Crusade, Richard I of England, better known as Richard the Lionheart, landed in the port of Limassol in the south of the island. What his precise intentions were at this moment is still disputed, but what followed were five weeks of 'cavalcade', during which Richard and his troops ultimately forced the Cypriot ruler Isaac Komnenos to hand over the island to Richard.¹⁴⁴ Thus, on the 1st of June 1191 the island of Cyprus was finally lost to the Byzantine Empire for the last time in history and became integral part of the Latin / Crusader Levant – of which it should remain the last outpost after the loss of the Levantine territories in the late 13th century. After a brief interlude, during which the island was in possession of the Templars in 1192, Guy de Lusignan purchased Cyprus and founded the reign of the Lusignan kings, under whose guidance the island rose to be one of the most important commercial powers in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 14th century.

Interestingly, as decisive as this rupture was for the future fate of the island, the immediate effect on the works of sacral architecture is elusive, at best. We know little about the first building activities of the new Latin rulers on the island. After the

¹⁴² A small number of buildings with uncertain original vault, such as Saint Hilarion in Episkopi near Pafos, might have either represented this type or carried a dome in the central nave without possessing cross arms or a transept. On Episkopi ARDAC 2004, p 48.

¹⁴³ A summary of events, including reference bibliography in Grivaud 2012c

¹⁴⁴ See most comprehensively Nicolaou-Konnari 2000.

conquest, Richard had married his fiancée Berengaria in a church of Saint George in Limassol. If this was that attested in 1240 as Latin parish, is uncertain. Olympios suggests that it might have been located on Venetian, thus Latin property and existed already before the 1190s.¹⁴⁵ This case is certainly instructive, in that it shows the to some extent invalid use of concepts of all-too-clear ruptures, which did presumably not correspond to the more complex reality already before the conquest.

As far as the Greek community was concerned, the architecture seems not to have undergone significant changes during this period. The church of Lagoudera, the famous painted decoration of which is dated to 1192 through an inscription, must have been erected rather shortly before the conquest.¹⁴⁶ Albeit it was later covered with a wooden roof typical for the late medieval churches of the Troodos region, in its original state it corresponds to the most common type of dome-hall churches [A.29]. The same type can be encountered at another church with a dated painted cycle, Saint Demetrianos in Potamia [A.30–31].¹⁴⁷ Here, the inscription mentions that the church was restored and painted in 1317, meaning that it had been in existence already for some time before. It is quite likely that the church was built in the course of the 13th century and its restoration in the 14th century indicates that the building type had not become outdated or required a modernization.

This continuity makes it generally hard to assign buildings firmly to the phase after the Latin conquest. One remarkable exception is the Holy Cross Mesokepou church west of Arakapas in the eastern Troodos Mountains [A.32]. Papacostas has identified the ruin of a small, domed cruciform church, unusually erected with brick elements, with a church mentioned in sources as erected on behalf of the Venetian Aurio Cavatorta before 1243–1244.¹⁴⁸ It presents a rare case of a church built on behalf of a Latin (here Venetian) patron, but clearly executed by Greek masons, albeit the unusual character of the building might suggest that these were trained outside of Cyprus.

¹⁴⁵ Olympios 2015b, p 415.

¹⁴⁶ Papacostas 1999, II, p 13–14; Winfield, Winfield 2003.

¹⁴⁷ Nicolaidès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 258–259.

¹⁴⁸ Papacostas 1999, II, p 45, 130. For churches in possession of venetians in the 13th century see Schabel 2005, p 185.

During the first century of Latin rule on the island, it was begun to replace the old Greek cathedral in the capital Nicosia, dedicated to the Saint Sophia, the Holy Wisdom, with a new building more adequately designed for the Latin rulers [A.33–42].¹⁴⁹ The foundation stone was laid in 1209 by Archbishop Albert. The church is a basilica of a nave and narrow lateral aisles, which are connected with the ambulatory of the five-sided polygonal choir. Pseudo-transepts adjoin the aisles in the second bay from east, each possesses a semicircular apse (in the north, sacristy and treasury are included, resulting in a rather complex inner structure). In the west, an open porch of three bays was placed towards the end of the long building period, already far into the 14th century. The towers, which might have been planned above, were never realized. While it is obvious that the plan derived from French models, the precise connections are still disputed. The cathedral of Sens has been suggested as model for the pseudo-transepts by Olympios, while Nicola Coldstream opted for the Romanesque church of Notre-Dame de Cunault.¹⁵⁰ For the choir with the ambulatory, the contemporary Cistercian church of Pontigny was named as reference, albeit the latter is equipped with radial chapels missing in Nicosia. Nevertheless, the two-storey elevation of the interior indeed rather resembles the more modest monastic building standards than the cathedral scale buildings with three- or four-storeyed elevations. The richly profiled rib vaults of the interior, even if rather built towards the mid-13th century, are a novelty on Cyprus. They are supported by engaged shafts, which rest atop the capitals of the ambulatory and nave columns / round piers. It is here not the place to discuss in detail the numerous detail observations that can be made, in particular concerning countless readjustments of the original plan during the building progress, and the remarkable sculptural decoration. Nevertheless, it is of importance to be aware of the fact that Gothic church architecture was present on the island since the first half of the 13th century, although most other preserved Gothic structures date to the 14th century.

¹⁴⁹ This complex building has been studied since the late 19th century, beginning with Enlart 1899, p 78–141 [Enlart 1987, p 82–130], more recently Plagnieux, Soulard 2006c; Olympios 2009a; Olympios 2009c, esp. p 111–113 and Olympios 2010, p 124–155, 354–383; summarized in Schabel 2012, p 154–160.

¹⁵⁰ Coldstream 1998, p 52–54.

An exception is the abbey church of Bellapais [A.43–50].¹⁵¹ The building consists of a nave with aisles, of only two bays length, a crossing with two short transept arms, which do not exceed the aisle walls, and a square choir bay of the same size as the nave bays. In the west, a low open porch is placed in front of the façade, which is itself surmounted by an open belfry with four lancets. The exterior, made of well-cut ashlar masonry, is largely plain. Hood moulds with horizontal returns surmount each window and the apse windows are additionally framed by engaged colonettes, which carry the profiled archivolt of the windows. The interior possesses moulded rib vaults in the nave, which rest on rounded piers embedded in the nave walls in their upper part. A horizontal string course separates arcade zone and clerestory. In the aisles, the ribs are of simpler profile and the transept arms are covered by barrel vaults.

Overall, the character of this unusual building, today surrounded by monastic structures erected in the 14th century, presents remarkable parallels with the 12th and early 13th century architecture in the Holy Land. Again, the notion that ideas from this artistic environment were present already before 1300 is of some interest. It might be a reflex of what has been lost of the 13th century Latin architecture: in particular the first Latin cathedral in Famagusta, replaced after 1300 by the current building erected in French-Rhenish Gothic, might have originally been of more Levantine character. The restricted knowledge about 13th century architecture also somewhat inhibits to properly grasp the starting points for the 14th century architecture developed during a veritable building boom in Famagusta later on.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Enlart 1899, p 209–221 [Enlart 1987, p 174–200]; Seeßelberg 1901 (esp. p 58–74); Plagnieux, Soulard 2006b; Olympios 2010; Olympios 2013 (on the cloister).

¹⁵² See chapter 4.2 for this issue.

3 DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE: MORPHOLOGY OF THE CHURCHES AFTER 1300

*"The concept of type thus [is] the basis of architecture [...]. Typology is an element that plays its own role in constituting from; it is a constant."*¹⁵³

Aldo Rossi (1966)

While the stylistic analysis, which will follow in chapters 4 and 5, is concerned with the chronological development or sustainability of forms and the impact of new stylistic elements, the specific character of Cypriot architecture also makes a diachronic treatment of the buildings necessary. As we will see, due to the remarkable conservatism and the frequent recourses on previous epochs, many elements of church architecture are taken from a constantly increasing portfolio rather than only adhering to a certain short-term fashion. In addition, in the light of the large amount of buildings included in this study, it seems helpful to begin the analysis of the evidence with a review of this portfolio of building typologies, decorative elements and vaulting types. This diachronic analysis may also serve as base for future studies, which are interested in different aspect of analysing the material evidence; for instance, the typology of expansion projects might be used as tool for the investigation of socio-historical shifts in the rural population or changing liturgical practices. These aspects will not be followed further in this study.

3.1 SHAPING THE BUILDINGS: TYPOLOGY OF THE PLAN

If we talk about the typology of churches, this refers to basic structural aspects of the investigated buildings.¹⁵⁴ A defining element for a typological analysis is the shape of the ground plan, which obviously determines to some extent the spatial structure

¹⁵³ Rossi 1982, p 40, quoted from the English translation. On the concept of typology in this edition p 35–45. See also Johnson 1994, p 291.

¹⁵⁴ A showcase study focusing on the typology of a well-defined group of churches presented by Gallas 1983, who studied the medieval churches of Crete. For the case of Rhodes Dellas 2009 and including aspects of diachronic morphology of decorative forms Dellas 2013.

above. A further differentiation of typological groups results from a different treatment of the elevation and the vaulting system. In late medieval Cyprus, the variety of this general typology is rather limited – especially compared to other regions such as Crete – and mostly draws upon older models, as will be shown in this chapter [P.3]. However, the inclusion of aspects such as proportions or varying structural solutions can help to establish more differentiated sub-types.

A methodological problem, just as in other regions of Europe, is the question of multiple phases – many churches that were erected during the later Middle Ages, were not built from scratch but incorporated parts of earlier buildings. These churches that evolved and were transformed through the centuries can present difficulties for a typological classification. Nevertheless, if one is aware of the necessity to perceive the building in diverse chronologic layers, also those buildings can occasionally be classified. Even more, it is possible to establish a particular 'typology of expansions', which will be outlined briefly in chapter 3.3.¹⁵⁵

Establishing a typology can be of benefit in two different but closely connected respects. Firstly, if the number of studied buildings is large enough, it is possible to determine the frequency of certain general types. This 'quantitative typology' is for instance a good tool to investigate the relation between 'common practice' and 'special cases'. Those special cases can be identified and lead to the second aspect: the 'qualitative typology'. Originating from conspicuous buildings, refinements in specific typological groups can be traced and investigated.

The present chapter will investigate the typological groups of single nave churches, dome-hall churches, cross-in-square structures, multi-aisled and cruciform buildings. These types cover almost all of the buildings erected in Cyprus during the later Middle Ages, with the exception of the timber-roofed churches in the Troodos Mountains. This locally restricted group of ca. 60 buildings, which has developed its own typology, has been excluded from this study, as it lacks, in most cases, any architectural qualities apart from the wooden roof construction.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ See also Kaffenberger forthcoming-c

¹⁵⁶ Papageorgiou 1975; Maravelaki, Prokopiou 1997. For a comprehensive study of technical aspects see Feraios 1999, who provides an exhaustive typological survey on p 143–161 and in appendix A.

3.1.1 Single nave churches

One of the simplest types that a work of architecture can appertain to is necessarily a single rectangular space with four walls, surmounted by a vault or a timber roof. Single nave churches belong to this group, albeit they usually possess a semicircular or polygonal apse at the eastern end.

The question whether (freestanding) rectangular spaces without an apse might also have served as autonomous chapels is hard to answer, as during the period in question, apses are the most distinctive element to display an ecclesiastical function of a building.¹⁵⁷ A very restricted number of rectangular chapels without an apse is known from Cyprus; however, their contexts of creation, dimensions and artistic articulation differ profoundly. The well-studied but still only partly understood 'Royal Chapel' of Pyrga south of Nicosia [A.51], certainly built for the royal house of the Lusignan in the early 15th century and best known for its paintings including a royal donor portrait, has an almost square plan and a barrel vault.¹⁵⁸ Another prominent example is the 14th century Panagia Karmiotissa near Polemidia, a barrel-vaulted structure fully constructed from regular ashlar and unusually spacious for a rural Cypriot church. As the name already indicates, it is in all likelihood the chapel of a Latin, more precisely a Carmelite Monastery of which numerous walls still remain adjoining the chapel.¹⁵⁹ Even if the Latin origin of these buildings places them outside of this study's focus, especially the Karmiotissa illustrates a context in which a rectangular chapel without apse is thinkable: in a spatially compact monastic complex. In this context falls one of the few medieval buildings possible that can be interpreted as an apse-less Orthodox chapel, the so-called 'Pyrgos tis Rigainas' on the Akamas promontory.¹⁶⁰ Due to the bad state of the (now rebuilt) structure, this attribution as well as a precise date is far from

¹⁵⁷ On the apse and its historic as well as symbolic qualities see for example Brenk 2010.

¹⁵⁸ A discussion of the paintings most recently in Wollesen 2010, who also mentions briefly the architecture of the building, but suggests a controversial (probably wrong) date in the early 14th century. The church also discussed in Enlart 1899, p 428–439 [Enlart 1987, p 325–333]; Schryver, Schabel 2003; De Vaivre 2006b.

¹⁵⁹ Enlart 1899, p 456–460 [Enlart 1987, p 345–348]; De Vaivre 2012, p 316–319; Olympios 2015b, p 416–422.

¹⁶⁰ Wallace 1984; see however also ARDAC 1988, p 27 and 1989, p 31, where the original function as Orthodox monastery was confirmed but the church described as of the dome-hall type.

established. A special case is presented by the Ottoman period church of Saint Anthony in Kedares, where the apse is encased within an outer rectangle – a solution probably borrowed from the many barn roof churches that share this feature.

On the other hand, rectangular aisles without an apse are rather widespread throughout the Middle Ages. The evidence of churches such as the Panagia in Kivisili [104], the Archangel Church in Pigi [180] or the church of Saint Artemios in Ornithi [160] – all with aisles ending in straight walls – underlines that the apse was not perceived as an integral, structural part of an aisle but used in naves as well as aisles due to functional reasons (altar places). In consequence, the simple single nave church with apse is the most widespread type of church on the island.¹⁶¹ This is hardly surprising, as this type of building is cheap and easy to erect, but includes all elements necessary for its liturgical use. Some of these buildings are merely chapels, very small in size and of the simplest workmanship. They are of unarchitectural character and very hard to date, so if there is no evidence from paintings, they are hardly helpful for further research. As prime example, one might look at the diminutively sized chapel of Saint Andronikos in Psematismenos [194], which is certainly medieval but devoid of any decorative element.¹⁶² Thus, it represents an undisturbed example of the simplest standard type: a rectangular nave, surmounted by a semicircular, slightly pointed barrel vault, and an apse.¹⁶³ The apse is narrower and less high than the nave, protruding as a semi-cylinder surmounted by the apse conch. The inside is completely unarticulated but makes basic structural ideas clear. The vault is connected seamlessly with the wall below. Thus, the focus lies on the 'triumphal arch' above the apse, which surmounts the (modern) iconostasis.

An interesting aspect is that the vault is not covered by a wooden roof and on the outside is less wide than the nave. This creates a horizontal step on top of the lateral walls, which is of static importance: this part of the wall puts additional weight on the lower courses of the wall. This is necessary to stabilize the structure against the side thrust of the barrel vault, especially considering that originally no buttresses were

¹⁶¹ See Papacostas 1999, I, p 159 – Papacostas states that one quarter of the Cypriot middle Byzantine churches belongs to this type. For the period studied here, the proportion comes closer to fifty percent.

¹⁶² The church is unpublished. The irregularity of the fabric speaks for a medieval origin, but the date of the erection cannot be narrowed down further.

¹⁶³ Non-vaulted single nave churches are very rare outside of the Troodos region.

intended. Here, the wall was apparently not sturdy enough and too light, so that the later addition of a buttress to the already dangerously lopsided northern wall became necessary. Other buildings fell into ruin because of insufficient stabilization, such as the Panagia in Fasoula [77], where the vault pushed apart the leaning walls until it collapsed in the middle.

Obviously, the example of Psematismenos is rather unusual in its almost excessive simplicity.¹⁶⁴ A large fraction of the single-nave hall churches shows different, moderate approaches to enhance the visual appeal of the structure. The decoration is mainly restricted to the articulation of the doorways, windows, corbels or cornices – this will be discussed in detail in the following chapter – or, on the inside, the use of transversal arches supporting the barrel vault and creating a rhythmic sequence of bays. An element of variation was the building material (rubble, dressed stone, ashlar of different quality), which, however, did not directly relate to the typology.¹⁶⁵ Examples of a more decorated basic type can be found in remote, rural regions – such as the remarkably well proportioned church of Saint John Prodromos near Gastria [87] – as well as in urban contexts. The latter might be surprising, given that the restricted scale of this type seems more suitable for a village or a small monastic community. Nevertheless, not only larger rural settlements such as Polis (Saint Andronikos [184] and Saint Nicholas [183]) possess similarly simple buildings, but also the urban centre Pafos. Here the churches of Saint Marina [166] and Saint George [165] underline the island-wide use of these simple buildings, pointing as well at the possible role of middle-ranking patrons and the well-developed hierarchy of primary and subordinate churches. The simple standard type was further developed in a number of different ways, sometimes focusing either on structural or on decorative elements, but often combining both (see for instance chapter 3.2.2 on the question of apse shapes and buttresses).

On the inside, the elevation was often treated as a plain, unstructured wall. However, there are two strategies, which were applied in order to structure the nave, i.e. to visually create separate bays. This was achieved either through the integration of blind arches or large niches in the wall or through pilasters supporting the transversal

¹⁶⁴ Other very simple examples would be the two chapels of Melandra [145].

¹⁶⁵ For thoughts on the building material, see chapter 3.2.1.

arches. Thus, decorative elements directly take an influence on the question of typology in replacing the idea of a single cell (where the nave is not visually subdivided into bays) with that of an oriented, sequenced space. The use of pilasters is rather uncommon, probably due to the rather archaic appearance created, but examples such as the 16th century Saint Nicholas church in Galataria [83] show that this concept, which suppresses the idea of corbels as arch support, was in use throughout the Middle Ages. The placement of niches in the lateral walls is more common; however, there is a wide variety of designs and locations for the niches. If there are only one or two niches, this might be explained by reasons of function, be this of a commemorative or worshipping nature, while churches such as the Panagia Ambelikiotissa near Kapileio [93], which has three niches forming a blind arcade on each side, surely use it as decorative element.¹⁶⁶ Usually, the niches are just cut out of the wall – only the chapel of Saint Andronikos near Tersefanou [224] makes use of round piers to support the wide niche arches, which sets the arches off against the main wall plane. This surprisingly sophisticated solution might go back to an earlier structure on the same spot that could have been a dome-hall church of the middle Byzantine period, during which the use of a similar system is detectable in some Cypriot examples.¹⁶⁷

The single nave church concept was not restricted to small buildings. One of the advantages of this type is the relative flexibility of the dimensions, due to the nature of the barrel vault. Barrel vaults are easily adaptable, especially concerning their length – for example in the Panagia of Pyrgos [199] which is over 10 m long with a width of less than 5 m –, but can also span wide spaces. One of the largest single nave buildings is the monastic church of Saint George Komanon near Mesana [146]. With a length of 15 m, a width of 8 m and a height of 6 m it is obviously nowhere near the large urban churches, but would easily house many of the smaller chapels in its completely undecorated spacious nave. This building, which is mainly relevant for this study due to its unique sculptural decoration of the portals, shows that the distinctive aspects discussed above for the small churches apply to the larger scale ones as well.

In very few instances – among which the cemetery chapel in Dali [59] and the Panagia Stazousa [105] –, this structurally simple type was combined with a more

¹⁶⁶ For the question of wall niches and their possible function see Bacci 2009b.

¹⁶⁷ Discussed for example in Prokopiou 2006, p 426–427.

elaborate rib vault. The decorative implications of different vault types will be discussed below, so here a brief glimpse at the structural consequences of this different vault type will suffice. While the barrel vault is, as mentioned, easily adaptable to almost every dimension and proportion, rib vaults apply a specific rhythm to the building and theoretically require a particular proportion. The Panagia Stazousa, the nave of which is two bays long, underlines the completely different character of the building, which makes it hard to assign to the same typological group: the two bays each appear as almost cubic blocks, surmounted by very small gables on each side. The same applies to the interior: even if the vaults rest on corbels and the walls are mainly unarticulated, the space receives a rhythmic arrangement through the vaults and the large windows, which are only compatible with cross vaults but almost inevitably absent in all barrel-vaulted churches. The plan of the smaller Saint Mamas church in Dali, however, seems not to have been adapted to the needs of a rib vault. The short and wide room was not suitable for a solution with two bays, so a single wide and very flat vault was constructed. The consequence of this structurally disadvantageous solution was a collapse of the vault already before the mid-1800s and a subsequent replacement with a hardly satisfying barrel vault with lunette caps.¹⁶⁸

Even if many of the over 120 churches of this type (not counting the later expanded or profoundly changed ones) have not been mentioned in this brief overview, they will more or less easily fit within the outlined concepts. This simplest typological group is probably the most inclusive, as the examples range from small, completely stereotonic chapels to well systematized, articulated church buildings. Furthermore, as the single nave church is the smallest possible entity of composed buildings, the described aspects of variation are equally relevant for the investigation of most other typological variations.

3.1.2 Dome-hall churches

In a broad sense, the dome-hall church belongs to the group of the single nave churches with a varied vaulting system. Nevertheless, it is necessary to discuss it as a

¹⁶⁸ The rib vault is known through an old ink drawing by Edmond Duthoit (Bonato, Severis 1999, p 199–200), where the vault springers can still be distinguished.

separate type – not only due to a different typological origin but also as a type with a very prominent tradition on the island.¹⁶⁹ Dome-hall churches are canonically composed of an elongated naos with three recessed blind arches, which structure the lateral walls and visually divide the nave into three bays. The central blind arch is usually taller, its apex corresponding to the adjoining barrel vaults over the western and eastern bays. This bay is surmounted by a pendentif dome, usually on a round or, later in the Latin period, octagonal drum. This system, as it has been outlined above, can also be described as a compressed version of the cross-in-square type. In the case of many dome-hall churches, this dependence on the more complex type is made manifest by treating the lateral recesses as lower corner bays on the outside, giving the church the same cruciform appearance that a cross-in-square building would have. This very additive, tectonic type stands in stark contrast with the majority of simple hall churches. Here, ground plan, elevation and vaulting system are interlocked, so that the rather arbitrary variation of elements that we saw in the case of simple hall churches cannot function. The engaged piers between the subordinate blind arches and the central dome arch mark the crucial point of the system: on the lower level, they are usually visible as piers whereas in the elevation they are not singled out as piers but rather merge with the nave wall. Structurally this creates a canopy-like substructure for the dome, which is the unalterable part of this group of buildings.¹⁷⁰ As already Papacostas and Prokopiou have remarked, the western and eastern bays are subject to more variation in terms of size as well as design.¹⁷¹

During the middle Byzantine period the dome-hall type was very common – over a third of the preserved churches from this period belong to this type, according to Papacostas.¹⁷² During the subsequent centuries, the type remained popular; however, the number of newly erected dome-hall churches decreased substantially. While 134 single nave churches with barrel vaults were identified for the period between 1300 and 1571, only 38 dome-hall structures, ten of which are very uncertainly dated, can be

¹⁶⁹ The middle Byzantine dome-hall churches of Cyprus have been studied by Tassos Papacostas (Papacostas 1999, I, esp. p 151–153) and comprehensively by Eleni Prokopiou (Prokopiou 2006). See also chapter 2.3 above.

¹⁷⁰ For the consequences, which this canopy system has for the later alteration of buildings, see chapter 3.3.

¹⁷¹ Papacostas 1999, I, p 153; Prokopiou 2006, p 465–466.

¹⁷² Papacostas 1999, I, p 151.

assigned to the centuries of Latin rule on the island.¹⁷³ As will be shown below for church enlargements, the erection of additional aisles, this typological concept hardly played a role. Nevertheless, the type did not cease to exist and, due to the more complex typology, the examples are often of a high quality of workmanship. More than 20 of the studied buildings follow the classic type described above and allude to the cruciform idea of the interior on the exterior as well. We encounter the fully developed type for example in Kato and Pano Lefkara, with the heavily restored church of Saint Timothy [130] or in Vrysoulles with the small church of Saint George [241]. As mentioned above, one (much likely older) building of this classic type can be approximately dated. The Saint Dimitrianos church between Dali and Potamia [A.30–31] possesses an elaborate cycle of paintings, which includes a donor portrait and an inscription mentioning the year 1316/17 as date of the renovation.¹⁷⁴ Even if this only supplies a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the church, it is remarkable in some respects. Above all, it indicates that the classic type of dome-hall churches was not perceived as outdated in the 14th century. Nevertheless, several churches of this type show variations, mostly in terms of the proportions. The church of Saint James in Triкомо [233], built on the foundations of an earlier predecessor, is one of the elegantly proportioned dome-hall churches in Cyprus.¹⁷⁵ It is very short, almost square in plan. Thus, there is very little space in the wall to place the lateral blind arches – in fact, the wall itself is reduced to an arch connecting the conspicuous dome piers with the west and east walls. This reduction of the length somewhat emphasizes a centralized character of the building, which was not inherent in the dome-hall type from the beginning. Another variation achieves the idea of centralization through an enlargement of the main, domed bay. The church of Saint Andronikos in Liopetri [133] shows this variation, which harmonizes the interior while keeping the original concept structurally intact. It is remarkable that here small, round sections form the lower part of the dome piers. This is unique for the period and has its antecedent in the middle Byzantine period – an idea, which one can even visually perceive in the Panagia tou Tochniou near Mandres [139]. Here, the dome

¹⁷³ See the typological overview in vol II of this study.

¹⁷⁴ Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 425; see also Papageorgiou 2003.

¹⁷⁵ The church was charming enough in fact to have inspired Queen Marie of Romania to build an exact replica on the premises of the Royal Palace in Balchik (now Bulgaria) around 1926 – Gunnis 1936, p 444, informs us about this.

piers of the 15th century monastic church rest on the lower courses of their round predecessors, which still carry 12th century paintings.¹⁷⁶

At the same time, while churches of the classical type were still being constructed, the development of a simplified type took place.¹⁷⁷ This was less tectonic and thus the variation of buildings is wider again. The common trait of the simplified dome-hall type is the suppression of the lateral gables and thus the loss of a cruciform impression on the outside in favour of a block-like structure, surmounted by a somewhat 'floating' dome. The buildings are usually very small, and predominantly the simplification of the exterior was combined with a similar process on the inside. Modest churches such as Saint George in Avlona [49] and the Panagia Thermeiotissa in Thermeia [226] give up the lateral blind arches, resulting in a vaguely cruciform interior.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, the cubic exterior is maintained, as the inner dome arches are developed within the wall thickness. Also for this simplified type, there are rather elongated buildings, such as the Holy Cross church south of Anogyra [32] – the only known larger example of the simplified type, which retains the three blind arches along the inner lateral walls –, or almost square ones, for instance the chapel of Saint Paraskevi near Akourdaleia [26].¹⁷⁹ This type strongly recalls a group of churches in mainland Greece, which were labelled 'contracted domed cruciform' by Charalambos Bouras.¹⁸⁰

The last examples already show a significant distance from the original type, coming back to a less systematic approach that does not necessarily interlock plan and vaulting system. A small group of major churches of the Venetian period, remarkable for their size or decorative sophistication, pushes this process a step further by structurally completely omitting the lateral arches in the central bay as well. Instead, a small formeret imbedded into the wall marks the vault springer. The lower elevation remains undivided. It is not clear, if this is a coincidental reduction of the traditional

¹⁷⁶ Previous scholarship dates the whole building to the late 12th or 13th century on the base of the round piers. However, it seems more likely to assume these to be part of a more ancient building phase than the rest of the building.

¹⁷⁷ The oldest examples go back to the middle Byzantine period: Prokopiou 2006, p 412–413.

¹⁷⁸ All information on Avlona derives from the few insufficient pictures that are available. The church is currently inaccessible.

¹⁷⁹ Prokopiou 2006, p 353–354, dates this building to the 12th century, after it had been absurdly dated to the 6th century previously. However, the portals show that it is in fact a very archaic but nevertheless rather late building, probably of the 15th century.

¹⁸⁰ Bouras 2006, p 293.

dome-hall concept or rather a purposeful development, a varied vaulting system applied to a normal hall church. Be that as it may, it results in the creation of rather austere spaces, which lack the intimacy of older dome-hall structures but gain in terms of monumentality. The most important monument of this group is the remote monastic church of Panagia tou Sindi [173] on the banks of the Xeros River, datable to 1541 thanks to an inscription carved into an ashlar of the vault.¹⁸¹ On the outside, the church possesses a cubic substructure under the dome, which occupies the space between the cullis and the ridge of the roof. It marks the place of the former piers on the inside, which are not shown as arches or hidden behind gables on the outside. Two buttresses on each side below this structure are supposed to hold the thrust of the domed bay and thus function as a replacement for the omitted piers on the inside. A similar concept was realized in the church of Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161], which also shows external buttresses and abandons the blind arches on the inside. However, the proportions are significantly different – the church is much lower – and the lateral gables are, if not prominently underlined, at least indicated. In contrast, the church of Saint Catherine in Tala [221] does not possess any buttresses, but makes use of the same square substructure of the dome like the Panagia tou Sindi.

Even if it can be included in this specific group, the Saint Mamas church in Sotira [210] is based on a different aesthetic concept. While the inside rather appears as a longitudinal building of proportions, which are similar to those in Orounda, the outside in the present state underlines a strongly centralizing tendency.¹⁸² As mentioned above, this somehow contradicts the original idea of the dome-hall churches; furthermore, centralized buildings do not have a strong tradition in Cyprus.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, we find centralized hall churches with a dome throughout the island. Very similar in their general appearance are the Archangel Church in Pera Oreinis [174] and the funerary chapel of the nearby Irakleidios Monastery in Politiko [185], the latter only lacking the polygonal apse. Both buildings possess gables in all four directions, surmounted by a cubic substructure for the polygonal dome. The corners of the

¹⁸¹ For the date see Chrysochou 2000–2001; Chrysochou 2003.

¹⁸² The church lost its original porches at some point, which must have changed the overall character, making it look more like a building with aisles.

¹⁸³ See chapter 2 – the lack of any centralized early Christian building is remarkable and the number of centralizing church types between the 9th and 13th centuries untypically small.

buildings protrude like large buttresses. While in Pera these protruding components mark the place of the lateral blind arches or rather niches, the chapel in the Irakleidios Monastery is fully centralized and does not have adjoining bays anymore. However, this typology is rather suitable for subordinate chapels, as it does not create a space for the bema area – another example is the southern chapel adjoining the Panagia Galaktotrofousa near Prastio Avdimou [190]. Only the Holy Cross church in Parekklesia [170] makes use of a centralized single domed bay as a naos – the bema finds space in the rather deep dome arch and the exceptional, very deep seven-sided apse.¹⁸⁴

Only three dome-hall structures cannot be placed within the groups just described. Two of them clearly show a close relation: the second expansion of Saint Epifanios in Famagusta [68] and Saint George Teratsiotis near Avgorou [47], only some twenty kilometres south of Famagusta. They share the exceptional vaulting system of two groin vaults flanking the central domed bay. In both cases, the outer appearance resembles the simplified, block-like type, even if Saint Epifanios possesses small gables, which mark the face side of the groin vaults and the dome arches.¹⁸⁵ In all likelihood, the builder of Saint George was aware of the innovative solution in Famagusta, an expansion project, and transformed it into an independent church plan. However, the church at Avgorou shows a lack of understanding of the original concept: while in Famagusta the lateral arches in the groin-vaulted bays are vault high, thus marked by the supporting piers in the lower courses, the church in Avgorou only has niches on the northern side of the domed bay. The western and eastern bays are slightly indented, which results in an enormous wall thickness in the corners of the building – a far less elegant solution.¹⁸⁶

The third and probably most remarkable of the unclassifiable dome-hall churches is Saint Eulalios in Lambousa [127]. Built on a cliff near the shore, above the nave of a late antique basilica, it appears today as an elongated, high structure surmounted by a

¹⁸⁴ The concept seems to have proved insufficient as the naos was later extended twice. The church is also remarkable for the very crude but inventive sculptural decoration, which goes together with the similarly inventive ground plan.

¹⁸⁵ In Avgorou, these gables are only developed above the western and eastern walls. A detailed study of the phases of Saint Epiphanius can be found in Kaffenberger 2014 and Olympios 2014d, while the concept of enlargement is discussed below in chapter 3.3.

¹⁸⁶ The church underwent a disastrous renovation of all interior surfaces in the early 20th century, which may have changed certain aspects – but the lack of niches in the lateral bays seems to be original.

central dome on a cubic substructure. Originally, it was perhaps flanked by porches on both sides, which may have corresponded in height with the surviving narthex, creating a basilica-like appearance. While the outside fits well within the Sindi-group, the inside elevation is unique. Here, four spoliated columns from the late antique predecessor carry a blind arcade on each side. Above this, the vaults emerge in a similar way as in the Panagia tou Sindi, which means that the central arch of the arcade has the same apex as the lateral ones and does not reach up to support the dome. As a result, the wall is separated into two registers, the upper not corresponding to the lower. The visual impression is remarkable, as one is immediately reminded of a three aisled basilica – only with walled up side aisles.

The evidence of dome-hall churches draws a slightly different picture than the one of the single cell churches. The variation is less wide, especially for the churches following the classical system. However, this typological group was varied, simplified and enhanced in the later Middle Ages as well. Standard models were given up and replaced due to a stronger longing for individual solutions – a tendency that we will encounter for almost all typological variations of church architecture in Cyprus.

3.1.3 Cross-in-square churches

One of the most remarkable contributions of Byzantium to the developments of architectural history was the creation of the cross-in-square church. The standard cross-in-square structure is erected above a square or rectangular plan, with the cross arms rising above the lower corner compartments.¹⁸⁷ The cross arms are usually barrel-vaulted and surmounted by a dome over the crossing. The corner compartments are vaulted with centralized vaults such as domes, sail vaults or groin vaults, stressing a centralization of the whole building, or with barrel vaults, emphasizing the longitudinal character. During the middle Byzantine era, this type was relatively widespread in Cyprus, albeit less frequent than in other areas of the empire and of distinctively local

¹⁸⁷ Note that cross-shaped churches with five domes, such as San Marco in Venice, going back to what we believe Justinian's Church of the Apostles looked like, are often described as cross-in-square churches as well (for example in the encyclopaedic dictionary Koepf, Binding 1999, p 289). This use of the term is plainly wrong.

character.¹⁸⁸ However, as Papacostas remarks, no classic cross-in-square church can be certainly dated to the time of Latin rule.¹⁸⁹

Nevertheless, in the mountain village of Arsos the large church of the Apostle Philipp [42] shows a cross-in-square plan with a spacious central bay and small, low corner spaces. The central bay is covered with a rib vault today, the corner spaces with flat groin vaults. However, it is impossible to determine, which elements of this unique concept were already part of the original late medieval building, before it largely perished in an intrusive restoration of the 19th century.

Certainly medieval in its substance is the ruined church of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta [70], a building which clearly draws upon the older type of a cross-in-square and develops it further. The church is dominated by the large square domed bay, which is flanked by flat bays or rather very deep arches to the north, east and south. As in a cross-in-square church, the corner bays in the east are almost square and open towards the adjoining bays through rather low arches. Surprisingly, the vaults of these bays are much higher than the archways and reach up to the level of the vault springers. The most decisive difference from the cross-in-square type is in the western bay, which comprises the whole width of the church and is covered with an undivided groin vault. However, there are small arches pierced into the strongly protruding engaged piers between the western and central bay, corresponding in size and position to the small archways leading into the eastern corner bays. This results in a peculiar sequence of two transept-like bays with differing vaults, where a tripartition is only indicated by the low arches in the piers. This is followed by a clearly tripartite choir in the east.

The origin of this singular solution can perhaps be sought only a few metres north, in the already mentioned dome-hall expansion of Saint Epifanios [68]. Even if the typology is different, certain aspects such as the groin vault in the western bay, which seamlessly becomes a barrel-vault to the north and the south, indicate a similar pool of ideas.¹⁹⁰ This assumption is supported by the sculptural decoration, which shows some

¹⁸⁸ Papacostas 1999, I, p 146–151. See also chapter 2.3.

¹⁸⁹ Papacostas 1999, I, p 151 – The so-called ruin of Saint Anthony (late 13th century?) might have had a cross-in-square superstructure, even if other solutions seem more likely. The demolished church of Saint Epiphanius in Louroujina [XXXIV] is described as cross-in-square structure by Papageorgiou 1964, p 350, but if considering the only preserved exterior picture, there seems to have hardly been enough space for aisles within the rather narrow structure.

¹⁹⁰ For these thoughts, see also chapter 4.4.

similarities, and the exterior appearance. The cubic character with the rather flat gables protruding over each bay is not exclusive to these two buildings but another vaguely common trait. It is part of the stylistic shift happening in Famagusta during the 14th century, as will be discussed in chapter 4.2.

Another Famagustan church, which is only preserved in its foundations, was excavated in 1936 by Theophilus Mogabgab [73]. He was convinced that he discovered a cross-in-square structure from the 14th century. The surviving plan indicates that naves and aisles, with four bays each, were separated by four columns (only the bases were preserved), supporting the arches of the second bay, and two thick piers in the east. Admittedly, this layout resembles the (metropolitan) standard type of a cross-in-square church; however, there is no account for late example of a cross-in-square church with columns in Cyprus. While different vaulting options should be considered, the thin outer walls indicated on Mogabgab's plan cast some doubt as to whether they would have been strong enough to carry the horizontal thrust of a barrel vault. One would rather be inclined to reconstruct groin vaults, the thrust of which would rest on the enforced corners of the structure rather than on the whole walls. In any case, the original shape has to remain speculative.

The church of Saint Nicholas shows the exceptional creativity of ecclesiastical architecture in Famagusta during the 14th century. Nowhere else on the island has an attempt been made to combine the classic cross-in-square type with elements of different typological origins. The predominant choice for more complex buildings was an aisled plan, be this in the form of a basilica or, much more frequently, a domed hall church.

3.1.4 Transepts and cruciform churches

Cruciform structures, although widespread in the Byzantine Empire, always played a rather marginal role in Cyprus.¹⁹¹ Some examples, such as the Panagia in Emba [64] (first phase probably 12th century), were only significantly changed and enlarged in the later Middle Ages but originated in middle Byzantine times. A seemingly

¹⁹¹ Papacostas 1999, table 12, lists only nine examples for the 7th to 12th centuries. The evidence for Late Antiquity is even more scarce (two buildings, see Maguire 2012).

unchanged example for a cruciform structure, the church of Saint Theodosios in Achelia, has been dated to the 13th century, but the character of the architecture is very plain and, except for the rebuilt choir vault, rather indicates an earlier date of construction.¹⁹² Unlike for other island-wide typologies, the rather regional diffusion of the cruciform type is quite strong: most middle Byzantine cruciform churches can be found in the area of Pafos and in the southern Troodos foothills.

Later examples, which fall in the spectrum of this study, are typologically very diverse and occasionally hard to classify, but the area of distribution remains the same. All three late medieval cruciform churches stand in or near Pafos, while one more, originating in the previous centuries but thoroughly rebuilt after 1300, can be found in the Troodos area. The smallest and at the same time clearest example of the type is the Panagia church in Chlorakas [52].¹⁹³ Originally, it was erected over a greek-cross-plan, the lateral cross arms being approximately half as wide as the domed bay and slightly shorter than the east and west arms. The western arm was enlarged at a later date, resulting in the shape of a Latin cross. The central dome rests directly on the cross arm vaults; the rest of the interior is as plain as the exterior.

The stylistically linked examples from urban Pafos, the churches of Saint Kyriaki [163] and Saint Sofia [167] – the former erected over the ruins of the late antique basilica of the Chrysopolitissa, the latter used as a mosque – are both less clearly attributable to the group of cruciform churches. They both show the plan of a Latin cross, but possess side rooms and aisles, which fill the corner spaces. The Saint Kyriaki probably goes back to several earlier, already cruciform phases and was rebuilt perhaps around 1500. Similar to the Panagia in Chlorakas, the western cross arm reached its final length only in a later extension phase; the original length is marked by the western end of the shorter aisles. In fact, these aisles as well as the chapels flanking the sanctuary let us think of a cross-in-square structure. However, there is no attempt to create any spatial unity: the archways between the dominant cruciform space and the lateral areas are minimal in size. Therefore, the attribution to the cruciform group seems more appropriate. The plan of the Saint Sophia is even more irregular, with long northern and

¹⁹² Parani 2012, p 295.

¹⁹³ Although it is as plain as the church in Achelia, the mitred dome windows betray a post-14th century date.

western cross arms facing rather short southern and eastern ones. Along the north side of the church, there are several annexe rooms, the one in the north-east ending in a second, small apse.¹⁹⁴ Again, the interior shows the cruciform character of the building more clearly, even if the large dome dominates the space and creates a feeling of centralization.

While both churches in Pafos most likely go back to the 15th or 16th centuries, the origin of the Holy Cross church in Kouka [116] has to be sought in the middle Byzantine period. However, it was later transformed repeatedly and received a rib vault over the crossing as well as a polygonal apse. Albeit the church was built well before the studied period, the transformations surely happened not earlier than the 14th century and thus show that it was not deemed necessary to change the typological concept of the building. As a place of veneration of a True Cross relic, this 'conservatism' might well have been a purposeful decision for this particular case. Nevertheless, one has to state that the free cross-shape did not play a significant role in the late medieval architectural landscape of Cyprus.

This might be connected to the almost complete lack of pronounced transepts already in the middle Byzantine building traditions of the island. Transept-like developments were usually connected to cross-in-square types and thus embedded in a rectangular ground plan, only perceivable as a structural entity due to the design of the vaults.

3.1.5 Aisled structures: basilicas and hall churches

In Late Antiquity, the columnar timber-roofed basilica with a central nave and one or more aisles was the prevailing type for church buildings in Cyprus. During the middle Byzantine period, however, it was abandoned and replaced by the previously discussed, more intimate types of dome-hall churches or cross-in-square structures.¹⁹⁵ In the 14th to 16th centuries, the basilica or hall-church type was only infrequently used in building projects of Greek churches – only ten of them can be identified as such, a few more are

¹⁹⁴ See the catalogue for a more profound discussion of the complicated building history, which has not been sufficiently studied previously.

¹⁹⁵ Papacostas 1999, I, p 146. See also chapter 2.3 above.

of uncertain original shape or the basilical layout was the result of later rebuilding. Nevertheless, the scale and degree of invention that the few examples show, makes them crucial for a study of late medieval churches in Cyprus.

As the headline of the chapter indicates, we have to distinguish between genuine basilicas that possess lower aisles and a higher nave with a clerestory to illuminate the central nave, and hall churches with three naves, all of approximately the same height or, more frequently, in a stepped arrangement.¹⁹⁶ The latter is far more common, whereas genuine basilicas are restricted to the city of Famagusta, probably as a result of the Latin influence.

The central building of the genuine basilica type is the cathedral of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. It will be discussed in detail below, so here only its main typological traits will be outlined. The church has three naves of five bays, which end in semicircular apses in the east. The third, central bay is wider than the others and thus forms the square plan that is facilitating the construction of the dome, which was built above it. The other bays were covered with rib vaults that rested on triple supports and the large, round nave piers. The clerestory had exactly half the height of the aisles, contained a large window in each bay and was stabilized by flying buttresses. This combination of a clerestory that follows the Latin-Gothic examples with a dome in the centre of the building is unique – not only in Cyprus, as has been shown above.¹⁹⁷ Nevertheless, several churches show a certain typological dependence on this outstanding building.¹⁹⁸ This has been recognized previously, but especially the interpretation brought forward by Papageorgiou, who brought together hall churches and basilicas of various epochs under the header of a vague similarity, demonstrates that a clear distinction between typological and stylistic aspects, albeit not always possible, is helpful for a precise treatment.¹⁹⁹ Even if he defines his group through typological aspects – basilica, three apses and a dome – his examples do not all fall within this definition. Especially the much altered churches of the Archangel Michael in

¹⁹⁶ For being absolutely precise, one would further have to distinguish between normal hall churches (all naves of the same height) and *Stufenhalle*, with slightly lower aisles but still without a clerestory.

¹⁹⁷ See chapter 6.2 for the place of Saint George within the artistic network of the Mediterranean.

¹⁹⁸ This will be discussed more profoundly in chapter 7.3, there with respect to the typology as well as the stylistic aspects.

¹⁹⁹ Papageorgiou 1982a, p 222–223. For a more detailed discussion, see chapter 1.3.

Lakatamia [123] and the Panagia in Nicosia [156], or Saint Nicholas in Famagusta [70] were not erected according to a consistent, regular plan with a central nave and two aisles. In contrast, the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta, probably a Nestorian foundation, does not find mention due to the lack of a dome – although it does not only resemble Saint George of the Greeks stylistically, as has been shown before, but also typologically as a basilica with three apses.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the closest typological relative of the large Orthodox cathedral is an often ignored ruined church in the south-western quarter of the city, known as the 'Unidentified Church No.18' since Camille Enlart [76].²⁰¹ Only the western and eastern ends are preserved of this very short and wide building, but the apses and springers of the nave arches prove that it had three naves. An old photograph, taken by Enlart in 1896, shows the building in a better state of preservation.²⁰² Not only is a segment of a polygonal dome drum visible, but also a clerestory wall with a window inserted in it. What we can reconstruct is a church of two bays length with a dome placed centrally above half of each of the bays, a barrel vault for the rest of the nave, and groin vaults in the aisles.²⁰³ The three apses as well as the dome above the clerestory remind strongly of the disposition in Saint George.²⁰⁴ However, maybe due to an oddly shaped plot of land, this church was much shorter, so that the dome could not be positioned above a central bay – again a unique solution. The original layout of a few more ruined buildings on the island is completely unclear. Saint George in Tala [LIX], in particular, seems to have been of some importance, but today only the outlines of the three western doorways remain within a recently rebuilt structure.

Of the preserved or only partly ruined buildings, none other made use of a clerestory – so in fact we should not speak of 'domed basilicas', as research has done previously. The two largest buildings – the katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery near Tala [222] and Saint Mamas in Morfou [149], both of the 16th century – have often been linked to Saint George, but as Papacostas has already demonstrated, the typological

²⁰⁰ See chapter 4.3 for a detailed comparison of both structures.

²⁰¹ Enlart 1899, p 385–386 [Enlart 1987, p 298–299].

²⁰² De Vaivre 2012, p 181.

²⁰³ See in detail also Kaffenberger forthcoming-f for the reconstruction of the church.

²⁰⁴ De Vaivre 2012, p 180, supposes the existence of three bays, but the foundation of only one central pier in the southern arcade betrays otherwise.

differences are more evident than the similarities.²⁰⁵ Both churches possess three naves and a dome, but only the central nave ends in an apse. The lack of a clerestory and the use of a tiled roof creates a very cubic, block-like impression on the exterior, which rather shows some closeness to the late dome-hall churches and not to Saint George. Moreover, the interior structure is completely different. While Saint George used a system of round piers and supports in the elevation, the Neofytos Katholikon and Morfou treat the arcade and the vaults as independent units. The arcades are rather low and rest on slender columns. Above, the church is barrel-vaulted, with the exception of the dome, which rests on the ends of the adjoining barrel vaults and the arcade wall. No accented arches have been included in the system, so the strong interconnection between ground plan, elevation and vaults that had characterized the 14th century buildings in Famagusta, is relinquished here.

A third church, which was often associated with the Morfou-Neofytos-group, is the 16th century Archangel Trypiotes in Nicosia [153].²⁰⁶ It follows a similar interior layout, but is wider, less high and does not share the block-like exterior, an impression, which is created by the lack of a unitary tiled roof. Moreover, instead of a semicircular apse, it exhibits a five-sided polygonal one, similar to that of the small Holy Cross of Missiricou church nearby [154]. However, while the east front of the latter is quite similar to the Trypiotes church, the typology and the vaults are rather uncommon. While the building is three bays wide, it is extremely short – structurally a dome-hall rotated by 90°, with the dome resting on the central bay. The dome, which is underpinned by pronounced arches on half columns, visualizes the canopy-like idea of the domed bay alluded to above. The adjoining bays are groin-vaulted and underline the different morphological background of this peculiar monument.

A stronger link to the church in Morfou is visible in the case of the large Saint Marina church in Potamiou [189], which is firmly dated to 1551 through an inscription over the southern portal.²⁰⁷ Curiously, this prominent building has been almost

²⁰⁵ Papacostas 2010a.

²⁰⁶ See chapter 6.4 for further thoughts on the remarkable display of spolia in the exterior walls of the church.

²⁰⁷ The inscription could obviously be a later addition, but the general style of the building is quite coherent with this early 16th century date. See also chapter 5.2.3 for a discussion of such dates as evidence for the time of erection of a church.

completely overlooked by scholarship.²⁰⁸ It will be discussed in detail within the context of the exceptional sculptural decoration of the portals, but also the typology is remarkable. It is comparable to Morfou and Neofytos in the closed, cubic shape (even if enlivened by the lateral gables) and the use of a pitched roof. The single eastern apse is polygonal, as in Nicosia. The main difference is the presence of a transept under the dome – perhaps a late hybrid of the cross-in-square and hall church types.

There is also a significant number of churches, which follow Saint George in the use of triple apses – most notably the unfinished church in Agios Sozomenos [16] and Saint Charalambos in Trimithi [234]. Both buildings had remained unfinished due to the Ottoman conquest of 1571, but their fate was significantly different afterwards. The church in Trimithi was completed with the erection of a vault in the 1910s, but this restoration wiped away all signs of the original interior division. Only the three semicircular apses and six columns, still seen by Camille Enlart, indicate the original intention of a tripartite naos. In contrast, the church of Agios Sozomenos never underwent any attempt at finishing the building. Since Enlart's visit in 1896, around half of the fabric surviving until then has vanished, but the originally intended vaulting system is still well perceivable. Erected over an almost square plan with three naves of three bays each, the church was supposed to be surmounted by a central dome. The domed bay is slightly raised and would have dominated the building, if finished. For the aisles we can assume barrel vaults, even if no traces are visible today.²⁰⁹ We will come back below to the close connections with Saint George of the Greeks, but for the question of the typology, a comparison with the peculiar church of Saint Catherine in Kritou Tera [223] is of some benefit.²¹⁰ Even if the general appearance differs profoundly, due to the use of roughly cut dressed stones instead of ashlar masonry, the basic type is somewhat comparable. It is a building of one nave and two aisles with three apses, a central dome and barrel vaults in the aisles – and a unique narthex with three domes. However, the interior seems not to have been based on other three-aisled structural concepts. The main nave, unlike in Agios Sozomenos, appears as a dome-hall structure of the later type, with the dome resting directly on the nave walls (without

²⁰⁸ Recently only commented on by Papacostas 2016.

²⁰⁹ For the reconstruction of the original concept see Kaffenberger forthcoming-a and chapter 6.3.

²¹⁰ The building has been heavily restored after severe earthquake damage, but the rebuilding seems to have been faithful.

formerets) – an indication for a late 15th or 16th century date. In contrast to the nearby Neofytos Katholikon, there is no continuous arcade; instead, the main nave connects with the aisles through three independent, small archways. Another unusual trait of the church is a mismatching alignment of the naves and the apses, which stand a couple of cm further south. This, together with irregularities in the lateral walls, may well indicate a later rebuilding of the inner structure of the church.²¹¹ If we bring this evidence together with the ruined church of Saint Hilarion in Episkopi near Pafos – probably a building of the 12th or 13th century – it might be possible to define the original typology: a barrel-vaulted church of three naves without a dome. This was then adapted to a more modern type during the Venetian reign.

The transformation and adaption of churches to changing taste and use was a very common procedure in Cyprus (as elsewhere), as will be discussed in more detail below. In a few occasions, these transformations were undertaken in order to create a structure resembling a basilica or hall church through the addition of aisles to an original single nave building. The church of the Panagia in the deserted medieval village of Trapeza [231], near Famagusta, is one remarkable example, to which we will come back below. Even if its complicated construction history interferes with a clearly visible typology, a certain proximity especially of the exterior to buildings such as the Trypiotes-church in Nicosia is undeniable.

The revival of the multi-aisled scheme after it largely fell into disuse in the middle Byzantine period was probably triggered by the Latin impact on local architecture. However, only a few churches bear a typological resemblance to those key monuments, while most indicate a rather indirect influence. With the presence of this type on the island, it became once more an option for ecclesiastical architecture. Nevertheless, except for the Morfou-Neofytos-group, most structures with more than one nave were erected according to innovative, singular concepts.

²¹¹ It is problematic to verify this theory on site today, as the apses were among the most heavily damaged parts of the building.

3.2 DECORATING THE BUILDINGS: ELEMENTS OF DESIGN AND TECHNIQUE

In the attempt to analyse and organize the manifold churches erected in Cyprus in the late Middle Ages, it cannot suffice to group them according to a typology. This chapter on elements of design and technique intends to elaborate systematically on questions of fabric, decoration and vaulting systems, which have been mentioned above already.

3.2.1 Ashlar vs. rubble – the fabric

While not strictly an element of design, the choice of the material strongly contributes to the overall appearance of a church.²¹² Building materials often depend on their local availability, as their transport was usually a costly endeavour. This makes them an important factor for the analysis of connections or borders between cultural landscapes. Furthermore, the material can define the execution of decorative elements such as portals and windows, as certain materials are easier, others harder to work. In cases, there can also be an interdependence between the material and the building type – especially as a result of different weight and stability of materials.

As mentioned above, during Late Antiquity churches in Cyprus were constructed from roughly hewn stones or, occasionally, larger ashlar blocks, with a wooden ceiling or an open roof. Wooden arcades or colonnades in basilicas such as Soli testify to the important role of timber in church building. With the introduction of masonry vaults in the middle Byzantine period, timber fell into disuse as building material. After the Latin conquest, it was reintroduced but its use remained restricted to the construction of roofs in the mountainous region of the Troodos.²¹³

In all other regions, stone building remained the standard. However, the type and usage of the stone material could differ profoundly. The majority of churches is constructed from different varieties of limestone – ranging from grey to yellow in

²¹² For a review of building materials in medieval Cyprus see Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, p 223–251.

²¹³ On the timber roof churches most recently Maravelaki, Prokopiou 1997; Feraios 1999.

colour.²¹⁴ In many cases, the building technique is rather unsophisticated, using roughly hewn stones and rubble to fill the large joints. At the same time, the tradition of ashlar building – which did not cease during the Middle Byzantine period – continues throughout the whole later Middle Ages. This is not surprising, considering the dominance of ashlar building as well in the Crusader states as in the West during these centuries. Nevertheless, while the influence of these western building ideas might have revived the tradition, ashlar buildings are not restricted to the urban areas. Ashlar buildings can be found in every region of the island, differing as well in size as in sophistication.²¹⁵ Large ashlar churches include, among many others, Saint George in Avgorou [47], in the south-east of the island, the Panagia of Lysos [134] in the west or Saint Mamas in Morfou [149] in the north-west. Slightly less common are small churches made entirely from ashlar, such as the first phase of the Panagia in Elea [63] in the north-west or Saint John Prodromos between Patriki and Gastria [85] in the north-east.

In many cases, the builders chose a combination of neatly constructed dressed stone parts, usually comprising the building corners, portals and windows, and rubble walls, which then could be plastered over. The advantage of this combination is obvious: purchasing ashlar from a quarry was more expensive than using rubble and field stones that could be broken on site. The latter, however, were not usable for decorative purposes. The small church of Saint Anthony in Masari [143] provides a good example for the partial use of ashlar: here, only the western façade and the buttresses are made from ashlar, while the other walls and apse consist of rubble of poorest quality, which certainly used to be plastered since the time when the building was erected. Combining ashlar and rubble walls, again, was not restricted to such small-scale buildings, as is for example shown by the Panagia tou Sindi church (mid-16th century) [173]. The large, generally rather sophisticated building only employs ashlar on each corner and dressed stones for the portals and the windows. This method was certainly cost efficient and in addition less prone to building errors, as no experienced stone mason had to be on site to oversee the setting of the interlocking ashlar layers.

²¹⁴ The most common material in medieval Cypriot architecture is a stone, which shares features of sandstone and limestone. If referring to limestone subsequently, this includes this variation of sandstone. Further chemical analysis and expert research would be required to define precisely the material properties of every discussed church building.

²¹⁵ Before 1191, a concentration of ashlar buildings could be found along the northern coast.

In addition to these practical reasons, the combination of techniques could also be used as a decorative concept.

Occasionally, the fabric contains stones of volcanic origin such as basalt. These stones are usually darker than lime- or sandstone and would create, if solely used for the wall filling, a colour contrast. The most prominent example for this is the so-called royal chapel in Pyrga (15th century) [A.51], but also Saint Eftychios in Mathiatis [144] nearby and Saint Nicholas in Galataria [83], in the south-west make use of the same concept, the latter only employing bright limestone for the two doorways.²¹⁶ Only rarely did the builders make use of the specific structural qualities of these other stone materials: while much harder to dress, the stability of volcanic material is superior to that of most limestone. In Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69], the door hinges of the large western portals were made of basalt, thus guaranteeing a much higher durability of these heavily used stones. Nevertheless, this intelligent solution remained an exception. The occasional use of single basalt stones in few buildings such as the Panagia tou Sindi, in contrast, is purely coincidental and indicates a gathering of building materials in the vicinity – in this case probably from the riverbed of the nearby Xeros river.

Other commonly widespread materials, such as marble and brick, are usually not used in the late medieval churches of Cyprus. In the case of marble, there are no natural sources on the island. An import was obviously not deemed worth the expenses – except for a short period in Late Antiquity. Thus, if we encounter marble elements in late medieval buildings in Cyprus today, they came there as *spolia* or during later restorations.²¹⁷ Brick on the other hand only made few appearances in the middle Byzantine period before being widely abandoned again as building material.²¹⁸

When discussing building materials, iron should at least be mentioned. In the Gothic architecture of central Europe, iron beams were important means to tie buildings with ever increasing window surfaces together. Yioutani-Iacovides refers very briefly to the usage of “metal” in Venetian buildings, but does not mention a specific

²¹⁶ In Pyrga, the sandstone proved to be much weaker than the roughly cut material of the walls, so most of it had to be replaced in the beginning of the 20th century due to heavy water damage (De Vaivre 2006b).

²¹⁷ On the question of spoliation see chapter 6.4.

²¹⁸ We find single bricks in the upper parts of Saint Marina in Potamiou, but they are placed randomly and are too few in number to be considered a purposeful element of building.

building except for the Famagusta Walls.²¹⁹ Indeed, there is evidence for the usage of iron in the late 15th century building phase of Saint George of the Greeks, during which pier enforcements held together by small iron clamps were constructed. This technological finesse is only visible due to the ruinous state of the church, so the use of iron clamps might in fact be more widespread among the still standing buildings.

3.2.2 Apses, buttresses – varying structural elements

In general, apses and buttresses appeared as elements, which followed rather additive principles: they could be placed on a building without being integrated into the design. Thus, if they are barely discussed in the same chapter, this refers mainly to their aesthetic roles and less to the evidently differing structural function.

The standard shape for apses in late medieval Cypriot church architecture was, as during the centuries before, semicircular on the inside as well as on the outside. The occurrence of horseshoe-shaped apses (only on the inside) is restricted to very few examples such as the northern apse of Saint John in Lapathos [124]. Nevertheless, the usual shape was occasionally varied. Polygonal apses, mainly three-sided (in the proportions of a 3/8-polygon), can be found in numerous places. Remarkable examples are the otherwise very simple churches of the Archangel Michael in Prastio (Diarizos valley) [192], or Saint Mikallou in Akanthou [22]. The unusual type of a five-sided polygonal apse was rarely used before the Ottoman period: Saint Elizabeth in Agios Amvrosios [9] shows probably the most modest example among them, the churches known as 'Tanners' Mosque' [75] and 'Mustafa Paşa Mosque' [74] in Famagusta two of the richest (here a 5/12-polygon). The latter is also one of only two buildings, where the apse received a polygonal design on the inside [74.7], the other being the Greek cathedral in Nicosia [156.30]. In both (perhaps related) cases, the inner apse faces are separated by shafts, which in Nicosia carry a ribbed vault, in Famagusta end in an horizontal string course. A seven-sided apse can only be found in Parekklesia [170], where it is one of the many incentive but rather clumsy attempts of the building

²¹⁹ Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, p 250. – She bases her idea on Enlart's statement that timber and metal was imported to Cyprus for the maintaining of the Famagusta Walls – see Enlart 1899, p 612 [Enlart 1987, p 447].

to create a particularly decorative appearance. Overall, the apse shape seems to have been related to purely individual choices based on aesthetic criteria. The only consistency, which one might deduct, is the lack of polygonal apse shapes in the Greek 14th century buildings of Famagusta (with a predominance of polygonal apses in the Latin architecture). It is likely that, as will be discussed below in chapter 4, the polygonal apse shape was only introduced into Greek church architecture in the 15th century, for example with the Panagia Stazousa [105] and can thus serve as a dating criterion.

Other variations of the outside design rather answered to static needs: either additional wall layers, respectively strengthened lower courses of the walls, or buttresses were added to the main typological concept. Near Alektora, in the now deserted hamlet Lakkos tou Vragkou, stands the church of Saint George [31], which generally belongs to the described standard type of a single nave church, but shows a step on half-level all around the outer walls. This additional mass of wall functions as a sort of continuous abutment to avoid the structural damage caused by the lateral forces of a barrel vault. While a number of churches displays this concept, which enables to maintain plain outer and inner walls through an increase of the wall strength, a more conventional concept to strengthen the stability of the structures is a buttress system. Simple buttresses can be found as later additions, reacting to previous damage, but also, in numerous slightly more elaborate buildings, as part of the initial plan. Usually, they correspond to the interior division of the church and are placed in the same axis as the transversal arches of the vault inside.²²⁰ This very basic but systematic approach can be seen in an undisturbed way in Askeia, where the church of Saint John [44] possesses two buttresses on each side, flanking the respective portals and thus even functioning as additional decorative elements. In Orounda [161], we see the same concept applied to a dome-hall structure. Here, the drip moulds on half-level and on the sloped top of the buttresses leave little doubt that by that time (the 16th century), the Latin models had been fused with the much simpler local types and indeed become a valid element of exterior decoration. The entirely plain exteriors of other churches of the period indicated, nevertheless, that this was not a chronological development, but that both

²²⁰ However, this systematic approach is not respected everywhere – for example, the Panagia in Pyrgos [199] with a single buttress placed exactly in between the inner transversal arches.

options existed parallelly. Thus, an evaluation of the role of buttresses is always connected to the specific circumstances of a building.

Flying buttresses, as introduced by the Gothic choir of Nicosia cathedral in the 13th century, did not make a significant appearance in the Greek architecture of Cyprus. Saint George of the Greeks used flying buttresses for the clerestory, while the aisle walls reached a thickness of 1,4 m in order to avoid the necessity of interrupting them with any kind of abutment [69.43]. The use of the buttressing on the clerestory level was certainly inspired by the neighbouring Latin cathedral, but served rather decorative functions: the arches abutted the top of the wall, more or less on the level of the vault keystones, whereas the main lateral force would have required much lower flying buttresses. Other than this, no systematic open buttressing was used. Single flying buttresses appeared throughout the island as later, additional strengthening of structurally damaged buildings such as the Panagia Melandrina [7] on the north coast or the church of Agios Sergios near Famagusta [13]. They are far from being decorative elements and are usually very large and heavy.

3.2.3 Portals

The most elaborate exterior elements of design applied in late medieval Cypriot churches are usually the portals.²²¹ They can be an important marker of stylistic distinctiveness and development, as will be discussed in more detail further below, in particular in chapters 4.2 and 5.2.3.²²² Nevertheless, it seems necessary to first give an overview of the general portal types, as they remain in use throughout the whole period of Latin rule in Cyprus, often independent of their respective stylistic execution.

Portals were a central concern in medieval architecture, as they marked the threshold between the 'world' and the sacred space.²²³ In consequence, portals tend to be the most richly decorated part of a church building – this is at least true for Cyprus in

²²¹ A more exhaustive survey of Cypriot medieval church portals is in preparation by the author.

²²² See in particular chapters 4.2 and 5.2

²²³ Evidently, the actual circumstances were more complex than this simplified statement suggests, and the church space subdivided in a multitude of different functional entities, forming out a number of other such thresholds. General thoughts on this extensive field of studies collected in Gerstel 2006b.

the 14th to 16th centuries.²²⁴ While in Late Antiquity, portals were occasionally framed with marble profiles, the subsequent centuries seem not to have developed a specific interest in portal decoration. The evidence is, however, scarce, as portals – as well as windows – were prone to destruction or later changes: their replacement was an easy, cost effective and visible way to improve or modernize a building.²²⁵ The few preserved more elaborate portals from the middle Byzantine period are all rather similar in shape. A rectangular doorway with a large monolithic lintel is surmounted by an arched recess, occasionally containing a window, approximately as wide as the doorway below. Examples of this type can be found at the Saint Sergios Church in Agios Symeon [A.52], with a very shallow recess at the Saint Mavra church in Rizokarpaso, or, with a stepped frame around the recess, at the old Holy Cross Monastery in Anogyra [32] and Saint Filon in the deserted settlement of Agridia [205].²²⁶ In the first century after the Latin conquest, this concept was only gradually developed. The previously discussed church of Saint Demetrianos near Potamia still shows a rectangular doorframe and an arched recess above, here separated by a wooden lintel.²²⁷

A diversification of portal forms was only achieved towards the end of the 13th century under the influence of the Latin architecture. Probably one of the oldest preserved portals of this period is the northern portal of the Latin cathedral in Nicosia.²²⁸ In its core, it also consists of a rectangular doorway with an arched recess above the lintel. However, the rectangular doorway is stepped and framed by slender columns, which in turn carry directly the outer arch of the also stepped recess. Both arches are profiled and covered by a hood mould protruding from the wall surface. Apart from the decorative value, this portal type differs from the described simple standard models in two ways. Firstly, it creates a depth by stepping the doorway, which before was a simple opening in the wall surface. Secondly, it links the bottom and top part by connecting the columns and the outer archivolt, which, unlike the inner archivolt does not rest on the lintel. It is not the place here to discuss the countless later

²²⁴ For the similar case of Crete see Georgopoulou 2013, esp. p 468, 474, 480.

²²⁵ One of numerous examples is the church of Saint Nicholas in Chlorakas [53]. For the general practice of building modernization see chapter 3.3.

²²⁶ Agios Symeon: Papacostas 1999, II, p 71; Papageorgiou 2010, p 31–33. Rizokarpaso: Papacostas 1999, II, p 59–60; Papageorgiou 2010, p 343–348 – There are a handful more churches with pre-1191 portals, which in general confirm the presented evidence.

²²⁷ For this church see also chapter 2.4.

²²⁸ Olympios 2009a.

stylistic variations of portals in the Cypriot churches, but rather to underline the impact that these basic ideas of structuring a portal had on the diversity of employed types of portals for the Greek churches of the island.

Especially within the sphere of the urban centres, numerous stepped portals with archivolts were created – with or without columns and using various types of decoration and arch profiles. The most prominent examples are unsurprisingly from Famagusta, where the lateral western entrances of Saint George of the Greeks [69.30–34] show stepped portals with ‘columns’, even if these are not monolithic entities placed within the steps, but formed as part of the door-jamb ashlars. The door-jambs carry capitals, which correspond to the archivolts above. The outer archivolt is covered by a slightly protruding hood mould, so in their structural peculiarities, these portals resemble the Latin models quite strongly. Variations of this portal type are especially common within the walls of Famagusta: they can be found at the Nestorian church of Saints Peter and Paul [A.88], the Unidentified Churches No 17, No 18 [76] and No 19 [74] and the so-called Tanners’ Mosque [75], perhaps originally also adorning the Carmelite church and that of Saint Anne.²²⁹ Outside of Famagusta, only few examples survive, the most prominent ones being the southern portal of Saint Luke in Spathariko [215.3], the western doorway of Saint George in Vatili [238.2] and the main portal of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149.12].

A reduced version of this portal type was in use considerably more frequently. Instead of the stepped door-jambs with columns, this reduced version features a vertically profiled door-jamb, which is usually only crowned by a single archivolt with hood mould. With the general reduction of the type also the use of a stone tympanum was given up, which made this variation especially suitable for smaller scale buildings: it increased the height of the door opening by approximately one third. The portals of the Panagia Iamatiki in Arakapas [35], which features late, very simple examples of this type, shows that a fundamental variation in size can be achieved without changing the specific design. Here, the lateral portals are not taller than 3 m, while the main entrance is approximately 5 m high, but maintains the same basic design. Furthermore, the independence of the jamb profile and the archivolt, which are separated by a horizontal

²²⁹ For Saints Peter and Paul and its portals see in detail chapter 4.3.

impost, allowed for an uncomplicated, almost modular variation of profiles and mouldings. Nevertheless, creative solutions with innovative designs – such as the northern portal of Saint Luke in Klepini [107.6] or the south-western portal of the Chrysaliniotissa church in Nicosia [155.7] – remained the exception. More often, a further reduction produced simple, unprofiled jambs and archivolt, with the horizontal impost remaining the only decorated element of the doorway. Saint Nicholas in Galataria [83] possesses two excellent examples of this simplified variation, even if the western portal has chamfered doorjambs with small cone-and-sphere decorations and thus indicates a certain level of training of the responsible stonemason.

A second portal type inspired by the new Latin buildings is most prominently displayed at the old church of Saint Epifanios [68], which received a stepped southern portal without columns, crowned by archivolt. This was followed by two slightly later stepped portals in the west, which were both crowned by large protruding outer archivolt on corbels. A similar design can be found at the south-western portal of Saint Nicholas of the Greeks [70.5], in Famagusta as well, where the inner archivolt is replaced by a large, plain tympanum.²³⁰ This is interesting from a functional point of view: the tympanum was in many cases adorned with a painting of the patron saint of the church, so increasing its surface allowed for a larger painting.²³¹ At the same time the use of the protruding outer archivolt could protect the painting more efficient than a simply recessed niche.

Reduced variations of this type are widespread. In cases such as Saint George Terratsiotis in Avgorou [47] or Saint Mamas in Sotira [210], the portals are not stepped anymore, but preserve the idea of the protruding arch, which rests on corbels. This type of hood mould shelters the tympanum, which also includes the lintel. The actual doorway below is independent of the superstructure and usually rectangular with decorated corbels carrying the lintel. This simplified type can also be seen as a variation of the traditional portal type that combines a rectangular doorway with an arched

²³⁰ This portal was in a heavily decayed state by the early 20th century, but its restoration, commissioned by Theophilus Mogabgab in the 1930s can be considered faithful to the original.

²³¹ Due to the exposure to rain and sun, not many of these painted tympana are preserved. Prominent earlier examples are the Panagia Arakiotissa in Lagoudera from the 12th century or the Latin church of Saint Anne in Famagusta from the 14th century. The tympana of the church in Klavdia [106] (16th century), are both decorated, with the Panagia and the lion of Saint Mark respectively. In many cases, only scarce plaster fragments testify to the original presence of a painting.

recess. This type remains in use throughout the Latin period, as examples like the southern portal of the church of Saint John in Askeia [44] show.

The idea of a rectangular doorway, independent from the superimposed (framed) tympanum is again present in a number of later, 16th century portals, which combine ideas of several portal types. In these examples, the profiled door-jamb is maintained but does not end in an impost, as in the simple variations of the first type presented above. Instead, it continues on the lintel horizontally and connects the two door-jamb. ²³² The most prominent examples for these 'framed' doorways are those of the Saint Marina church in Potamiou [189], which will be discussed in the light of the overall stylistic development in detail below. In most cases, these doorways possess corbels, which somehow contradict the overall aesthetic principle, as they underline the presence of a separate lintel instead of obscuring it. Archivolts or recesses framed by a rich profile are the standard for this portal type as well. Nevertheless, due to the artistic independence of the two modules – doorway and the recess with archivolt / hood mould –, the latter are an optional feature. In Potamiou, for example, the southwestern portal does not have a recess or archivolts above the lintel; instead, the place is occupied by a rectangular window. Other examples, such as the doorways of the small church of Saint George in Alektora / Lakkos tou Vragkou [31] indicate that the use of elaborately framed rectangular doorways without a niche or archivolts above was in use for smaller countryside churches as well. Again, this variation could be interpreted as both a simplified version of the rectangular doorway / arched recess type, or an elaborate rendition of the traditional, undistinguished rectangular doorway. The latter remains in use throughout the Latin period in Cyprus as the most basic, unsophisticated means of creating an access to the church – be it entirely undistinguished or, in few examples such as Agrokipia [20], with a chamfered frame.

Finally, another – rather infrequent – portal type has to be mentioned. Its origins lie among the portals of the new 14th century Latin churches, but unlike for the stepped-columned portals, which are deeply rooted in western Romanesque traditions, their structure is genuinely Gothic in its origin. The portals are formed by a pointed arch with a continuous framing profile. There are neither imposts nor stepped archivolts – instead

²³² On the question of the rectangular framing and the roots of this model in the Venetian architecture see chapter 5.2.

the depth of the portal is created via an uninterrupted sequence of mouldings. The most prominent examples of this type can be found at the lateral western portals of the Latin cathedral in Famagusta. In Greek churches, portals of this type were only used in few exceptional cases, probably all going back to the central western doorway of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta. This large portal is probably one of the most elegant and well-proportioned creations of the Greek church architecture on the island. Almost 9 m high, the frame is created by an almost austere, deep triple sequence of pear-shape mouldings. The hood mould contrasts the simple, geometric approach of the portal itself with a dense floral ornament. Unfortunately, the tympanum area is destroyed, so it is not clear if the elaborate tracery of the Latin cathedral had been copied, replaced by masonry, or left empty altogether.

It is not surprising that this portal, the main entrance into the most elaborate Greek church of the island, remained unmatched in scale and sophistication. It is unusual, however, that the number of derivatives is rather small: only the two tiny lateral doorways of Saint Savvas tis Karonos [193.10–11] and the western portal of the Neofytos Katholikon [222.6] copy the idea of the sequenced profile and covering hood mould.²³³ The western portal of Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161] already varies the idea by giving up the sequence of the framing profile but maintains a hood mould. While this indicates that there is still a certain sense for sophistication, most similar doorways are lacking the hood mould and only make use of a single bead-mould or chamfered edges as only decoration. As for all simplified portal types, numbers are higher than for the more elaborate examples, especially in the more rural areas: the southern portal of the Pangaia church in Makrasyka [137], with a bead-mould; the Panagia in Geri [87], with chamfered door jambs; the chapel of Saint Luke in Arnadi [41].

All in all, there are a handful of buildings that underline the idea of a modular application of portal types, in that they employ more than one specific portal type. Most prominently, the western façade of Saint George of the Greeks is pierced by two lateral, stepped columned portals with capitals, tympanum and archivolts, while the central portal was framed by a continuous profile without imposts. The monastic church of

²³³ While the church of Saint Savvas itself seems to have been rebuilt in the 18th century, the doorways are certainly of the previous building accomplished in the 16th century and commemorated in the inscription above the western portal.

Saint Savvas tis Karonos used the latter type for the lateral entrances, while the main doorway is rectangular, framed by a profile and possesses a separate arched recess above. But also modest, rural churches frequently use this method of variation: the Panagia Pallouriotissa near Pyroi [201], for example, has a pointed western doorway with chamfered jambs, while the northern entrance, rectangular with an arched recess above the massive lintel, shows a more ancient and basic concept. These last examples, as well as the types and variations presented above, underline the large portfolio of more or less contemporaneously used portal types.

3.2.4 Windows

While the same statement could be made for windows, their general level of elaboration and decorativeness is lower. The large majority of Greek churches, especially outside of the urban centres, follows different lighting priorities than their Latin counterparts. The small scale churches are usually only lit through the doorways and a simple rectangular window in the apse, occasionally with a counterpart in the western wall. Wall surfaces were instead rather used for extensive painting cycles, which oftentimes allocate a secondary role to the window design. Churches such as Saint George near Alektora [31] or Saint George Komanon near Mesana [146], which each possess rather elaborate doorways but only one simple window, show that this subordinate role of windows was neither necessarily a sign of an unsophisticated or 'poor' design nor restricted to small scale churches. While most of these undistinguished windows appear as simple rectangular slits, undecorated arched windows can be found in many places as well.

Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of examples, which indicate attempts to decorate the small single windows in a number of different ways. The simplest type of modestly decorated rectangular windows makes use of a small blind arch carved on the lintel of the window. This blind arch could be round (Saint John near Gastria [85]), mitred (Saint Catherine in Tala [221.5]), pointed (Saint Barbara near Agia Napa [5.2]), cusped (Saint George of Terratsiotis near Avgorou [47], so-called Tanners' Mosque in Famagusta [75.4]) or ogee shaped (Saint Anthony in Kellia [98.5]).

The unframed mitred dome windows of, among others, Saint Mamas in Sotira [210] and Saint Epifanios in Famagusta [68] stand for an unusual way of applying certain decorativeness to the windows.²³⁴ More common, however, is a simple framing of the window, be this with chamfered edges or a single roll moulding. Chamfered rectangular windows can for example be found at the Saint Nicholas Monastery on the Akrotiri Peninsula [28] or the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123.6] (northern apse). The southern apse in Lakatamia, in contrast, shows rectangular windows with a rather elaborate roll moulding – simpler specimen are the apse windows of Saint Marina in Potamiou [189] or Saint John in Askeia [44].

These two variations also apply to arched windows (pointed as well as rounded), which are almost always decorated at least in a simple way. Examples for chamfered, arched windows range from modestly sized (for example Saint George in Vrysoulles [241]) to rather large (katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery [222], Saint Mamas in Morfou [149]). In Orounda [161], the chamfers of the lower southern windows end in a small dogtooth motif. A special variation directly deriving from Latin buildings are the large windows of the Panagia Stazousa church [105], which have two deep chamfers separated by a small step.²³⁵ Profiled arched windows are not as common, but examples can be found surprisingly frequently throughout the island: Saint Mamas in Dali [59.11] has an apse window with an elaborate pear-shape moulding, other buildings such as Saint Eulalios in Lapithos [127], Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161] or the Melandrina Monastery [7] make use of a roll and hollow moulding.

Several churches combine arched windows of all variations with an adjoining hood mould: the Tanners' Mosque in Famagusta [75], the Panagia tou Sindi [173] and Panagia Stazousa [105], or the Archangel-church in Kokkinotrimithia [108], to name only a few elaborate examples. Undoubtedly, the most important windows with hood mould are the clerestory and aisle windows of Saint George of the Greeks [69.12–15]. Just like the whole church, they exceed every other Greek church window in Cyprus in size, sophistication and decorativeness. They possess deep profiles, a complex

²³⁴ See also chapter 4.5 for the question of the dissemination of this motif.

²³⁵ The only other example for this type used for a Greek church is the main apse windows of Saint Anthony in Kellia [98].

sequence of hollows and rolls, and large openings that are filled with a complex tracery.²³⁶

The use of tracery in arched windows is extremely rare on the island. In the urban centre of Famagusta, the smaller non-Latin churches occasionally make use of cusped arches, as the simplest form of tracery. This can still be seen in the Tanners' mosque [75.18] and reliably reconstructed for the central nave window of Unidentified Church No 18 [76.3]. Outside of Famagusta, only four cases are recorded. The northern transept window of Saint Anthony in Kellia [98.3] as well as the (reconstructed) narthex windows of the Panagia Stazousa are formed by short cusped lancets, while the apse window of the Panagia Ambelikiotissa near Kapileio [93.2–4] is composed of two lancets, which were once probably crowned by a circle or tre-/quatrefoil. The most remarkable occurrence of window tracery is the walled up apse window of the Panagia in Lysos [134], which is composed of two cusped lancets, crowned by a trefoil. A steep, pitched hood mould covers the outer, pointed arch of the window.

In addition to the windows with tracery, there are a few other creative and unique variations of the common window types. Saint Nicholas in Famagusta [70] possesses an arched apse window with a roll profile, which is framed by a rectangle and covered by a small architrave above. A profiled windowsill can be found at Saint George in Potami [187.9], where the rather elaborate profile consisting of a cavetto and two rolls as well as the hood mould might be a result of the fact that in this case the apse was oriented towards the village, thus functioning as main façade.

Two last groups of windows have to be mentioned: grouped windows and oculi. Grouped windows such as *biforia* and *triforia* are, with around ten occurrences after 1300, not unknown in Cypriot architecture. These should rather be considered as isolated, inventive phenomena, due to their profoundly varied design. The pair of simple, tiny round arched windows in Ornithi [160] and the chamfered, pointed window triplet of Saint George in Akrotiri [27] are the most modest examples.²³⁷ Also the apse window of Saint Nicholas in Koma tou Gialou [111.3] does not show any profiles or

²³⁶ For a discussion of the Latin models for this window type see chapter 4.3.

²³⁷ Even if the case of Saint George in Akrotiri might be seen as three independent windows, the use of a common lintel for all three lancets underlines the idea of a grouped window – unlike the three apse windows of Saint James in Trikomo [233], which, even if sharing central jambs, do not show the same feature.

ornamental decoration. Nevertheless, the blind pointed arch, which embraces the *biforium*, remotely alludes to the idea of a larger, tracery filled window. This idea is presented in a more concise way by the western window of Saint Marina in Potamiou [189.11], which is composed of a profiled arched window frame and filled by two lancets on an octagonal central jamb. In contrast, the western window of the 'Mustafa Paşa Mosque' in Famagusta is a genuine biforate window, employing a slender central column and a hood mould that follows the double pointed arch. Of the same type, but considerably more elaborate in detail is the western window of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149.11], a triforate window with richly profiled lateral jambs and archivolt as well as spoliated marble columns. While this is one of the most elegant Cypriot church windows, the most inventive specimen can be found in Parekklesia [170.3]: there the central apse window is a *biforium* with a stepped outer arch, insinuating a hood mould ending in a crude *fleur-de-lis*. The central post is octagonal and covered in a line pattern attempting to replicate a twisted column.

Oculi, in turn, are more numerous and less varied. They are closely connected with Latin building traditions, as is shown by the example of the Latin chapel built alongside the Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti in around 1300.²³⁸ There, the oculus is surrounded by a dogtooth moulding and filled with a cusped quatrefoil. The latter seems to have been a standard tracery filling for most medieval oculi, as is indicated by the examples of the Panagia Melandrina [7], Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161] and the Unidentified Church No 19 in Famagusta [76]. Only the oculus in the northern portal gable of the Greek cathedral in Nicosia [156.20] possesses a more elaborate, curvilinear tracery – which is, in all its decorativeness, rather clumsy in execution and betrays the lack of experience with motifs such as this.²³⁹ A larger number of oculi are today filled with a rich variation of delicately decorated *transenna* – for instance a star pattern in the eastern gable oculus of Saint Mamas in Dali [59]. These are most likely not original and seem to go back to Ottoman period restorations, as is shown by numerous 17th to 19th century churches with similar elements. Other oculi entirely lost their fillings or never possessed any, even if this seems unlikely for rather elaborate buildings such as

²³⁸ Olympios 2009b, p 40–41; Olympios 2014d, p 102.

²³⁹ Olympios 2013, p 407 – The western oculus of Saint George of the Greeks was certainly filled with an elaborate tracery as well, but the scarce remains do not allow for a reconstruction.

the Panagia Stazousa [105]. The framing profiles of oculi show a large variety from simple chamfers, cone shapes to elaborate sequences of rolls and hollows.

Overall, the same modular use of window types can be stated as for portals. Nevertheless, the more elaborate types were usually assigned to a specific position on the building. Oculi almost exclusively appear in the western or eastern gables, above the main entrance or the apse. *Biforia* and *triforia*, in turn, are either used to decorate the western gable or as apse window. Generally, in the absence of nave windows, the apse window received most attention in many cases. One of the few exceptions, probably due to the size and artistic context, is Saint George of the Greeks, where the tracery-filled nave windows are much richer than the small cusped lancets in the apses. Not only the emphasis on the naos windows but also the use of different window types is uncommon: many buildings, such as the Tanners' Mosque in Famagusta, stick to a single type of window shape or at least framing profile. The example of Saint Nicholas in Orounda shows, however, that a certain variation could be purposefully employed as a means of displaying artistic proficiency. There, five different window shapes and framing profiles were used for the western oculus, the pointed lancets in the lower naos wall, the larger pointed arches in the upper naos walls, the round arched dome lancets and the rectangular apse window.

While this alternation of shapes and forms indicates an almost random process of combining elements from a general portfolio, a more systematic approach was possible as well. Saint Marina in Potamiou [189], for instance, presents a remarkable concordance of window and portal shapes. Not only are the three windows in the western and southern walls aligned with the portals – this is hardly surprising – but also do correspond to the door frame shape: a rectangle for the rectangular, south-western portal, a pointed arch for the western and southern portals with archivolts and hood moulds.

3.2.5 Vaults

Albeit much has been said on the question of vaults, supports and their interdependence with the church typology in chapter 3.1, and more on the decorative and stylistic aspects of those will be said in chapter 4 and 5, this chapter will present a

brief, more systematic review of vault types, their variations and their frequency of use. As mentioned previously, wooden roofs are rather uncommon in medieval Cyprus, with the exception of the Troodos region. While there, open truss constructions defined a somewhat indigenous, local building tradition, open trusses are virtually inexistent in other parts of the island. The few exceptions, such as the Panagia Paradisiotissa chapel near Spathariko [213], where only the transversal arches have been rebuilt as straining arches, or Saint Theodore in Agios Theodoros [18], are likely to have lost their original stone vault at a certain point in time.

Discussing the vault types of late medieval Cyprus inevitably becomes a discussion of ‘the standard’ compared with ‘the exception’. A large majority of the churches erected in this period made use of barrel vaults, in some cases interrupted by domes, while the use of groin or rib vaults remained widely restricted to the Latin urban buildings.

The most common type of barrel vault is slightly pointed and rests on a varying number of heavy transversal arches with rectangular or chamfered, very rarely roll moulded profile. The transversal arches usually spring from wall corbels, the quarter circle shape of which is rarely varied, be this through the employment of a stacked double quarter circle or (in the last century) a replacement with trapezoidal or other more ornate shapes – as an illustrative example for a relatively elaborate standard type, a building such as the Panagia Amirou [33] might suffice.²⁴⁰ Engaged piers instead of the corbels remain as an archaic element from the previous periods, but do not play any more general role. Only in exceptions, semicircular engaged piers with decorated capitals emerge, such as in Agia Napa [4] or the destroyed Khardakiotissa church in Kythrea [XXXI].

Domes are – unsurprisingly in a region, which was part of the Byzantine Empire – integral part of the local building traditions. During the late medieval period, around 70 examples of domed churches are preserved or reconstructable (so, roughly a quarter of all investigated buildings). Their role for the development of church typologies, of the

²⁴⁰ While it has been considered, if these vaults might stand in relation to French Cistercian structures such as Le Thoronet and were transferred to the Mediterranean via the monastic filiations, it is much more probable that the roots should be sought in the local architecture, enriched with decorative aspects from the Crusader context – see chapter 4.2 for further considerations.

spatial distribution of the structures, has been discussed in chapter 3.1.2 above. The precise shape of domes seems to have been chosen relatively independent from such spatial considerations. Again, variation is relatively small – in particular considering the complex types of domed vaults developed in the Mediterranean throughout the medieval period. The Cypriot domes are all developed above pendentifs (be these connected to deep dome arches or embedded into the lateral walls), which carry a drum with windows and the dome vault above. The variation of the domes almost exclusively lies in the exterior treatment of the drum: its height can be increased exteriorly, occasionally encasing much of the dome vault. The shape can be circular or polygonal on the exterior; the interior is in the majority of cases approximately round (either with or without two string courses). Only in urban Famagusta and the immediate surroundings two domes with polygonal interior are tentatively reconstructable (Saint Epifanios [68], south-western dome, and Unidentified Church 18 [76]) or preserved (Trapeza [231], western dome). Drumless domes or sail vaults, still in (infrequent) use before 1300, vanish entirely – with the exception of secondary structures such as the added porch of the Archangel Church in Frenaros [80]. Another deviation can be observed in the case of the Trypiotes Church in Nicosia [153], where a drum is developed on the exterior, which in fact only encases the lower parts of the rather steep dome vault – on the inside, the drum is omitted.

The polygonal outer shape of dome drums, occasionally considered to be only in use during the 14th century, has, as shown recently by Olympios, only secondary importance for the dating of buildings.²⁴¹ Indeed, the polygonal drum makes its first appearance among the preserved buildings in the early 14th century, as will also be discussed in chapter 4.2. Nevertheless, polygonal dome drums are well known from other areas of the Byzantine Empire from before 1300, so it is not sure if the lack of such domes before the Latin period on Cyprus is coincidental or indeed indicative of a typological restriction.²⁴² In any case, by the 14th century, the octagonal dome drum was surely added to the portfolio of available forms and remains in use until the Ottoman conquest. Again, a large majority of polygonal drums follows a rather

²⁴¹ Olympios 2014c, p 159–168. – Olympios gives an extensive, but not exhaustive list of polygonal dome drums and discusses stylistic variations as well as possible origins.

²⁴² For a number of various examples from the 10th to 12th centuries see the chapter on Middle Byzantine Greece in Bouras 2006, p 83–162.

standardized model, being octagonal and either pierced by four or eight windows (such as that of Saint Mamas in Sotira [210]. In Emba [64], a decagonal dome drum was placed over the narthex, resulting in an awkward placement of the windows off the main axis. The only dodecagonal dome drum can be found above the southern nave of the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123].

Unlike barrel vaults and domes, groin vaults did not have a central place in the pre-1191 architecture on Cyprus.²⁴³ The oldest monumental examples in the church architecture seem to be preserved in the 13th century abbey church of Bellapais (if we accept this early dating), but the certain success of this vault type in the later centuries was certainly closely linked with the developments of urban Famagusta in the early 14th century. It is here, where with Saint Epifanios [68], Saint Nicholas [70], the Tanners' Mosque [75] and the Unidentified Church No 18 [76] and the church of Trapeza [231] nearby at least five Greek churches (in addition to uncounted Latin ones and others) possessed groin vaults in the nave or the aisles. In many cases, these groin vaults are not separated by transversal arches and spring directly from engaged corner piers, forming slightly cruciform, canopy-like vaulting units. In the same region lies Saint George Terratsiotis [47], which apparently goes back to the model of Saint Epifanios.²⁴⁴ In the second urban centre, Nicosia, groin vaults were used for the aisles of the Holy Cross of Missiricou church [154] and the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123], here springing directly from the wall and possessing transversal arches. Occurrences outside of these urban centres remain rare throughout the 14th to 16th centuries. In a few occasions, such as Saint Nicholas near Davlos [60] or Saint Onoufrios near Komi Kebir [114], groin-vaulted narthexes were added onto older churches. However, apart from these, the number of rib-vaulted Greek rural churches, despite being restricted as well, is slightly larger.

Rib vaults were introduced into the portfolio of Greek church architecture with the grand cathedral Saint George in Famagusta [69].²⁴⁵ In adopting the vaulting system of the nearby Latin cathedral, the building did not, however, set a model for later Greek churches on the island. Even those churches, which refer to the cathedral, usually drop

²⁴³ On the question of groin vaults in Cyprus also Olympios 2014d, p 103–105, arguing for a 'revival' of this vault type in the mid-14th century. See also chapter 4.2.

²⁴⁴ See chapter 4.5. for the dissemination of urban models in the surrounding areas.

²⁴⁵ Some brief remarks on rib vaults in Greek churches on Cyprus in Olympios 2015b, p 423–424.

the idea of rib vaults – perhaps rather a question of means than of the prestige ascribed to the vaulting type, as the fully rib-vaulted Greek cathedral of Nicosia [156] shows. Here, even the polygonal apse received a radiating rib vault. The cathedral might have inspired the rib vaults in the western bays of Lakatamia [123], even if these are of a more classical shape and do not possess the zig-zagged transversal arches of the urban structure. The rural examples of rib vaults are topographically widespread and, for most cases, present original, independent developments. In Dali [59] and the Panagia Stazousa [105] the richly moulded ribs spring, respectively sprung, from small polygonal corbels. The same seems to be true for the largely destroyed western and eastern bays in the northern nave of the Holy Cross church in Tochni [227], here uniquely framing a (lost) central dome. A rib vault on corbels was placed above the crossing in Kouka [116], after the original dome had collapsed.²⁴⁶ The original supports of Mari [141] are uncertain, but the vault ribs had the unusual zig-zag shape known from the transversal arches in Nicosia.

As for the groin vaults, a number of examples appear in added spaces of the churches. In Lambousa, the porch of the Acheiropoietos Katholikon was developed with a rib vault resting on corbels in the east and shaft responds in the west, a singular solution. The destroyed narthex of Saint Nicholas on the Akrotiri Peninsula [28] possessed polygonal corbels; the ribs showed a simple prismatic profile. The most rustic rib vaults on the island can be found in a small annexe to the Archangel Church in Lefkoniko [131], presumably part of the original narthex, and in the chapel of the Apostle Andrew Monastery [203]. In both cases, the heavy ribs with rectangular profile emerge directly from the wall, in the latter building ending on a central pier.

Despite these special cases, which might have been more numerous considering the reported rib fragments on the sites of some destroyed churches (such as Saint George in Erimi [XVI]), the predominance of the barrel vault in all shapes and proportions is a remarkable feature of the late medieval period in Cyprus.

²⁴⁶ The parallel case in Arsos [42] might date to the same period as suggested by Olympios 2015b, p 423, but is more likely to be result of a 19th/early 20th century intervention.

3.3 RESHAPING THE BUILDINGS: A TYPOLOGY OF EXPANSIONS

As stated above, many churches were not erected in a single phase but changed, improved, enlarged and altered over time. This affected the assemblage of spaces as well as decorative aspects. Later enlarged buildings are not only widespread but also of reasonable importance for the investigation of building techniques as well as the interpretation of cultural contexts.²⁴⁷ While specific cases will be discussed below in light of the stylistic changes, this chapter attempts to trace certain technical and structural patterns behind especially church expansions. Those churches that were expanded during the 14th to 16th centuries in fact do not adhere to one common typology, even if they all originated with a single nave, dome-hall or cross-in-square church, which was enlarged at some later stage. The expansions, albeit often resulting in complicated, interlaced building complexes, can be grouped in a distinct ‘typology of transformations’.²⁴⁸

3.3.1 Rebuilding from a core

Nothing shows the range of possibilities better than the several consecutive phases of Saint Epifanios in Famagusta [68].²⁴⁹ It is hardly surprising that the – presumably – main Orthodox church in one of the rapidly growing medieval centres of the island shows these subsequent enlargements in order to adapt it to the increasing need for space and adequate representation. The first rebuilding of Saint Epifanios probably did not change the size of the original structure, which excludes this process from the group of expansions. However, the technical approach to retain certain

²⁴⁷ The question, if double-nave structures indicate a simultaneous use of churches by Latins and Greeks is not ultimately resolved. For the case of Crete see Gratziou 2009 and Gratziou 2010; for double nave churches esp. p 127–183, arguing in favour of a simultaneous usage indicated by such structures. On the problems of this study Tsamakda 2011. A brief description of the evidence and various usage theories for the Lebanon in Andersen 2003. In Cyprus, there is no evidence of naves being assigned to the Latins and the Greeks respectively in such churches. Generally on the question of simultaneously used churches Bacci 2009a.

²⁴⁸ This chapter on the typology of transformations is a shortened and revised but partially identical version of the author’s article “Techniques and designs of church expansions in medieval Cyprus. A preliminary report on a building archaeology project” (Kaffenberger forthcoming-c).

²⁴⁹ See also chapter 4.2. For a detailed description of the phases see also Olympios 2014d and Kaffenberger 2014.

undamaged parts of the core of the fabric, while replacing lateral ones, can equally be used as a method of typological refinement. A prominent example for this type of transformation is the Church of the Transfiguration in Sotira [211], where the central, domed bay of the original 13th century church remains, incorporated into a 16th century dome-hall-structure.²⁵⁰ Fragments of the original painted decoration do not only testify to the presence of earlier walls, but also indicate the constructive idea that defines most expansion projects in Cyprus: the 'domed canopy'. The paintings are preserved on the inner sides of the four piers that carry the dome, as well as on the inner side of the four arches above. Thus, they mark the canopy-like static 'skeleton' of this bay – a concept, to which we will come back below.

3.3.2 Addition of a separate compartment – additive group building

The addition of a narthex to the original structure in the second phase of Saint Epifanios represents one of the most basic and simple processes of enlargement – even if not very widespread.²⁵¹ It did not require fundamental changes to the fabric of the older structure, as this expansion type is purely additive. More common than the addition of narthexes is that of side chapels. Unlike in the case of the narthexes, which are always added according to a quite similar spatial concept, very different solutions for added chapels can be found. Occasionally, an almost complete spatial separation underlines an additive concept behind the expansion, for example visible at the Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti [A.53–54].²⁵² There, the so-called Latin chapel from ca. 1300 connects to the middle Byzantine cross-in-square naos by a small doorway only. The cross vaults show that, with an additive approach, the typology of the added compartment is hardly relevant for the process of enlargement as both spaces retain their structural independence.

²⁵⁰ This important church is mentioned in Weyl Carr 2005c, p 296. A current research project of the University of Cyprus on the church is due to be published soon.

²⁵¹ For the question of early narthexes in Cyprus see Papageorgiou 1982b.

²⁵² For the church of Kiti, mainly investigating the late antique apse mosaic, Fischer 2007. The Gothic chapel treated in Enlart 1899, p 440–441 [Enlart 1987, p 334–335] and more recently in Olympios 2009b, p 40–41.

3.3.3 Double-nave structures – integrative approach

The most common procedure of expanding churches in Cyprus is an integrative expansion through the addition of a side aisle to a pre-existing structure. More than 25 examples which received a second nave in the 14th to 16th centuries are preserved today. As already mentioned, we can observe one of the most sophisticated implementations of this concept in Saint Epifanios. By taking away the southern compartments of the initial cross-in-square church and structurally mirroring its nave, the large crossing arch became the new dividing arch between the naves. The previously discussed choice of cross vaults for the bays flanking the central dome of the new aisle would have aesthetically made a change of the corresponding vaults in the older structure necessary. In fact, only the western bay received a groin vault while in the eastern bay the rather ungainly blind northern wall, rising above a low archway illustrates the problem that occurs, if one nave is covered by a barrel vault, the other by a cross vault. The result is, as we can see, clumsy and easily identifiable as an afterthought.

A very comparable, but more coherent solution was applied in the ruined church of the Holy Cross in Tochni [227], where the older, southern nave had the form of a dome-hall church. Here as well, the original building was structurally mirrored, but the northern nave received a cross vault in the central bay instead of a dome. In consequence, the preservation of all old vaults of the original nave was possible. It becomes obvious that all types of cross vaults as well as domed bays use the described canopy system and thus are compatible with each other in an expansion plan that aims for the creation of large connecting arches. No example can illustrate this better than the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123]: here, the nave of the original dome-hall church possesses two bays west of the domed one. The added aisle answers to this with groin-vaulted bays throughout, a solution, which neither causes problems in the nave bays nor in the domed bay.²⁵³

Anyhow, barrel vaults were more widespread, also in expansion projects: The simplest combination was a barrel vault in the old as well as in the new aisle. In this case,

²⁵³ In fact, the vaults show several irregularities, which make the situation slightly more complicated than presented here. This is, however, mainly relevant for the building chronology and not a result of structural problems.

the vaults counteract each other and the shared wall can be pierced with wide arches on one or two piers quite easily. As barrel vaults anyway are the least complicated type of vaulting and most widespread in Cyprus, this type – the double-nave, barrel-vaulted church – can be found rather frequently in many areas of the island. As an example for the numerous double-nave churches in the Mesaoria plain between Nicosia and Famagusta, one might look at the small village church of Lapathos [124]²⁵⁴ – with two perfectly mirrored naves – or the Panagia Eleousa, a church on the Karpas Peninsula that received an ‘integrated’ second aisle as well an ‘added’ narthex [204].

While the addition of a domed or cross-vaulted structure to an older domed building is similarly unproblematic, as has been shown above, the adaptation of simple, barrel-vaulted new compartments to an older, domed core building could cause a range of problems. In this third type of double-nave extended churches, a small archway, as wide as the older domed bay, could have been used in any case. However, during the later Middle Ages there seems to have been a certain longing for wider arches and spatial unification, as was shown in the case of Saint Epifanios. This problem was solved with wide, disproportionately flat arches, which did not disrupt the older vaults but neither adhered to the older bay division.²⁵⁵ The static implications in this aesthetically simple solution were considerable, as two examples from the area of Famagusta show. The Panagia church in Trikomo [232], which was simultaneously extended by a second nave to the north and an expansion to the west during the 14th or 15th century, shows a rather daring composition: the old dome rests on the new, wide arch, which was placed approximately, where the fourth pier of the domed bay would have stood. As the apex of the pointed arch was not even aligned with the thrust lines of the dome substructure, it is rather surprising not to see any structural damage today. There are similarly constructed connecting arches in a couple of smaller rural churches, but most of them are only preserved in parts – for example the Panagia church in Kampyli [92], where the

²⁵⁴ Gunnis 1936, p 313 wrongly dates the church to the 18th century. The neighbouring villages of Gypsou [XX] and Sygkrasis [220] possessed similar churches, now vanished or in ruins.

²⁵⁵ These wide arches were also used in simple double barrel-vaulted churches such as Saint John in Kalopsida [90].

later extension is mainly traceable through the walled up connecting arch.²⁵⁶ Apparently, the threat of instability of those arches was already perceived as a problem at the time: in the nearby church of Agios Sergios [13], we encounter a spoliated column supporting the wide, inserted arch in exactly the spot, where the corner pier of the domed bay would have stood before.

3.3.4 Multiple additions – clustering of spaces

In Agios Sergios we can see an even more complicated building chronology, as, similar to Saint Epifanios, the church possessed a domed narthex before the expansion. Here, the narthex was opened up towards the old naos and reduced to a canopy-like domed structure during the addition of the second nave – and thus fully integrated into the space of the naos. The whole structure with two naves then received a new western narthex and a porch on the south side during later building phases. The result is an agglomeration, or even agglutination, of building parts of very different periods, a veritable 'clustering of spaces', which is visually held together by the surrounding, more homogenous parts of the fabric. This 'clustering of spaces' is a very typical process for the island, but the results can vary profoundly – the above mentioned Panagia in the deserted medieval village of Trapeza [231] is an example for an aisled hall church, which is the result of later expansions.²⁵⁷ Originally presumably built as a dome-hall structure, it later underwent several extensions. The result is a building of a nave and two aisles, covered by barrel vaults, groin vaults and two domes. While this (more widespread) use of the integrative approach rather aims at the creation of a unified interior space through the opening of large connecting arches, the additive approach creates something we could call a 'church family', so a group of independent spaces (such as in Kiti).

²⁵⁶ The arch itself seems not to have been the reason for the abandonment of the later aisle: the springers of a barrel vault above it are fully intact and nothing indicates any damage to the arch itself. This is supported by the evidence of Saint Marina near Vitsada [239], where, apart from the southern apse, the connecting wall between the two aisles is the only remaining part of the otherwise ruined fabric.

²⁵⁷ The same might have possibly applied to the Panagia Khardakiotissa in Kythrea [XXXI], which was demolished in the early 20th century.

Ultimately, this is related to the different reasons behind the expansion projects: plain lack of space, an adaption for new liturgical conventions, the creation of *parekklesia* to serve as funerary chapels. This question is still not well understood and deserves further investigation in the future, for which the preliminary remarks in this chapter might serve as an outset.

4 **STYLISTIC ANALYSIS I: THE 14TH CENTURY AND THE CREATION OF (A) NEW ARCHITECTURAL LANGUAGE(S)**

*"The interdependence between the rigid frontier line of the insular space of Cyprus, on the one hand, and the flexible political frontier of its geographical position, on the other, conditioned the extent of permeability of the cultural frontier and favoured the paradoxical coexistence of cultural conservatism and adaptability."*²⁵⁸

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (2014)

The investigation of phenomena of style has been at the heart of art historical research since it was established as a scholarly discipline in the 19th century.²⁵⁹ During the 20th century, however, the study of style increasingly provoked controversy in the light of novel, less formalistic methodological approaches.²⁶⁰ 'Style' as a concept is often more complex to address than the rather formal approach of 'typology' due to its somewhat elusive, more abstract and thus interpretative nature. Indeed a stylistic analysis always bears a number of dangers: be this the output of hardly significant results due to a lack of distinctiveness of the investigated buildings, the occasionally exaggerated reflex to label and categorize every phenomenon within a logical system or the (necessary) selectiveness of the chosen objects; not to mention problems of topographical and geographical demarcation. Nevertheless, these problems are closely connected to the individual approach rather than the question of style in general. For the churches discussed in this study, possible dangers of a traditional analysis of typology and style have been presented in chapter 1.3 already. Nevertheless, the previous chapter on the typology of the churches has already shown the necessity and benefits of a 'traditional', formal investigation for a better understanding of the creation process of major monuments as well as the rural churches. Discussing the style

²⁵⁸ Nicolaou-Konnari 2014, p 38.

²⁵⁹ Studies such as Wilhelm Lübke's *Geschichte der Architektur* (Lübke 1855) or *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes* by Georg Dehio and Gustav von Bezold (Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901) are showcase examples of studies basing the evaluation and categorization of monuments on the style.

²⁶⁰ For an accurate résumé of the challenges connected with the term 'style' see Schmidt 1999, p 27–31. See also Suckale 2003 on the question of style in art historical research.

of the churches is similarly essential, especially with regard to the lack of reliable sources that could tell us about the date of erection for most of the studied buildings.

One must stress again that 'style' cannot be seen as a straight sequence of well defined and forward oriented progressive buildings. Especially for Cyprus, the importance of the minor urban and rural churches is evident. On a more general level the same issue has been raised by others, among whom Klaus Jan Philipp, who asks: "Is it not culpably unhistorical to always exclude what does not fit the compliant image of a linear development of style?".²⁶¹ Whichever definition of style one chooses, it should never be considered a teleological development driven by the architecture in general or by the style itself. It is instead essential to imagine the studied objects, their structural as well as decorative characteristics, all connected in an invisible 'relational network' of monuments, historic events and acting protagonists. The abstract perception of the buildings as parts of such a mesh network is crucial in this case, as it enables a multi-polar apprehension of inspirations and dependences as well as of distinctive elements that could help to approach questions of intentionality and significance of works of architecture. Or, as Robert Suckale stated more abstractly in 1993: "[style is] a sum of social and artistic concepts, standards and ambitions".²⁶² Following this enhanced concept of stylistic analysis, enables us to connect aspects of 'form', discussed in chapters 4 and 5, and 'context', which will be mainly addressed in chapters 6 and 7.

The aim of this chapter is to further establish this mesh network, some nodes of which have been determined already in the previous chapter, for the churches erected on the island after ca. 1300. When discussing the 'style' of a building, I will mainly refer to aspects of structure and (largely ornamental) decoration. Furthermore, it seems necessary to include aspects briefly discussed before, such as proportions or choice and treatment of the material in order to grasp the overall 'idiom' of the buildings and reach more comprehensive results. Due to the nature of a text, of course a certain order of the argumentation had to be established. The material will be presented mainly chronologically, again, to underline tendencies and trends rather than to suggest a stringent development. Discussing the stylistic developments of an area as large and

²⁶¹ Philipp 1987, p 148: "Ist es nicht geradezu sträflich unhistorisch, immer das auszuklammern, was sich nicht in das so gefügte Bild eines linearen Stilablaufs einbinden lässt?"

²⁶² Suckale 1993, p 50: "[...] die Summe gesellschaftlicher und künstlerischer Vorstellungen, Normen und Ziele."

regionally diverse as Cyprus naturally requires a restriction to particularly telling buildings, against which one can then set off common and less common other buildings. While this does somewhat contradict the attempt to place as much weight on the often ignored minor buildings, as on the 'spearheads' of 'stylistic innovation', it is nevertheless necessary in order to create a frame within which one can place the 'smaller nodes' of the mesh network.

The reasons to choose Famagusta as outset for the discussion were twofold: on the one hand, the density of evidence, more precisely the preserved buildings, produces a more comprehensive image than it would have been for any other city. On the other hand, we can work with the presupposition that Famagusta, as the main transfer site for traded goods and new ideas alike, was, if not the only, then at least one of the major places of origin for most stylistic novelties during the 14th century.

4.1 SOME REMARKS ON THE LATIN CHURCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE 14TH CENTURY: THE CASE OF FAMAGUSTA

Before the end of the 13th century, a series of socio-political earthquakes shook the Latin Levant to its very foundations. In the 1280s a process of constant disintegration of the Crusader states had begun, finally culminating in the conquest of Acre by the Mamluk troops in 1291.²⁶³ The siege of Acre, seat of the Kingdom of Jerusalem since the final loss of the former capital in 1244, marked the end of the whole Latin Levant, with the exception of Cyprus. Streams of refugees migrated to the Island, especially to Famagusta, which changed the face of the city profoundly.²⁶⁴ On a more general political level, the new situation created a vacuum: the Kingdom of Jerusalem, albeit deprived of its territory, still provided an honourable and desirable title. Henry II, king of Cyprus since 1285, strived to fill the void and secure the title as king of Jerusalem.²⁶⁵ As part of this policy, the construction of Saint Nicholas as new crowning cathedral was initiated – main indicator for an (at least intended) shift of focus towards

²⁶³ For the role of Cyprus in the period before 1291 see Edbury 1991, p 74–100, for the immediate consequences p 101–103. On the role of Acre most recently Jacoby 2014a, on the siege recently Bird et al. 2013, p 473–492.

²⁶⁴ In particular discussed in Jacoby 2014b.

²⁶⁵ The claim of the Lusignan dynasty to the title had been disputed with the Angevins since at least the 1270s. (Edbury 1991, p 107 ff.).

the development of urban Famagusta. This development found a catalyst in the rapid economic success of the city, which contributed the funds necessary for the erection of numerous churches in less than one century. Before coming to the major Greek monuments, the churches of Saint Epifanios and Saint George, seat of the episcopate of Famagusta, a brief overview of Latin building activities seem helpful as point of reference.²⁶⁶

The Gothic buildings of Cyprus, mainly erected for the Latin rulers as well as for a multitude of monastic orders, has been studied thoroughly in recent years – most notably by Michalis Olympios, who describes the overall situation as follows:

*"The years around 1300 represented a pivotal period in Cypriot Gothic, a time when the most recent building campaigns on the cathedrals of the two major centres of architectural innovation in the kingdom of Cyprus, the towns of Nicosia and Famagusta were setting the standards and introducing the formal vocabulary subsequent architectural projects on the island would comply with and elaborate on for more than half a century."*²⁶⁷

Around 1300, the cathedral of Nicosia [A.33–42], begun in the earlier 13th century (see chapter 2.4) was not finished yet. The erection of the upper western parts seems to have stretched out until the 1320s, before being abandoned finally in around 1350.²⁶⁸ In Famagusta, the Franciscan church, erected in the 1290s as a single nave building with polygonal choir, shares numerous detail solutions with the cathedral of Nicosia, such as the use of formerets and polygonal corbels in the window jambs, to name but a few [A.55–56]. Thus, Olympios concludes that the Nicosia cathedral workshop might have been responsible for the erection of the Franciscan church in a period, when the *chantier* of Famagusta cathedral had not been established yet.²⁶⁹ It is thus not entirely unlikely that the first cathedral of Famagusta, according to the chronicler Florio Bustron built

²⁶⁶ Evidently, it cannot be attempted to present more than a first orientation in the context of this study. Numerous works have been published on the Gothic buildings of Cyprus, beginning with Enlart 1899 [Enlart 1987], more recently updated in De Vaivre 2012, to the recent works of Olympios 2009c, 2009b, 2010, 2014d

²⁶⁷ Olympios 2009c, p 103.

²⁶⁸ Olympios 2009c, p 111–113, esp. footnote 18. He argues against Plagnieux, Soulard 2006c, p 151–159, who see the western parts of Nicosia cathedral as a result of one quick building phase in the 1320s.

²⁶⁹ Olympios 2009c, esp. 113–115; Olympios 2014d p 81–83.

under Archbishop Eustorge in the second quarter of the century, was as well built by masons belonging to a workshop from the capital.²⁷⁰

In any case, “Nicosia’s role as the single fountainhead of Cypriot Gothic [...was...] challenged”, when the construction of the new cathedral in Famagusta begun around 1300 [A.3–13].²⁷¹ In the next two decades, the most advanced Gothic cathedral in the Eastern Mediterranean was created: a three-aisled transept-less basilica with rib vaults throughout, and an eastern end assembled of three graded choir polygons. The presence of a rich decoration with blind tracery in the gables and open tracery in the windows, a tripartite western façade with two towers of identical design, of flying buttresses et cetera has since the beginning triggered a comparison with the most notable of western European cathedrals. Reims figured prominently, not the least due to the historical parallel concerning the function as crowning cathedral, which was supposed to be established in Famagusta as well and formal similarities such as the tracery-filled tympanum of the western portal. This strong link with northern French buildings was first promulgated by Enlart and repeated until most recent publications by most French scholars, while already Dehio had pointed out connections with the Rhenish Gothic surrounding Cologne cathedral.²⁷² The latter theory was recently supported by Franke and Olympios, who among other parallels point out the close similarities of tracery forms with the Cologne choir.²⁷³ Even if this supports the idea of a master mason familiar with Rhenish architecture, the precise models for the church remain rather elusive, beginning already with the unusual plan for a cathedral. The latter resembles those of Saint Urbain in Troyes, and the Cathedrals of Regensburg and Vienna but finds no parallels in the Cologne region. Contacts with the Rhineland are again presented by general features of the interior, in particular the combination of slender round piers with simple capitals, on which triple round shafts for the vault ribs rest. This model is for example present in the nave of the Cistercian Abbey church of Altenberg, begun in 1259.²⁷⁴ Nevertheless, as also Nicosia cathedral shows a similar

²⁷⁰ Olympios 2014d, p 78.

²⁷¹ Olympios 2014d, p 83. On Famagusta cathedral (here and below) most recently Franke 2012; Coldstream 2014; Olympios 2014d, p 83–101, all with full reference to previous publications, the most notable of which Enlart 1899, p 268–300 [Enlart 1987, p 222–245].

²⁷² Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 438.

²⁷³ Here and below Olympios 2014d, p 93–95.

²⁷⁴ On Altenberg recently Lepsky, Nussbaum 2012.

elevation system and the latter is not unknown in the north of France as well (already Enlart points out churches such as Saint Ségolène in Metz), the debate concerning the precise models is not finally resolved yet.

For the focus of this thesis, such questions of origins are of secondary importance, as will be shown in chapter 4.3. The dissemination of forms and elements brought to the island through buildings such as Famagusta Cathedral did only have an impact on the large urban structures, which in turn do not present evidence to assume any other models than the local Latin cathedral (and related structures). General factors described by Olympios, such as the diverging architectural traditions of Famagusta and Nicosia, play hardly more than a minor role for the Greek churches, even if the scarce evidence of medieval Greek churches in Nicosia might admittedly distort the original picture.

In Famagusta itself, the architectural innovations introduced by the cathedral are fully present in smaller churches such as the single nave Saint George of the Latins and a number of unidentified ruins, for example the one east of the Greek cathedral.²⁷⁵ Anyhow, a larger number of buildings show a less distinctly Gothic style and work rather with individual decorative elements applied to simpler models. This group of buildings is, as will be shown in the following subchapter, of relevance in particular for the changes in Greek church architecture after 1300.

4.2 BETWEEN 'CRUSADER SURVIVAL' AND 'CRUSADER REVIVAL': CHURCHES FOR NON-LATIN COMMUNITIES IN FAMAGUSTA BEFORE 1350

While we are rather well informed about the stylistic development of Latin churches in Famagusta, the origins of Greek church architecture are more obscure – just as the origins of the city itself.²⁷⁶ Only the sadly mutilated, simple dome-hall-church Saint George of Farangou [A.57–58], of the 11th–12th century and today in the southern outskirts of the city, testifies to how the Greek churches in Famagusta built before the

²⁷⁵ Saint George of the Latins, a building of excellent quality, has attracted some scholarly attention. After Enlart 1899, p 321–327 [Enlart 1987, p 258–262] most notably Coldstream 1975; Özdural 2002; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 243–248; Olympios 2014d, p 100.

²⁷⁶ On the history of Famagusta before its economical rise during the Lusignan period see most comprehensively Papacostas 2014b, p 25–38.

late 13th century might have looked: entirely in accordance with what one could expect during the middle Byzantine period.²⁷⁷ The oldest remaining parts of fabric to be found within the city walls are included in the church of Saint Epifanios [68], adjacent to the Greek cathedral of Saint George [69]. As mentioned already in the previous chapters, this peculiar multi-phased building started off as a cross-in-square church of the elongated Cypriot type, probably also in the middle Byzantine period and received numerous additions and expansions: a narthex to the west, a second nave to the south and finally a new west end, encasing the old narthex – we will come back to this further below.²⁷⁸

As a prelude to the developments of the 14th century, it is of benefit to have a brief look at the cross-in-square part of this church, which despite its middle Byzantine origin was evidently rebuilt at some point during the Latin period.²⁷⁹ This is indicated by the regular small-scale ashlar masonry utilized for the walls of the bema area and apse, as well as for the arch springers and corner stones of the bema and transept vaults [68.35].²⁸⁰ These parts of the fabric stand in contrast with the northern transept wall and the lower parts of the remaining nave wall and crossing piers: here, either large, irregular ashlars or smaller, very irregular ashlars with wide, rubble-filled joints had been employed. The groin vaults of the western cross arm, used as dating evidence for this phase by Olympios,²⁸¹ certainly belong to the next phase of building from the first decades of the 14th century: a clear vertical joint is visible between what is the rest of the western barrel vault and the springer of the adjoining groin vault (which is also executed in a far better masonry). This sets a *terminus ante quem* for the renovation of the original church, which thus must have taken place at some time between the late 12th and the early 14th century. The three apse windows provide further evidence towards dating this phase, as they show two rather unusual window types: the two lateral ones are rectangular and possess a stepped frame, while the central, crudely

²⁷⁷ Papacostas 1999, II, p 32; Prokopiou 2006, p 35–43; Papageorgiou 2010, p 65–68.

²⁷⁸ For the expansion techniques, see chapter 3.3 above.

²⁷⁹ On this phase of the church see Kaffenberger 2014, p 175–176 and, with slightly differing conclusions, Olympios 2014c, p 153–157.

²⁸⁰ The bema vault as well as the apse had been destroyed during an air raid on Famagusta in the early 1940s, but restored subsequently with the preserved stones, which were however not all placed in their original locations (the beam holes once aligned on one horizontal level are now dispersed throughout the masonry).

²⁸¹ Olympios 2014c, p 155–156.

pointed one is chamfered [68.23]. Especially the rectangular windows stand in harsh contrast to the usual middle Byzantine slit-like rounded windows such as the one still present in the northern transept wall of the building. While the feature is unique in 13th century Cyprus, rectangular windows are generally known from the crusader architecture of the 12th and 13th centuries.²⁸² A vague *comparadum* might be the apse window of the Sergios and Bacchos church of the monastery of Saydet near Kaftoun, in present day Lebanon, even if this window is chamfered instead of stepped.²⁸³ In addition, the simple, chamfered cornice – the only other sculpturally treated element of this building phase – matches that from Kaftoun. Certainly, no direct connection should be drawn here, as the window frame is too different, the string course profile too common, but it is nevertheless worth noting that the wall paintings in Kaftoun probably date to the second or third quarter of the 13th century. Perhaps, the 13th century rebuilding of Saint Epifanios indeed reflects a first permeation of the urban Greek church architecture with Latin respectively Crusader elements. If this rebuilding took place already in the earlier 13th century, perhaps to repair damages caused by the heavy 1222 earthquake, or rather later in the century, has to remain open.²⁸⁴

The events of 1291 did not only, as described above, trigger a new wave of Latin church building in Famagusta, but also made the erection of numerous further churches necessary. The population growth was immense, but not only Latins fled the lost territories. Eastern Christians such as Melkites, Jacobites, Nestorians or Armenians had already been present on the island before 1291, as for example attested by the presence of Syrian bishops in Nicosia in the 13th century.²⁸⁵ This tolerance certainly made it easy for members of such religious minorities to direct their choice towards Famagusta as place of refuge. Probably, small churches of these communities were in existence already before 1291, but certainly not adequate for the rising numbers of community members. Thus, the building boom of the post 1291-period presumably included the

²⁸² Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 79. However, he mentions only the cathedral of Tortosa, the Crac des Chevaliers and Beaufort castle, thus larger edifices with military function. Other examples from Cyprus belong either to the 14th century extension of Saint Epiphanius and buildings inspired by this, or to the 16th century, such as the apse windows of the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123].

²⁸³ The state of research in Waliszewski et al. 2013. See also Immerzeel 2009, p 94–98; Helou 2009.

²⁸⁴ For the earthquake of 1222, which wiped out the city of Pafos but also caused damages in other parts of the island, see Antonopoulos 1980, p 183–184. For a list of sources mentioning the earthquake Grivaud 1998, p 431.

²⁸⁵ Grivaud 2000, p 51 and passim.

erection of new churches for Armenians, Syrians etc. as well. As we will see, these buildings played a central role as conveyors of a new way of building for the Greek churches, even if the lack of verifiable dating evidence poses some problems with respect to the chronological development.

Located in the north-western part of the city, the church of Saint George Exorinos is one of the more unusual buildings in Famagusta [A.59–68].²⁸⁶ Today a hall church with three naves of more or less the same height, it is apparent that the original building only comprised of the central nave. The overall proportions are rather squat as a result of the expansion. The exterior is dominated by the plain surfaces of the regular ashlar masonry, only interrupted by small, chamfered, slightly pointed windows. The central nave, so the initial structure, is three bays long, each of which is surmounted by triangular gables. Two massive buttresses support the corners of the western façade, while the apse is only flanked by slimmer buttresses facing eastwards. The apse window, shorter than those of the nave, is surmounted by a flat, profiled hood mould. This element is known in Cyprus since at least the mid-13th century and adorns the nave windows of Bellapais Abbey church [A.44].²⁸⁷ It is, however, one of those decorative elements brought to the Crusader territories from northern France and thus indicates that, just as for Bellapais, the origins of the style of Saint George Exorinos lie in the Latin East. The same is true for the main western Portal, which consists of a rectangular chamfered doorway with extremely flat profiled corbels, set back from the façade level by a chamfered surrounding arch – all showing certain similarity to the northern portal of the cathedral of Tartus [A.69]. These decorative elements give us a hint on how to read the overall character of the structure: the plain ashlar walls, plain rounded apses and chamfered, slim windows of the outside draw visibly upon the older models present in the former Kingdom of Jerusalem. The interior is dominated by the groin vaults that are supported by two transversal arches. These arches rest on small capitals, which crown short elbow-shafts, thus shafts that are bent in a right angle and seem to enter the adjacent wall. This feature, only repeated once in Cyprus in the nearby 15th century

²⁸⁶ On Saint George Exorinos most notably Enlart 1899, p 356–365 [Enlart 1987, p 280–286] – here still labelled as ‘Nestorian Church’; Bacci 2006; De Vaivre 2012, p 266–271; Bacci 2014a, p 150–155; Olympios 2014d, p 157–158; Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.

²⁸⁷ On Bellapais: Enlart 1899, p 209–221 [Enlart 1987, p 174–200]; Seeßelberg 1901; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006b; Olympios 2010; Olympios 2013 (on the cloister).

Tanners' mosque, is perhaps the most distinctive single element that connects the local architecture of the early 14th century with the Romanesque architecture of the Crusader territories. Elbow-corbels can be found in few but prominent Levantine churches: the abbey church of Abu Gosh [A.71], the cathedral of Ramlah and various buildings in Jerusalem.²⁸⁸ The temporal distance of more than a century between the examples is visible, especially when comparing the pronounced leaf capitals in Abu Gosh and Ramlah with the shallow, minimal decoration of the capitals in Saint George Exorinos [A.68]. The latter reveal their later date of execution also in the chamfered edges of the *abaci*, which correspond to the chamfers of the transversal arches above. A second decorative element points in a very similar direction: the hood mould of an arched recess in the northern wall of the first bay, which probably served funerary purposes [A.67]. The profile itself, a sequence of roll and hollow mouldings, is not specifically distinctive, but the inner roll of the hood mould is bent upwards, similar to an inverted cane. This element is unique but could well be interpreted as a simplified version of the so-called 'Syrian cornice', which characteristically ends in spirals.²⁸⁹ In addition to this evidence, it is worth noting that the groin vaults are not coved but rather constructed as interpenetrating barrel vaults. As consequence, the vault crown is horizontally levelled and the groin vault can be adapted to any bay size through small segments of barrel vault, attached to each side. In fact, without the presence of transversal arches, the impression would rather be that of a continuous longitudinal barrel vault, penetrated by large vault caps. This, again, places the church comfortably within the sphere of Crusader architecture.²⁹⁰

The same overall asset of stylistic features was used for the small Armenian church in the north-west of Famagusta's old town [A.73–80].²⁹¹ The building consists only of a single bay with an adjoining apse and shows similar gablets above each wall. The slim buttresses with weathering, which occupy the lateral walls but are set off from the building corners, seem to be a further development. They betray the knowledge of

²⁸⁸ Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 73.

²⁸⁹ In Cyprus, this element also appears on the hood moulds of the late 13th century/early 14th century nave bays of Nicosia cathedral and, probably in a later reflex, on the northern portal of Saint Luke in Klepini [107]. On the motif Olympios 2014d, p 102, esp. footnote 51.

²⁹⁰ Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 63: "Les voûtes d'arêtes des Croisés ne sont pas bombées; elles sont formées de la pénétration de deux berceaux brisés."

²⁹¹ The Armenian church is one of the better studied monuments in Famagusta, see most recently Bacci 2009c; Langdale, Walsh 2009, Kaffenberger forthcoming-d.

the up-to-date Latin architecture, for example the cathedral of Saint Nicholas or Saint George of the Latins, even if the execution of the weathering is simple and restricted to the buttresses themselves. Similar solutions can be found on minor, presumably Latin churches such as the northern 'Twin church' or the 'Unidentified Church 15'.²⁹² Close similarities to Saint George Exorinos are manifest in the type of groin vault, which is identical in technique and design [A.66, 80]. The single vault of the Armenian church does not require transversal ribs, furthermore it receives a centralized character through a key stone decorated with foliage [A.79]. The latter bears resemblance to the keystones in the 13th century aisle vaults of Tartus cathedral, only other prominent example for decorated keystones in groin vaults [A.70].²⁹³ In addition, the portals also point towards the Latin Levant as source of the design. A pointed arch forming a recess frames the main portal [A.75]. The doorway itself is rectangular with small profiled corbels. Especially the simple arched recess is revealing as we already encountered it on the western portal of Saint George Exorinos. The corbels, in contrast, share some features with those of the northern portal in Saint George Exorinos: a thin rectangular line, setting off the corbel against the rest of the ashlar and a roll and hollow profile with thin quirks [A.64].

This brings us back to the second phase of Saint George Exorinos – the two aisles –, where a similar type of corbels can be observed on the northern portal. Curiously, the aisles show a different exterior design: the northern one remains rather faithful to the previous phase, except for the heavier buttresses and the lack of hood moulds, while the southern one introduces some different features. Instead of gables, the upper part of the façade ends horizontally. Combined with a reduced use of buttresses – there is only a rather shallow one placed in the middle of the façade, while the south-western one is included in what seems to have been a precinct wall – this lack of gables gives the building a rather blocky, box-like exterior. The grouped lancet windows, two smaller, lower ones with a larger central one are clearly a reaction to the worry that the main nave might become too dark because of the added aisles, thus it does not surprise that these windows were only used for the southern side. Nevertheless, this specific solution

²⁹² Enlart 1899, p 372–376; 381–383 [Enlart 1987, p 290–293; 296–297]. On the twin church more recently De Vaivre 2002 and De Vaivre 2003.

²⁹³ For the keystones: Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 63 and pl 169; on the cathedral of Tartus in general: Deschamps 1992, p 269–278.

of the problem to generate more window surface, is again a reference to similar window group employed in Levantine buildings, most prominently – once more – on the façade of Saint Mary in Tartus.²⁹⁴ Not connected with Tartus, but with the Crusader territory in general, is the design of the conspicuous albeit partly missing chevron arch adorning the south-western corner of the expansion [A.62].²⁹⁵ This motif can be found in several places in the Latin Levant, to where it surely came from Norman participants of an earlier crusade. As for the (mainly later) Cypriot examples, the Levantine chevron arches vary in their precise shape and execution. The arch of Saint George Exorinos, shows a merged angled chevron pattern executed with a well-proportioned profile: a central roll-and-fillet flanked by deep hollows and smaller lateral rolls. This work of high technical sophistication is modelled similar to a chevron arch today displayed on the fountain Sabil Bab al-Silsila [A.81] near the chain gate in Jerusalem, with some likelihood inserted there as Crusader period spolia.²⁹⁶

A second chevron arch, extremely weathered but apparently of exactly the same execution adorns the southern portal of Saint Epifanios [68.20–22].²⁹⁷ It was created together with the southern extension of the church, partly mirroring the above-mentioned 13th century church. Apart from the chevron, also the pillow-like, rounded type of corbels, on which the archivolts rest, coincides, which makes it apparent that the two arches were most likely carved at around the same time or even by the same workshop. Compared to the older northern nave, also the overall style had significantly leaned towards an entirely new character – indeed largely comparable to that of the southern aisle of Saint George Exorinos [A.62]. This southern expansion of Saint Epifanios consists of three bays and an eastern apse and was once surmounted by a central dome – thus it was structurally corresponding to the traditional model of a dome-hall church. On the exterior, several features differ notably from the older Greek churches on the island. The silhouette of the nave is compact and cubic as opposed to

²⁹⁴ Of course, the similarity refers only to the general arrangement of the windows, while the decoration differs profoundly, the simple chamfered version of Famagusta being also adapted to the more modest status of the church.

²⁹⁵ Comprehensively on the chevron motif in Cyprus: Kaffenberger forthcoming-b. For a detailed description of chevron types in the architecture of England and France see Moss 2009.

²⁹⁶ Kaffenberger forthcoming-b; Natsheh 1997, p 135–139. The precise date of the arch in Jerusalem is disputed, but it is very likely that it was created in the decades before the loss of Jerusalem to the Arabs in 1244.

²⁹⁷ On this expansion Kaffenberger 2014, p 177–179, Olympios 2014c, p 157–159.

the previously used fragmented and hierarchized layout [68.10, 12]. Compared to the southern aisle of Saint George Exorinos, two major differences become apparent: the total abandonment of external buttressing, and the use of small gablets, rising from the otherwise plain, cubic exterior. Apart from simple chamfered windows and the large portal, only a horizontal stringcourse with a simple hollow-and-fillet profile, spanning the apse and ending on the southern wall, structures the exterior. On the inside, the domed central bay was flanked to the east and west by groin vaults [68.11, 38]. This grave deviation from the traditional dome-hall concept underlines the impact these new architectural forms made – especially compared to the northern nave, where the new stylistic approach was still restricted to decorative details and technical aspects, which rather formed a translucent layer of a new style applied onto a very traditional building. Even if the groin vaults of the southern aisle collapsed at one point and had to be rebuilt, there is enough left of the original, to determine its original construction, which was of the same type as those vaults in the Armenian church and in Saint George Exorinos. Unlike there, the vault does not show transversal ribs, a simplification of the original concept. Furthermore, the vault rests on large stepped roll corbels, a unique solution which remotely reminds of the triple quarter circle corbels used for the belfry of Saint George Exorinos.

Overall, it becomes evident that the three churches discussed, the Armenian church, Saint George Exorinos and the southern expansion of Saint Epifanios, form a loose group of buildings, which indicates a change of artistic paradigms. As none of the three churches is firmly dated, the exact point in time, at which this shift of paradigms took place, requires further investigation. The most recent account of the minor urban churches in Famagusta has been published by Michalis Olympios in 2014.²⁹⁸ He also links the Armenian Church, Saint George Exorinos and Saint Epifanios, which according to him are the oldest (preserved) Famagustan examples of a shift towards the above-described Crusader-style. While there is no reason to doubt this latter fact, the chronological placement in the second or third quarter of the 14th century has to be questioned. In his argumentation, the new, retrospective style would have originated in the 1340s under Hugh IV – a supposedly ambitious and intellectually apt monarch,

²⁹⁸ Olympios 2014d, esp. p 101–123.

who could have well taken part in the deliberate placement of Crusader elements in newly commissioned buildings in order to support his claim to the crown of (lost) Jerusalem.²⁹⁹ Especially the refectory wing of the abbey of Bellapais, one of the most important buildings commissioned by the monarch, indeed shows a similar range of decorative elements, which can be connected with the Crusader territories – a ‘Crusader revival’ [A.47–49]. It is tempting to believe, that a new architectural language could have been the product of a purposeful, royal decision for a central monument, which only afterwards spread throughout the country. But does Bellapais necessarily mark the beginning of a new architectural language? Several arguments point towards an alternative tale.

First and foremost, as a consequence the ‘building boom’ of new churches in Famagusta would be compressed into not more than two or three decades between the 1340s and the 1360s, at the same time the first quarter of the century entirely drained of (preserved) buildings. Doubtlessly, today we only see a fraction of the churches once existing within the city walls of Famagusta. Nevertheless, we must suppose that not only early 14th century buildings were lost: what is preserved represents a cross section of several hundred years of church building activity in Famagusta. If we then know, that the stream of refugees – beginning in the 1260s and culminating in the aftermath of 1291 and belonging to all different Christian communities, which were present in the Latin East – led to an increase of population, it is evident that the erection of new churches became necessary already around 1300. Michele Bacci already suggested that the church of Saint George Exorinos might well belong to this presumed first intense phase of church building in Famagusta.³⁰⁰ Its multitude of retrospective, eastern elements of architecture is complemented by parts of the painted decoration, which are paralleled by 13th century Syrian works [A.65].³⁰¹ We can well imagine the church to be the product of a common effort of Syrian refugees, perhaps from Tripoli as suggested by Bacci. The date of erection of the central nave would then fall in the last decade of the 13th or first decade of the 14th century. The strong link with the Levantine architecture might be a simple cause of seeing habits and conventions: be it the patrons

²⁹⁹ Olympios 2014d, p 101 – we will come back to this aspect in chapter 7.

³⁰⁰ Bacci 2006, p 210.

³⁰¹ Bacci 2014a, p 150–151.

of the church, be it the builders – either of them might have still been familiar with the 12th and 13th century buildings of the Holy Land. Instead of a ‘Crusader revival’, instigated by an erudite monarch, we would then rather look at a ‘Crusader survival’, the products of an ongoing or only shortly interrupted visual culture. We will discuss further below the implications of this formal difference and the aspects of ‘tradition’ included in this retrospectivity.

For a further confirmation of an early 14th century date of Saint George Exorinos, it is helpful to include also Saint Epifanios and the Armenian church in the discussion. As remarked above, the aisles of Saint George Exorinos present slight changes compared to the older main nave. The very distinctive element of the elbow corbels remained unique in the 14th century: it might have been perceived as too eccentric and thus abandoned already in the aisles. The groin vaults, on the other hand, remained, and so did (for the northern aisle) the buttresses and small gables on the exterior [A.60, 66]. The chronological relation between nave and aisles is unclear, but the walled-up clerestory windows of the main nave as well as the differences in design suggest strongly that the church was planned and finished as a single nave structure and only enlarged several years later. Perhaps this happened, when the former refugees started profiting from the wealth brought into the city through its function as a Mediterranean trading hub – so during the first quarter of the 14th century.

Considering the above-described similarities, the Armenian church was most likely erected contemporaneously, even though for this building, as well, several suggestions for a date of erection were made. While Olympios, Langdale and Walsh proposed a mid-century date, Soulard and Bacci connected its origins with the completion of an Armenian monastery church ‘Sainte Marie de Vert’ in 1317. Albeit Olympios is right in underlining the lack of evidence that could prove the preserved building to be that mentioned in the source, little speaks against a date of erection in the 1310s.³⁰²

In the case of Saint Epifanios again no sources can be connected to the building, as even the original dedication is still debated. Nevertheless, the material evidence provides a clear *terminus ante quem*: the erection of the large, adjoining cathedral of

³⁰² See Kaffenberger forthcoming-d for a more detailed discussion of the dating issue.

Saint George of the Greeks [69]. After the southern nave, which shares several features with Saint George Exorinos and the Armenian church, had been completed, another phase in a similar style followed. The western end of the church featured two portals, which were walled up during the erection of the large cathedral in an attempt to adapt the floor levels [68.14–16, 30]. As the erection of the cathedral presumably started around 1350, it is impossible that the church of Saint Epifanios was built after that time.³⁰³ Furthermore, it is relatively unlikely that both 14th century phases of Saint Epifanios date from the years right before the erection of the new church, which leads us to the assumption that these extensions originate already in the first or, at the latest, second quarter of the century. The lack of buttresses, which increases the cubic, stereometric appearance of the building, constitutes the most striking difference if compared with the previous churches – with the exception of the southern aisle of Saint George Exorinos. Both structures seem to indicate a change in preferences, presumably of aesthetic nature, that might have taken place in the 1320s or 1330s and resulted in a considerably reduced usage of protruding buttresses in most later buildings within the city.

The most conspicuous element of decoration – the chevron arch portals – further supports the idea that in fact the Famagustan churches are earlier than the Bellapais refectory wing.³⁰⁴ All three chevron arches are of the angled type, in which the chevron ornament is not understood as a flat relief but combined with the depth of the moulding profile. However, the two arches in Famagusta oscillate both sideways and in the front / back axis [A.62; 68.20], while the Bellapais arch only shows the latter pattern. Admittedly, there are examples for both types already in the Levant, but the most prominently displayed *comparanda*, such as the Great Mosque portal in Tripolis (probably the former portal of the 12th century Latin cathedral) point towards the close links with the Levantine tradition of the urban examples [A.82].³⁰⁵ This is supported by the unusual pillow-like corbels of the portal in Saint Epifanios, which are unparalleled in

³⁰³ Kaffenberger 2014 and the catalogue entries on Saint Epifanios [68] and Saint George [69].

³⁰⁴ For a more detailed investigation of the chevron arches and the implications for the dates of erection see Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.

³⁰⁵ Salam-Liebich 1983, p 25–26.

Cyprus but can be found in places such as the mid-12th century Cistercian abbey of Belmont/Balamand in the Crusader mainland.³⁰⁶

Finally, the issue of groin vaults should be taken into account. As Olympios already stated, groin vaults did not play a role in Cypriot ecclesiastic architecture before the 14th century.³⁰⁷ For him, the use of a – minute – groin vault in the refectory staircase in Bellapais as well as in other secondary spaces of the monastic buildings, marks the point of introduction of this vault type – a vault type that by that time was already perceived as outdated in most regions of Europe as well as in the Crusader territories. There, most new churches of the 13th century had already received rib vaults, so did the Latin churches in Cyprus. But again we must wonder, if the rather subtle sense for retrospectivity in Bellapais indeed could be that closely connected to the stylistic progress in Famagusta. With the Armenian church, Saint George Exorinos and Saint Epifanios, at least three important and carefully planned churches remain that employ groin vault solutions as their main vaulting type. Thus, the groin vault is more than a subtle reference but rather part of a general architectural trend. The three churches all bear testimony to the arrival of ‘Romanesque’ Levantine architecture in Famagusta before and around 1300, which became the outset for a new stylistic development.³⁰⁸ One might discuss whether the outdated character of many elements makes this part of a veritable architectural ‘revival’, but considering the historical circumstances it seems apt to speak of a “Crusader survival”. This also helps to differentiate between the urban buildings of the early 14th century on the one hand and the mid-14th century structures such as Bellapais on the other, where the term ‘revival’ might be more appropriate.³⁰⁹

In fact, it is worth underlining that seemingly ‘modern’ elements such as the buttresses (occasionally said to be influenced by the Latin cathedral workshop nearby), which are still present at the beginning of the 14th century, are subsequently left out in Saint Epifanios and most other churches from the second quarter of the century

³⁰⁶ Most comprehensively Enlart 1925–1927, II, p 45–63 and Asmar 1972.

³⁰⁷ Olympios 2014d, p 103–104. An exception are subordinate structures in monastic environments, such as the 11th/12th century refectory of the Absinthiotissa Monastery near Sinchari in the southern Pentadaktylos foothills (Papacostas 1999, II, p 11–12; Papageorgiou 2010, p 395–405. See also chapter 3.2.5.

³⁰⁸ On possible ways of transmission see chapter 7.2.

³⁰⁹ It should be considered that the source for these revived elements was rather Famagusta than the Levantine territories, which had become Arab territory.

onwards. Even if we have to keep in mind that key monuments, such as the first Latin cathedral at Famagusta, are lost and their shape remains unknown, it seems that we can distinguish two stages in the development before ca. 1350, more or less corresponding to the first two quarters of the century.³¹⁰ A first stage with well-planned churches that show an overall 'Crusader-like' appearance but also incorporate elements that link them to the Levantine tradition in a distinctive way (elbow corbels, floral keystone in a groin vault, chevron arches). The unidentified church next to the Venetian palace does not incorporate any of these striking elements, but is likely to originate in the first decades of the 14th century as well: the western, groin-vaulted bays show the same flat imitation of a transversal arch as those in the aisles of Saint George Exorinos [A.83–84].³¹¹ Furthermore, the massive, prominent buttresses also indicate the early date. The southern nave and the western extension of Saint Epifanios can then be considered as one possible turning point, an outset for the development of an 'indigenous' architectural language in Famagusta.³¹² In the second phase, one might imagine, further buildings such as the southern 'Twin Church' were erected [A.14].³¹³ Its cubic exterior without buttresses as well as the groin vault of the usual type underline that many general architectural features were shared among the new buildings of different Latin and non-Latin communities.

This brings us back to the question of the Greek church architecture on the island. Of the three examples discussed in detail above, only Saint Epifanios was built for the Greek community. Thus, the building occupies not only a central place in the overall refinement of architectural practices in the city but also functioned as a catalyst for the introduction of new architectural standards in the island's Greek church architecture in general. A very descriptive indicator of this role is the shape of the domes of Saint Epifanios, as has been elaborately described by Olympios.³¹⁴ Albeit the domes are all but destroyed today, the drawings of Edmond Duthoit and Sydney Vacher as well as a handful of photographs from around 1900 provide a rather detailed image of especially

³¹⁰ See chapter 4.1 above and Olympios 2014d, p 78.

³¹¹ On this largely ignored building with three naves Enlart 1899, p 645–646 [Enlart 1987, p 467], identifying it as the palace chapel (which is rather unlikely, considering that the entrances are opening up towards the public street), and De Vaivre 2006d, p 49–51.

³¹² Olympios 2014d.

³¹³ Enlart 1899, p 372–376 [Enlart 1987, p 290–293]; De Vaivre 2002; De Vaivre 2003.

³¹⁴ Olympios 2014c, p 159–168.

the two southern domes, which are of interest in the context of early 14th century architecture [68.10]. Unlike their (preserved) Byzantine ancestors on the island, they sat on octagonal drums, with rather large windows in four or even all eight sides of the drum.³¹⁵ Together with the use of regular ashlar material, characteristic for the buildings of this period, their appearance does have little in common with that of older Byzantine structures on the island. Nevertheless, the structural position as well as their substructure accords to the common, local schemes. The south-eastern dome in particular is not only the product of an aesthetic innovation but at the same time – crowning the central bay of a dome-hall-structure – deeply rooted in local typological building standards. It is here that we can come back a first time to the initially quoted statement of Georg Dehio, who was speaking of a “translation [...] instead of a transcription”.³¹⁶ While the image is not entirely matching for the early buildings, it nevertheless points towards the essence of the impact of Crusader architectural forms on the Greek church architecture of Cyprus. While a similar architectural idiom as in the older churches in the Crusader mainland is being used, its creative transfer onto older typological models could be seen as a ‘translation of aesthetics’. Presumably, it was in Famagusta, with the enlargement of Saint Epifanios, that this translation of aesthetics took place for the first time in the Greek church building of Cyprus.

4.3 A SYNTHESIS OF DIVERGING ELEMENTS: SAINTS PETER AND PAUL AND SAINT GEORGE OF THE GREEKS IN FAMAGUSTA

In his assessment of the Greek church architecture of Cyprus, Georg Dehio was not mainly referring to the smaller Greek churches – it is even unlikely that he ever saw these buildings, as he seems to talk only about those churches published by Camille Enlart. Dehio rather had the ruined cathedral church of Saint George of the Greeks [69] and the well-preserved Saints Peter and Paul Church [A.85–97] in mind, the latter

³¹⁵ For the question of dome drum shapes, see chapter 3.2.5. While in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean, polygonal dome drums were already present before the impact of Crusader architecture, no such dome is attested for in Cyprus before the 14th century. See also Olympios 2014c, p 160.

³¹⁶ Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, II, p 439.

perhaps the Nestorian cathedral, as recent research has indicated.³¹⁷ Both buildings show undeniable references to the Gothic elements of the Latin cathedral and are designed in a consistently similar architectural language. They are unique in size and artistic quality among the non-Latin foundations and bear testimony to the potential of architectural creation around 1350. Remarkably, up to the mid-14th century, no significant amalgamation of the French Gothic into the new architectural language described above is noticeable. Certainly, the presence of many new Latin buildings paved the way for an increased readiness to include elements such as buttresses, pointed windows and portals and, to a certain extent, profiled arches – thus, elements which are well interpretable as inspired by the older (Latin) Crusader architecture. In the Armenian church, the cusped and profiled niche in the northern nave wall [A.78] can be seen in the context of the contemporary Gothic architecture, but this remains a rather solitary example. It is only with the two largest building projects after the Latin cathedral that we come across an inclusion of significantly Gothic elements – solely an inclusion of elements, as will be shown below, not a copy of the general style.

Saint George of the Greeks, erected right alongside the older church of Saint Epifanios [68], was begun before 1350.³¹⁸ Presumably, its erection was linked to several socio-political factors. As a result of the clerical agreements of 1222 and the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260, which were rather one-sided attempts at organizing the ecclesiastic structures of Latins and Greeks on the island, the Greek episcopates were reduced to four, in order to be formally subjugated to the Latin bishoprics. This meant that the former episcopate of Salamais-Constantia had most likely been abolished.³¹⁹ The Greek bishop attached to the Latin episcopate of Famagusta was – formally – assigned to the remote seat of Karpasia in the early 14th century.³²⁰ It is not known, when this exile was officially revoked, so the precise situation is subject to some speculation. It is hard to imagine

³¹⁷ On the issue of the original context see below. The history of the Nestorians in Cyprus described in Grivaud 2000, p 51–53 and Schabel 2005, p 164–166.

³¹⁸ The dedication of the church is indisputably proven by the 1571 engraving of the siege of Famagusta by Stefano Gibellino, who gives the caption “S. Giorgio domo dei Greci”. For a recent discussion of Gibellino’s engraving see Otten-Froux 2006, p 109–20. See also Papacostas 2014a, p 344.

³¹⁹ For a discussion of the content and results of the *Bulla Cypria* see Richard 1996; Coureas 1997, p 297–306; Schabel 2005, p 203–210. For Greek bishops after 1260 Schabel 2003.

³²⁰ On the episcopate of Famagusta Papacostas 2014b, p 34–38. See also a more detailed discussion of these events and their effect on Famagusta in chapter 6.2.

the bishop being absent in the economic capital of the island during the early 14th century – with a certain probability, this hypothesized informal presence of the Greek bishop was formally affirmed under the reign of Hugh IV (1324–1358).³²¹ The second factor contributing to the erection of a new cathedral might have been generous bequests one would expect to come upon a building site in the aftermath of a severe plague, such as the one ravaging the Mediterranean in 1347–1349.³²² Even this plague, which did not spare the island, could not bring the ever-increasing economic success of Famagusta as maritime capital of Cyprus to a halt.³²³ Therefore, the encounter of enormous funds in private hands and a situation, which clearly triggered worries about the afterlife, proved to be the fertile ground on which a large-scale building project was able to flourish.³²⁴

The building is mentioned for the first time in two deeds of 1363, both contained in the notarial records of the Venetian Simeone, who was active in Famagusta in the 1360s. On the 8th of February 1363, a certain Michel Caibach leaves 200 white besants for the building works on Saint George, cathedral of the Greeks.³²⁵ Furthermore, he declares that, in case his beneficiaries should die without progeny, only 2000 besants should remain at the disposal of his wife and his custodian, while the rest should be used for memorial services in the church of Saint George. Only a few weeks later, a second deed of one Fetus Semitecolo, deceased on the 3rd of April, contains a bestowal of not less than 1000 white besants ‘for the support’ of the episcopal church of Saint George.³²⁶ These two generous endowments constitute a firm *terminus ante quem* and show that in 1363 the church was still under construction. While in all likelihood the building was already partly usable, we do not know, when the works were concluded. Again, a historical event – the severe caesura of the Genoese occupation of the city

³²¹ For the question of the improving relations between the Latins and Greeks under his reign see Schabel 2004; Schabel 2005, esp. p 181–183; Ritzerfeld 2014, p 131–132.

³²² Gottfried 1983, p 42 on the Mediterranean context; Grivaud 1998, p 439–440 with a list of plague outbreaks in Cyprus and reference to the historical sources; Nicolaou-Konnari 2005, p 16 on the 1347 outbreak.

³²³ On economy of 14th century Cyprus with a focus on urban Famagusta Coureas 2005, p 129–155.

³²⁴ For this idea see also Olympios 2014d, p 117.

³²⁵ Otten-Froux 2003, p 42 – Actes de Simeone No 4, 8.2.1363: “[...] laborerio ecclesie Sancti Georgii episcopatus graecorum [...]”. For further information about Lusignan period currencies see Pitsilides 1991; the monetary system described in Metcalf 1995.

³²⁶ Otten-Froux 2003, p 46; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 286 – Actes de Simeone, No 6, 3.4.1363: “Lego episcopatu Sancti Georgii Grechorum in subsidio ecclesie 1000 bisancios blancos”. For further information about Lusignan period currencies see Pitsilides 1991.

between 1372 and 1374 – might serve as dating evidence. On 10th of October 1372, in the aftermath of the crowning of Peter II (1369–1382) as King of Jerusalem, a violent fight between the Genoese and the Venetian community broke out in Famagusta, which ended with the occupation of the city after a two-year siege.³²⁷ The devastation seems to have been grave and the damages had not been repaired by the 1390s – the city would never entirely recover from these events, which brought an end to the most prosperous period in the history of the island.³²⁸ While we cannot be sure, if the cathedral was indeed finished before the Genoese occupation, the apparent lack of interruptions in the building process – at least as far as the remaining fabric is concerned – would strongly indicate this. A building time of ca. two decades, between 1349 and 1372, seems rather short for a building of this size, but considering the potentially available funds not altogether impossible.³²⁹ Thus, we are relatively well informed about the approximate period, during which the next stage of stylistic development in Famagusta took place.

The church of Saints Peter and Paul stands in the centre of Famagusta, just a few paces away from the Venetian palace and the central square in front of the Latin cathedral [A.86–87]. While the dedication of the church to Saints Peter and Paul is also conveyed by the Gibellino engraving, its patron, function and date of creation have been the subject of vivid discussions in the recent past.³³⁰ It is here not the place to repeat this discussion in depth, but a brief review of the key arguments is necessary to be aware of the uncertainty over its identification as the Nestorian cathedral.³³¹

Enlart originally connected the church to a report by the 16th century Cypriot historian Etienne de Lusignan, who claims that a church of Saints Peter and Paul was erected by the merchant Simon of Famagusta – ‘Simone nostrano’ in the Italian original

³²⁷ The events discussed in Edbury 1991, p 199–209. Bliznyuk 2008, p 279–280 gives an updated full list of references. On the Genoese in Cyprus in general Bliznyuk 2005.

³²⁸ Edbury 1991, p 210.

³²⁹ The Latin cathedral of Famagusta was also completed after two or three decades of works, whereas Nicosia cathedral remained unfinished after over a century.

³³⁰ The caption reads “S. Pietro et Paulo” – Admittedly, the church belonging to this caption is shown in the more or less correct spot but rather to the west than to the south of the palace. This could be a deliberate decision caused by the wish to display both important monuments adequately, as already argued by Enlart 1899, p 302 [Enlart 1987, p 246]; furthermore the façade is facing northwards, which reveals the abbreviated character of the individual buildings.

³³¹ Two recent studies present the whole available evidence, albeit coming to different results: Mersch 2014 and Bacci 2014b, p 227–232.

– with a third of the revenue from a single trading journey to Syria.³³² This event, as also other 16th century texts claim, is supposed to have taken place under the reign of Peter I (1358–1369), a period of prosperity in Cyprus. The name of the merchant is not given elsewhere, but he is described as a Syrian.³³³ Nevertheless, the proximity of the church to the Latin palace has also prompted the thought that it must have served the Latin rite. In particular, its identification as a Dominican church has found several supporters, since it was brought forward by Peter Edbury; most recently, Margit Mersch collected ample historical evidence that could further support this hypothesis.³³⁴ Unlike Edbury, who assumes the church to be of the early 14th century (later supported by Plagnieux and Soulard), she refers to a second Dominican Monastery, mentioned in a papal letter of 1371: inhere, the Syrian Joseph Zaphet asks for permission “to found another monastery, Dominican”.³³⁵ Could this mean that the church was already under construction and thus indeed refer to Saints Peter and Paul as founded under Peter I by a Syrian?

The identification of Saints Peter and Paul as a Nestorian church was expressed for the first time by Theophilus Mogabgab, who discovered a Syriac inscription during restoration works in the late 1930s.³³⁶ His theory that Simone ‘nostrano’ could have been a misspelling of Simone ‘Nestoriano’ has since been rejected convincingly. However, Makhairas mentions two Nestorian merchants, Frasses and Nicholas Lachas, who gathered enormous wealth, also during the reign of Peter I. Frasses (or Francis) is reported to have significantly contributed to the erection of a Nestorian church in Famagusta. Long believed to be lost, the recent rediscovery of the Syriac inscription further corroborates this theory [A.95]. Its position high on the wall of the southern aisle bay as well as its elaborate character show that it was more than a mere graffito: it is executed together with the fake joints and in the same technique as those, applied to a

³³² Enlart 1899, p 301 [Enlart 1987, p 246], referring to Lusignan 1580, fol 147v. On Lusignan and his *Description De Toute L’Isle De Chypre* see Grivaud 2004 in the introduction to the new edition of Lusignan’s most important work.

³³³ Bacci 2014b, p 228. For a full list of references see also Olympios 2014d, p 111.

³³⁴ Edbury 1995a, p 343 ; Mersch 2014.

³³⁵ Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 271–285; Mersch 2014, p 260.

³³⁶ Mogabgab 1951, p 188.

thin layer of lime wash that once covered the ashlar of the masonry.³³⁷ Thus, the evidence strongly suggests that a Syriac community used the church at a certain point. As Bacci brought forward for the first time, the (fragmentary) inscription reads “he completed (it in the year) 1663 of the Greeks” – which poses another problem, as this date corresponds to 1351–1352, thus well before the reign of Peter I, and does not specify which exact type of work was completed.³³⁸ Despite the numerous open questions, the sheer presence of the inscription makes it easy to follow Bacci in strongly supporting the early use, if not erection of the church by a community from the Crusader mainland using Syriac as its liturgical language (which would include the Nestorian community as possibility). While considerable care with regards to the date mentioned in the inscription is necessary, the thought of interpreting it as *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the church is tempting.³³⁹ The date of erection of Saints Peter and Paul is of some relevance for the question of the stylistic development in Famagusta. Was it built already in around 1300, shortly before the early 1350s or under Peter I in the second half of the century? We will come back to this issue further below, as especially the relation to Saint George of the Greeks proves to be revealing.

The Greek cathedral, today reduced to its perimeter walls and lacking almost the entire vault, was a basilica, over 40 m in length, with three naves of five bays each, ending in high, cylindrical eastern apses [69.8]. In Saints Peter and Paul, we also have three aisles of five bays, which end in semicircular apses, but those are considerably lower than their counterparts at the Greek cathedral are [A.86]. The third bay in Saint George is deeper, in order to create the square plan necessary for the construction of a dome above [69.4].³⁴⁰ The exterior of both churches shows largely plain surfaces

³³⁷ Unlike in other cases in Famagusta, such as the so-called Tanners’ Mosque [75], the painted joints are in coherence with the real joints underneath. The only exception (in the small portion of the church, where this original decoration is preserved) is the area with the inscription, where several joints have been plastered over to create a sufficiently big panel for the inscription.

³³⁸ Bacci 2014b, p 230.

³³⁹ For the methodological problems connected with using the inscription as dating evidence see Olympios 2014d, p 112–113.

³⁴⁰ This factor was omitted in the ground plans of Camille Enlart (Enlart 1899, p 312), who thus failed to recognize this major difference. Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 286–296, copy the plans of Enlart rather uncritically and repeat the error. For a detailed discussion of the reconstruction of a dome see Kaffenberger 2014, p 185–187. Opposing views have been expressed, most recently, by Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 292, who, in spite of ample pictorial evidence, deny the possibility of a dome on the central bay, and Papacostas 2014a, who argues that the dome could be an addition of the Venetian period.

without buttressing of the aisles or façades, a consequent continuation of the development that began in the first half of the century. The walls are interrupted only by windows in the aisles and the clerestory as well as five portals – three in the west, one each in the north and south. Further windows occupy the upper part of the (differing) façades: in Saints Peter and Paul a central window with tracery and two lateral smaller ones (one rectangular, one pointed) [A.87]. Both façades are flanked by an octagonal staircase turret in the south. Similarities go as far as the small shaft decorating the lower courses of the building corners and ending in a leaf mask, which we encounter on the north-western corner of Saint George. The clerestory of Saints Peter and Paul is supported by the same type of large flying buttresses, which can as well be reconstructed for Saint George of the Greeks. They abut the clerestory very high, on the level of the window arches, and do not possess corresponding buttresses on ground level – they are simply placed on top of the thick, plain aisle walls.³⁴¹ Profiled arcades on large round piers, carrying triple-shaft wall responds, separate the three aisles of Saints Peter and Paul [A.92–94]. Again, the corresponding, now ruinous, arcades in Saint George can be reconstructed very similarly [69.45]. Both churches were rib-vaulted, except for the central bay of Saint George, which, as mentioned before, carried a conspicuous dome above the clerestory.

The use of regular ashlar masonry, moulded portals, flying buttresses and window tracery contribute to an overall 'Gothic' appearance, which has prompted various attempts at categorizing the range of stylistic inspirations, but often failing to recognize the multi-inspired character. It is surprising that especially the Greek cathedral has frequently been considered as entirely dependent on the older Latin cathedral, while Saints Peter and Paul was always correctly connected with a wider range of possible sources of inspiration, in particular with the churches of the Crusader

³⁴¹ The ground level flying buttresses on the southern side of Saints Peter and Paul are a later addition, perhaps due to structural damage following one of the larger earthquakes (for the structural characteristics of the church see Ballard et al. 2008). The position of the flying buttresses in the clerestory might have contributed to the structural problems of both churches, resulting in the destruction of Saint George: the main vault thrust enters the clerestory walls significantly lower than the point, where it is abutted by the buttresses.

territories.³⁴² In fact, there is a range of elements in both churches, which indeed owe their appearance to the Latin cathedral [A.3–13]. The typological congruence as three aisled basilica is undeniable, but these are by no means a Gothic invention – rather the opposite.³⁴³ On Cyprus, they were the typological standard in Late Antiquity and some examples remained in use throughout the middle Byzantine period, albeit profoundly altered by the erection of new superstructures during the 7th–10th centuries.³⁴⁴ The same is even more true for the Crusader territories, where the basilica with a central nave and lower side aisles remained the standard for almost every more ambitious church building up until the Ottoman conquest. Therefore, the general typology does not reveal much about the specific inspiration for the church but rather circumscribes the wide range of possible sources, from which the design of the new cathedral church was drawn. Olympios already pointed out that the closer similarities with the Latin cathedral mainly include the piers and shafts, the rib vault, as well as the general use of flying buttresses and a façade with three portals.³⁴⁵

Indeed, the elevation of the interior bears the closest resemblance in all three cases and, at the same time, can be a key towards the chronological sequence of the churches. The general system is rather simple: plain round piers with flat, frieze-like moulded capitals carry the profiled arcade. The round capitals are wider than the arcade above, so that also the bases of a triple shaft, each corresponding to either a transversal or a diagonal rib of the vault, find place. As briefly presented in chapter 4.1, the sources of this architectural system are still debated – France, the Rhineland, or a possible vanished building in the Levant? What is relevant for the present discussion, is rather how the details of the execution differ in the three buildings. In the Latin cathedral, the capitals of the large piers consist of a well-proportioned hollow-and-bead profile with an additional roll atop [A.10]. In Saints Peter and Paul, the hollow is reduced to a vertical zone clasped by a single roll below and a double roll above [A.97]. In Saint George of the Greeks, no pier capital survives in its entirety. Fragments and the lateral responds

³⁴² For the view of Saint George as a ‘copy’ of the Latin cathedral see, among others, Schryver 2005, p 159: “[the façade is] a scaled down version of the façade of the Latin cathedral”. Similar in Georgopoulou 2005, p 251: “constructed [...] in the Gothic style, copying the grander Latin cathedral [...]”.

³⁴³ On three aisled churches in medieval Cyprus see also chapters 2 and 3.1.5.

³⁴⁴ See chapters 2.3 and 2.4.

³⁴⁵ Olympios 2014d, p 108–109.

indicate, however, a very similar profile as in Saints Peter and Paul with an even sharper separation between the plain vertical stripe and the framing roll profiles. The bases show a similar process of simplification: while in Saint Nicholas small consoles support the modified attic base and link it with the octagonal pedestal below [A.11], the pier bases in both other churches consist of piled cylindrical elements of decreasing diameter, crowned by a roll profile – double roll in Saints Peter and Paul [A.98], single roll in Saint George. Surprisingly, the shaft bases received a reverse treatment: in Saint Nicholas, where a range of different profiles was applied, they sit atop octagonal pedestals without any connecting ornament; those of Saints Peter and Paul are throughout decorated with a derivation of the previously mentioned linking consoles, a cone and sphere motif [A.87].³⁴⁶ In Saint George of the Greeks, all shaft bases of the main nave are destroyed, but those in the aisles remain – here, only a single base of a corner shaft in the northern apse shows a slightly distorted cone and sphere motif on the octagonal pedestal of the shaft base [69.62]. The other bases are slightly varied but all sit on rather amorphous, polygonal pedestals without any ornamentation. If we assume that the construction of Saint George began in the east, this could indicate a simplification of the original plan during the building process.³⁴⁷ On a first glimpse, the profile of the nave arcade seems similar in all three churches as well, but reveals decisive differences upon closer examination. In Saint Nicholas, a squat, wide central band is accompanied by waved quarter rolls, which are set off with a quirk against a lateral roll and hollow, followed by a quirked chamfer [A.10]. The combination of the central band and the quarter rolls returns in Saints Peter and Paul as a dominant squat roll with wide fillet, accompanied by a smaller roll and hollow motif and a lateral larger roll [A.96]. Saint George is again closer to Saints Peter and Paul than to Saint Nicholas: the central roll is even larger, protruding further, while the fillet has been reduced in width [69.45E, 70]. The lateral sequence of roll, hollow and larger roll has been further morphed, now omitting the small roll that in Saint Nicholas flanked the central element of the profile and rather putting emphasis on the large framing roll. As a result, the arcade profile of Saint George resembles to a certain extent the rib profile, a classic roll-and-fillet moulding with adjoining hollow and roll. In fact, the roll-and-fillet rib profiles

³⁴⁶ A discussion of base profile types in Saint Nicholas in Franke 2012, p 82–83.

³⁴⁷ For this see also Kaffenberger 2010, p 51–53.

underwent the same process of change from those of the Latin cathedral, still flanked by sharp chamfers [A.9], to those in Saints Peter and Paul, rather flat and accompanied by a hollow and roll [A.94], and to the more elegantly waved ones in Saint George [69.45A]. Finally, the arcade responds in the west and east deserve a closer look. The principle of construction in Saint Nicholas is different in the west and east. In the west, the responds are formed by half piers of the same construction as the full piers [A.12]. They are not directly applied to the inner western façade but to projecting walls, against which they are set off by the large formeret of the vault, which runs uninterrupted from ground to vault level. In the east, however, they repeat in a slightly simplified way the profile of the arcade, of which the chamfer is replaced with a flat curved zone [A.8]. Furthermore, the respond is merged with the shafts of the vault ribs in the adjoining bays. In Saints Peter and Paul, the two concepts were in a way aesthetically combined: a central large semicircular wall pier, independent from the profile above but considerably smaller than the arcade piers, is merged with the adjoining shafts of the vault supports [A.96]. Just like in the eastern responds of Saint Nicholas, the adjoining shafts of the main nave vaults pierce the capital zone and possess proper capitals below the vault springers, while those of the aisles sit on the same level as those of the arcades. For the eastern responds of Saints Peter and Paul, the low apse arch resulted in a conflict: the inner shaft, for the last nave vault, pierces through the capital zone, while the capital of the slimmer shaft for the formeret of the apse is again on the lower level. This coherent solution was copied for Saint George of the Greeks. The moulding sequence of the responds in the west and east corresponds to that of Saint Peter and Paul; for the capital zone, the arrangement of the eastern responds was copied. The difference is, however, that the apses in Saint George are much higher, thus its formerets did not require a capital on arcade level. As a result, the shafts are interrupted by intermediate capitals, which are combined with a horizontal string course of the same profile as the upper rolls of the capitals. This string course clasps the entire building, thus also the inner western façade, which results in the same solution as for the eastern responds: the only element piercing the capital zone is the shaft for the diagonal rib [69.67, 70].

As we can see from this rather lengthy discussion of piers and profiles, the chronological sequence of these three closely related churches can be determined with

some certainty through the architecture itself. It was never doubted that Saint Nicholas, begun before the turn of the 14th century, was the oldest, but the rather clear development of forms between Saints Peter and Paul and Saint George of the Greeks adds another argument for the mid-14th century date for the former. If indeed Saints Peter and Paul was completed by 1351, it cannot surprise that certain elements of Saint George, begun in around 1350, refer to the recently finished building. Of course, until now we only discussed the interior elevation deriving from the Latin cathedral, thus coming back to possible sources of inspiration for other characteristic traits of the churches is necessary.

The most striking difference between the Latin cathedral and the two later churches is the basic treatment of surfaces and cubature. Due to the box like appearance, the plain surfaces and three cylindrical apses, Saints Peter and Paul has traditionally been connected with the Crusader territories. Already Enlart saw close parallels with the 13th century churches of Saint Andrew and Saint John in Acre, an opinion that was more recently supported, among others, by Denys Pringle.³⁴⁸ Indeed, what we know of the churches of Saint Andrew and Saint John is that they were three aisled basilicas of five bays, probably with three apses [A.101–103]. The evidence is extremely scarce, nevertheless it casts some doubt. In the case of Saint Andrew, two drawings and a remaining wall fragment inform us about a richly decorated exterior with a lower zone of blind arcades and a series of windows framed by shaft bundles – flying buttresses are nowhere to be seen, though.³⁴⁹ The façade was adorned with three portals – the same number as in Saints Peter and Paul, which is not at all surprising for a three aisled church – and above five large lancet windows and three oculi, thus a far cry from the unarticulated, austere façade of the building in Famagusta. Of Saint John we know even less, as only the lowest stone course of the church and the substructures survive. Among the fragments are bases for the lateral responds of a rib vault as well as rib fragments. Pringle states that, even if the precise vaulting type cannot be reconstructed, a “plausible model [...] is provided by the somewhat later, though for its date old-fashioned, church of St Peter and St Paul in Famagusta [...]”³⁵⁰ This

³⁴⁸ Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 136–137 and II, p 17; Pringle 1993–2009, IV, p 97; Pringle 2015.

³⁴⁹ Pringle 1993–2009, IV, p 63–68.

³⁵⁰ Pringle 1993–2009, IV, p 97.

hypothesis also includes what might be interpreted as fragments of flying buttresses, which are visible above the ruin of Saint John on a 17th century panorama of Acre [A.103].³⁵¹ While it is certainly not impossible, that Saints Peter and Paul (and through this Saint George as well) owes certain aspects to the churches of Acre, in particular Saint John, claiming so bears the danger of circular reasoning – as those churches can only be reconstructed with the aid of the well-preserved Famagustan building. There are several other three aisled basilicas without transept in the Levant, however, most of them possess eastern apses encased within a straight wall. One unique feature of Saints Peter and Paul, the low rectangular space behind the apses, is probably connected to this tradition of straight eastern ends in the Levant – even if these never housed separate rooms but consisted of massive, solid masonry.³⁵² Solely for the 12th century churches of Caesarea, Gibelet [A.104], Beirut [A.105–106] and Saint Joseph in Nazareth (and of course a number of buildings with transepts, such as Saint Mary Latin and Saint Mary the Great in Jerusalem), the cylindrical apses are confirmed or preserved.³⁵³ The interior division is either unknown, as in Nazareth, or shows cruciform piers instead of the round ones used in Famagusta; the vaulting types (groin and barrel vaults) differ as well.

It becomes evident that, despite of the general retrospective 'Crusader' appearance, no precise model in the Levant for the two churches in Famagusta can be found. The evidence of the elaborate elements of decoration, such as the portals, further corroborates this. The northern portal of Saints Peter and Paul, clearly the main entrance into the church, is of considerable sophistication but at the same time of stylistically ambivalent character [A.88]. Structurally, it is a stepped columned portal, with pointed archivolt. The columns in the two steps are worked *en-délit* from marble, so are the capitals above, the lintel and the doorjambs. In this lower zone, the portal finds a model in the northern and eastern portals of the Latin cathedral of Saint Sophia in Nicosia [A.36–37]. Especially the northern portal, the capital friezes of which constitutes one of the few remnants of Romanesque Crusader style sculpture on the

³⁵¹ Engraving by É. Gravier d'Ortières, 1685–1687, in: Pringle 1993–2009, IV, p 92.

³⁵² Examples for this are manifold, e.g. the parish church of Ramla (Pringle 1993–2009, II, p 187–195) or the cathedral of Tortosa (Deschamps 1992, p 269–278).

³⁵³ Caesarea: Pringle 1993–2009, I, p 166–179; Gibelet: Enlart 1925–1927, II, p 118–122; Beirut: Pringle 1993–2009, I, p 112–115; Nazareth: Pringle 1993–2009, II, p 147–150; Jerusalem: Pringle 1993–2009, III, p 236–252 and 253–261.

island, resembles the Famagustan example in its sequence of marble and limestone elements, despite only showing one step, instead of two.³⁵⁴ The former southern portal, moved to its uncommon position in the eastern apex of the ambulatory in 1584 (thus, when the church was transformed into a mosque), provides an example for the indenting of vertical marble elements with the horizontal ashlar layers.³⁵⁵ The archivolts differ: while employing a similar, symmetrical profile of a central roll flanked by deep hollows and lateral rolls, all springing from small, shield-like pedestals, the overall impression is dominated by the addition of dogtooth moulding to the hollows of the profile. This change results in an antiquated impression, away from the dynamic, rhythmic appearance of the profiled archivolts in Nicosia, towards a heavier, ornamental decoration. Dogtooth moulding is a widespread motif in the late Romanesque, more specifically Norman architecture and it appears on several instances in the Crusader architecture as well – most notably in the 13th century abbey of Belmont in Syria.³⁵⁶ In Cyprus, we find several examples from around 1300 onwards: most prominently surrounding the eastern oculus of the Latin chapel in Kiti, a wall niche in the choir of the Augustinian church in Nicosia, there flanking the framing columns and in the hood mould of the chevron arch of Saint George Exorinos.³⁵⁷ At the portal of Saints Peter and Paul, dogtooth moulding also populates the blind gable above the profiled hood mould, which is otherwise an element from a third source, the current Gothic style of the Latin cathedral. There, a similar gable – filled with tracery and decorated with crockets and a finial – surmounts the western and southern portals [A.6]; a further example adorns the northern entrance of Saint George of the Latins [A.108].³⁵⁸ The western portals of Saints Peter and Paul are rather modest in size and less ‘hybrid’, as they lack the monumental blind gable and the dogtooth moulding in

³⁵⁴ See in particular Olympios 2009a. The northern portal is one of the earliest examples of ‘Western’ sculptural activities in Cyprus, even if parts of it are interpreted as spolia by Olympios. In any case, it surely dates to the 13th century.

³⁵⁵ On this 13th century portal Enlart 1899, p 114–116 [Enlart 1987, p 104–105].

³⁵⁶ For the use of dogtooth moulding in the Levant see Enlart 1925–1927, I, p 106. For Belmont Asmar 1972.

³⁵⁷ Kiti: Enlart 1899, p 440–441 [Enlart 1987, p 334–335]; Olympios 2009b, p 40–41. Augustinian church: Enlart 1899, p 162–167 [Enlart 1987, p 146–150]; Olympios 2010, p 218–228. For Saint George Exorinos see the discussion in chapter 4.2. On the dogtooth in Cyprus also Olympios 2014d, p 102, footnote 51.

³⁵⁸ Enlart 1899, p 321–327 [Enlart 1987, p 258–262]; Coldstream 1975; Özdural 2002; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 243–248; Olympios 2014d, p 100.

the archivolts [A.90]. The latter is present, however, in the small corbels, which carry the lintel – they are similar to those in the western portal of the Armenian church, formed of an upside down attic profile [A.75]. As described in the previous chapter, the portals of the Armenian church go back to Levantine examples, so the combination of this corbel type, the dogtooth as well as chamfered edges of the jambs clearly allude to the same architectural vocabulary as the early 14th century buildings. Two small details are of further interest. First, the springers of the archivolts and the octagonal pedestals of the colonettes are decorated with small cone-and-sphere elements – the pedestals in accordance with those of the supports shafts on the inside, the archivolts paralleling those of the Carmelite church.³⁵⁹ Second, the colonettes are not worked *en-délit* but understood as part of the doorjamb profile, which would remain the standard for stepped columned portals for all later churches.³⁶⁰

The majority of the portals of Saint George cannot deny their dependence on those of Saints Peter and Paul: the lateral western entrances as well as the southern and northern one were stepped columned portals [69.18–19, 30–34, 39–42]. In the former three cases, the shafts form part of the adjoining ashlar, similar to the western portals in Saints Peter and Paul, while the rich foliage capitals as well as the archivolts with dogtooth rather seem to refer to the northern portal. In a way, the system is simplified for Saint George: here, also the hollow in the hood mould profile is filled with dogtooth. Furthermore, only the capitals are decorated with rich foliage, while the adjoining capital zone stays empty in the case of the western portals. The southern portal, the capitals of which are missing, shows a flat ornament, which only remotely resembles the naturalistic foliage of the older portal in Saints Peter and Paul [69.19]. In Saint George, as well, the northern portal was apparently the most elaborately decorated one. Nothing except for the bench-like pedestal of the columns is left in the original place, as the portal was annihilated when the vault of the church collapsed in 1735, but several fragments from within the church help to establish a more or less complete image. The portal seems to have been of the same hybrid type as the northern portal of Saints Peter and Paul, employing marble jambs [69.41], capitals (one of each is preserved) and probably columns, all attached to a limestone core. The

³⁵⁹ On the Carmelite church most comprehensively Olympios 2009b.

³⁶⁰ See also chapter 3.2.3.

archivolts were decorated with the typical roll-hollow-roll profile with dogtooth in the hollows, only that here it formed an angled or frontal chevron moulding [69.40]. This can only be understood as reference to the older southern portal of the adjoining church of Saint Epifanios, which showed one of the most prominent chevron arches on the island. The hood mould of this unusual portal was formed by a roll-and-fillet moulding, which was entirely covered in rather crude, doughy foliage. This bears closest resemblance to the hood mould of the central western portal, which itself has nothing in common with the other described portals [69.29]. It is instead a wonderfully carved sequence of roll and hollow moulding springing directly from the pedestal – a truly ‘Gothic’ solution, which clearly draws upon the models of the portals of the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas.

The windows of Saint George display a similar emancipation from the examples set by Saints Peter and Paul. In the older church, the simple albeit large cusped lancets have plain jambs, only accompanied by a surrounding roll moulding. The hood moulds are set off by one stone course. The window sits exactly in the middle of the wall thickness, thus the inner jamb is formed symmetrically to the outer one. The same window type was repeated in the clerestory windows of Saint George, today largely lost [69.13]. These were wider than those in Saints Peter and Paul and probably filled with elaborate tracery. Two cusped lancets were surmounted by a standing spherical square, filled by a pointed quatrefoil [69.14] – a simplified derivation from the aisle windows of the Latin cathedral.³⁶¹ In addition to the small apse windows, which copy those of Saints Peter and Paul, there is also the large oculus above the central portal in the western façade, which makes use of the simple roll frame. This can also be found in Bellapais, namely around the eastern oculus of the refectory, which probably goes back to the 1340s [A.49].³⁶² The similarity between the two oculi might have well stretched out to the tracery, which consists of trefoil-filled spherical triangles surrounding a central circle with a quatrefoil – however, the scarce remains of the tracery filling in Saint George do not allow for a precise reconstruction. The aisle windows of Saint George

³⁶¹ None of the windows in Saint George had any tracery left, when restoration work in the 1930s began. One window of the southern aisle was reconstructed subsequently by Theophilus Mogabgab, who used reassembled fragments from the debris. Of course, there is an uncertainty as to whether the clerestory windows indeed possessed the same tracery. For this question see also Kaffenberger 2010, p 50.

³⁶² Olympios 2013; Olympios 2014d, p 101–103.

show a much more elaborate treatment of the jambs: they are moved towards the outside of the wall thickness, at the same time the jamb is dissolved into a moulded framing arch with a roll and hollow profile, giving the window a surprising plasticity, especially if seen from the street below [69.15].³⁶³ The only similar window of Saints Peter and Paul is the large western one [A.89, 91], which might have served as inspiration for those in Saint George, where also the lost western window in the upper part of the façade possessed a similarly rich profile. In Saints Peter and Paul, the hood mould is entirely covered in dogtooth moulding, framing a central roll.³⁶⁴ The tracery of the two western windows corresponded, as can be reconstructed for Saint George from several fragments: three cusped lancets are crowned by three stacked oculi, filled with quatrefoils [69.25]. The model for this has to be sought yet in another architectural sphere, in the local derivate of mendicant architecture, as it first appears in Famagusta in the western window of the Franciscan church but not in any example at the two large cathedrals in Nicosia and Famagusta.³⁶⁵

Olympios states aptly that Saint George of the Greeks and Saints Peter and Paul “amalgamate elements derived from fourteenth-century Cypriot [Latin, T.K.] cathedral architecture [...] and reminiscences of monumental architecture on the mainland.”³⁶⁶ While the resulting architectural language – perhaps even the masons, as the chronology suggests – are the same, in many cases Saint George of the Greeks adapts this new architectural language in a surprisingly individual way. Up to here, we discussed those elements deriving from the two main local models, albeit with occasionally strong modifications: the nave elevation, the portals, the windows. Other individual elements bear testimony to the wider range of sources that was used for the design of Saint George. Further above, we already looked at the three cylindrical apses

³⁶³ This visual access angle is one possible reason for the surprising inversion of the decoration hierarchy, with the more elaborate windows in sight on ground level and the clerestory windows, which anyway vanish behind the flying buttresses, with much simpler framing profile. The other reason lies in the reduced wall thickness of the clerestory (1 m vs. 1,4 m), which required to either reduce the depth of the inner or outer framing profile.

³⁶⁴ The small corbels, on which it rests, are probably an addition of the restoration in the 20th century, as pictures from around 1900 show gaping holes in the same spot. See De Vaivre 2006d, p 26.

³⁶⁵ The largely destroyed window of the Franciscan Church reconstructed in Olympios 2009b, p 43. For an evaluation of possible origins of this tracery motif see there and in Kaffenberger 2010, p 120.

³⁶⁶ Olympios 2014d, p 115.

of the eastern elevation, which have general resemblance to some buildings in the Levant, as well as to Saints Peter and Paul, if we omit the rectangular space concluding the latter to the east. In Saint George, the three apses all contain small doors to the north, leading into low chambers, which use the spandrel-shaped interspaces between the apses [69.49]. This feature is not without model, as we can encounter a similar arrangement in the eastern part of the Saint George Exorinos [A.59–60]. There, the two (later) spandrel-chambers already formed part of the original, single nave plan – a rather unusual layout. Only with the addition of the aisles, the rooms were squeezed into the small spandrels between the apses. For Saint George this rather coincidental layout served as an ideal way to answer to the liturgical need for side rooms flanking the sanctuary. This small detail is interesting, as it shows that also the smaller churches of Famagusta were readily used as source of inspiration.³⁶⁷ Less obvious are the origins of a feature that today is only rendered obvious on longitudinal sections of the building: the strict division of the elevation into three zones of equal height. As mentioned above, in Saint George the profiled imposts of the arcade respond capitals are merged with a string course that surrounded the whole building, including the aisles [69.59–60]. The same was true for the capitals of the vault shafts and a second string course, separating the arcade zone from the clerestory. This is a remarkable difference to Saints Peter and Paul, where no lower string course was applied – it would have cut through the aisle windows – and the upper string course was placed two layers of ashlar below the support capitals [A.93]. As a consequence, the clerestory is lower, the wall surface of the aisles much higher. In Cyprus, this strict 'layering' of the elevation in Saint George is unique. The closest *comparanda* in the wider region can be found in a number of 12th century Crusader churches.³⁶⁸ In this period, the combination of respond capitals and string course is rather common for the nave elevation, but only two buildings

³⁶⁷ While it is not always easy to distinguish between functional and aesthetic decisions, the church of Saints Peter and Paul, which possesses a rectangular space behind the apses, could have provided another model for the creation of secondary spaced with access from the apses. Thus, the adaptation of the (coincidental) Model of Saint George Exorinos was in some extent a conscious decision.

³⁶⁸ The system is, albeit with different proportions, in use in Gothic buildings in the kingdom of Aragon as well – for example Saint Eulalia and the cathedral in Palma de Mallorca. These buildings are, however, from the late 14th century and thus in all likelihood later than Saint George. For the relations of Cyprus and Aragon in that period and the chronological problems see Kaffenberger 2010, p 121–123.

transfer it to the lower zone and the aisle walls, as in Saint George: the Church of the Resurrection in Abu Gosh (around 1140) [A.72] and the parish church of Ramla (before 1191).³⁶⁹ As in the case of the latter, the clerestory windows are directly placed in the barrel vault, no clerestory wall is developed. In Abu Gosh, in contrast, both clerestory and aisle window zone are even of the same size, just as in Saint George. The lower zone of the aisles is developed even higher, which, due to the smaller dimensions, must have evoked a similar spatial feeling. While it is unlikely that Abu Gosh had any direct influence on Saint George, it is tempting to speculate about a lost key building of larger dimensions, perhaps one of the Levantine cathedrals only preserved in their foundation walls that might have served as conveyor of this system. A system that is, evidently, combined with individual elements belonging to the vocabulary of 14th century architecture.

The most visible case of the individualism of Saint George is the dome above the central bay. No Latin church in Cyprus is known to have been surmounted by a dome – unlike many churches in the Crusader territories. But can this specific dome also be part of a retrospective 'Crusader revival'? It seems unlikely, especially due to its position in the centre above the clerestory, but without a transept. Most domes used in the larger Crusader churches are placed above one of the eastern bays of the nave; all of them appear in combination with a transept below, even if placed in the centre of the building.³⁷⁰ Furthermore, we do not know if the drum of the dome of Saint George was octagonal or round – the late engraving of Cornelis de Bruyn rather indicates a round one [69.5].³⁷¹ Round domes on basilicas can certainly be found in other areas of the Mediterranean, such as late 14th and 15th century Venice (Santi Giovanni e Paolo, here above a transept) and northern Italy, an argument that is brought forward by Papacostas, when arguing that the dome of Saint George might be an addition of the late 15th century restoration phase. As tempting as this might be, the evidence on site does indicate otherwise: the original support system, which can be reconstructed from

³⁶⁹ Abu Gosh: Pringle 1993–2009, I, p 9–13; Ramla: Pringle 1993–2009, II, p 188–194.

³⁷⁰ This factor even caused Boase 1977, p 179 to wrongly describe the dome of Saint George as originally placed above “the second bay from the east, as in the church of the Bedestan in Nicosia”. Examples for Crusader churches in the Kingdom of Jerusalem with conspicuous domes above the eastern end or crossing include Saint Anne, Saint Mary Latin and Saint Mary the Great in Jerusalem, all of the 1130s (Pringle 1993–2009, III, p 142–156, 236–261) or the church of Saint John in Ain-Karim (Pringle 1993–2009, I, p 30–38).

³⁷¹ For the question of the reconstruction of the dome see also the catalogue entry [69].

the scattered fragments, clearly prepared the central bay for a large superstructure, i.e. a dome [69.45].³⁷² But where did the inspiration for this almost hazardous constructive solution come from, if neither from the Crusader territories, nor from Venice? Of course, we must always take into consideration a certain amount of original creation in a grand project such as this. Nevertheless, there is also a previously overlooked local model for the combination of a transept-less basilica with clerestory and a central dome: the Panagia Kanakaria in Lythragkomi on the Karpas Peninsula [135].³⁷³ This important church, with origins in the late antique period and a significant remodelling before the year 1000 (preserving the late antique apse mosaic, which remained visible until 1974), received a central dome at some unknown time in the Frankish period.³⁷⁴ The paintings applied to the substructure of the dome seem to be of the early 15th century at the latest, which supplies a firm *terminus ante quem* for the addition of the dome to the central nave.³⁷⁵ Now, if we assume that the dome was already in existence in the mid-14th century and add the fact that the bishop of Famagusta was at least formally exiled to the Karpas region before the works on Saint George of the Greeks began – could not have the ancient church of the Virgin Kanakaria delivered the decisive visual stimulus for the dome of Saint George? This thought is certainly tempting, as it would indicate a presence not only of Gothic and Crusader elements, but also reflections of the local Byzantine past in the latter building. For now, the lack of archival sources – attesting a status of the Kanakaria church as pilgrimage site or nominal seat of the bishop in the 13th–14th centuries – means that all such suggestions connected to the building have to remain speculative. Nonetheless, a possible additional explanation for the particular, systematic division of the elevation and for the increased height of the apses is thinkable in the light of possible Byzantine roots: both factors increase and systematize plain wall surfaces. The numerous fragments of wall paintings indicate that these surfaces were used for a rich iconographic program subsequently – a program, which was admittedly not based on older models due to the lack of adequate

³⁷² Kaffenberger 2010, p 83–89; Kaffenberger 2014, p 185–187.

³⁷³ Most comprehensively Megaw, Hawkins 1977.

³⁷⁴ A monastic use of the church is attested since the Ottoman period, whereas the importance during the centuries before is only attested by the considerable efforts made to repair and enhance the structure – one of the largest churches of the Karpas Peninsula.

³⁷⁵ Megaw, Hawkins 1977, p 36.

precedents in the wider region.³⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the local Byzantine tradition seems to have had a role in the decision for the individual solutions.

In conclusion, it becomes evident that around the mid-14th century, the erection of two major ecclesiastical monuments in Famagusta, Saints Peter and Paul and Saint George of the Greeks, led to a culmination of the process initiated around 1300. Both churches emit the aura of a Crusader church, but, upon close examination, without bluntly copying the century-old models. Instead, many small, in particular ornamental details seem to be inspired by the early 14th century churches on spot. The consequent, impermeable plainness of the perimeter walls – a factor that contradicts the structural system by omitting lateral buttresses – concludes the development of the earlier churches. Those were, as it was usual in the later Crusader churches, in possession of buttresses up until the erection of Saint Epifanios, the predecessor of Saint George of the Greeks. At the same time, also Gothic elements deriving from the Latin cathedral as well as the local mendicant churches made their way into the portfolio of available elements. This portfolio, it seems, is the characteristic factor of the Cypriot church architecture from the mid-14th century onwards. A wide range of typologies, structural solutions and decorative elements – including those of earlier Byzantine churches – was constantly available; their choice and oftentimes creative recombination could vary profoundly. Saint George of the Greeks represents the most ambitious, enormously polymorphic and nevertheless aesthetically successful example of this creative recombination. Later buildings, more modest in size and restricted by less amply available funds, tended to draw upon the smaller church of Saint Epifanios, without, however, ignoring the achievements of the large cathedral altogether.

4.4 THE IMPACT: CONSEQUENCES OF THE STYLISTIC SHIFT IN FAMAGUSTA

While the sacred topography was widely established, the city interspersed with smaller and mid-sized churches of various communities, the immediate impact of the stylistic shift is still visible in a number of later buildings in Famagusta. Of the Latin churches, most notably the cathedral and the Franciscan church received lateral

³⁷⁶ For the paintings in Saint George of the Greeks most comprehensively Paschali 2014a and Paschali 2014b.

chapels in around or after the mid-14th century.³⁷⁷ Of those of the Latin cathedral, only the southern one is preserved [A.7]. Added onto the aisle in the fifth bay from the west, it is square in plan and possesses a semicircular apse. The exterior walls are largely plain, except for three connected hood moulds covering the three simple windows with roll moulding in the apse. The former southern window had partly collapsed before 1900 and was walled up during the rebuilding of the chapel in the 1930s; it had a slightly more elaborate frame formed by a roll and hollow profile and its hood mould was decorated with a dogtooth frieze. A simple oculus with a cusped quatrefoil was the only decorative element of the chapel's western wall. The interior, made inaccessible during the transformation of the cathedral into a mosque after 1571, presents the same set of stylistic elements. Generally rather plain and simple, the apse is framed by a formeret made of a simple roll moulding, the apse string course shows the same dogtooth ornament as the hood mould on the outside. Ribs and the walled up connecting arch towards the aisle are of the same roll-and-fillet type as those of Saint George of the Greeks [69]. Fragments of the painted program, which once fully covered the interior, as well as a burial of the Genoese period, which serves as *terminus ante quem*, corroborate a building date in around the third quarter of the 14th century.³⁷⁸ The choice of the new style for the expansion of the main Latin church of the city underlines the degree of permeation this style achieved in the wake of the building of Saint George of the Greeks – we will come back to this aspect further below.

In the immediate vicinity of Saint George, we encounter one of the most peculiar Greek churches of Famagusta, today known by the name of Saint Nicholas of the Greeks [70]. The church consists of a southern half, showing a modified cross-in-square plan, and a later added northern aisle with groin vaults. While the latter is almost entirely destroyed, save for its apse, most parts of the southern half remain. Erected from meticulously cut ashlar, its dependence on the older cathedral complex of Saint George is blatant. The plain, cubic exterior with gablets rising from the perimeter walls,

³⁷⁷ On the Franciscan church of Famagusta most notably: Enlart 1899, p 327–335 [Enlart 1987, p 262–267] ; Jeffery 1911–1912; Béraud 1989, p 135–137; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 238–243; Olympios 2009c.

³⁷⁸ On the chapel see most recently Imhaus 2007; Imhaus, Piazza 2009; Andrews 2014, p 320–322. The notion that the chapel was built already in the early 14th century can be rejected on the base of the architectural evidence – it was clearly added onto the cathedral in a second phase and the whole architectural vocabulary is not thinkable before at least the mid-14th century.

the unarticulated semicircular apse, the octagonal dome – all can be found already at the southern expansion of Saint Epifanios [68]. The parallels also include the portals, of which two are preserved today. The south-western entrance [70.5] is an almost perfect copy of the remaining south-western portal of Saint Epifanios [68.15]: a rectangular chamfered doorway with simple corbels is set back from the wall surface by one step. This outer step, chamfered as well, is surmounted by a significantly protruding arch, which rests on a sequence of stacked corbels. It is necessary to remark that this portal was in a heavily decayed state by the 1930s and many of its parts have been replaced in the subsequent restoration. Furthermore, vertical joints to both sides might indicate, that the portal was placed here only in a later phase – the origin might have well been the same church, considering that we neither know of the original northern portal that had to be taken down with the addition of the aisle, nor if there was an original western portal.³⁷⁹ Be that as it may, the overall accordance with the buildings from the first half of the 14th century is so striking that only minor details indicate a later date. The most revealing is the string course that runs along the roof ridge, which shows a quarter-circle profile topped by two small steps [70.9]. This corresponds closely to that of Saint George of the Greeks, where this profile type was (for the first time, it appears) used for the entire cornice, not only as corbel for a vault rib. Furthermore, we can notice the same creative, almost liberal approach to the use of certain elements. The windows are varied: unframed round arched windows in the dome; smaller round arched windows with horizontal drip moulds in the apses; rectangular chamfered slits, which become wider towards the inside, in the southern wall. None of these window types accords to previous standards. The rectangular, chamfered ones can be encountered but rather in the context of an apse, while the horizontal drip moulds remind remotely of the large oculus in the Bellapais refectory, which is protected by a similar feature. Other than this, the absolute suppression of any Gothic element complements the choice of a traditional Byzantine arrangement of the interior space as cross-in-square church. This original type, as well, has been transformed in a typically Famagustan way: instead of a western cross arm with low lateral compartments, the whole width is covered with a

³⁷⁹ For the issue of the large open arch in the western end of the church, which has not been resolved convincingly, see the catalogue entry: [70].

groin vault, continuing into lateral barrel vaults – again a reminiscence of the early 14th century Crusader aesthetics [70.12].

We must assume that other churches in Famagusta adopted a more traditional approach and included either the typology or at least certain elements of older Byzantine churches while at the same time showing the usual Famagustan stylistic blend. One of these might have been the church that was excavated by Theophilus Mogabgab before 1939 [73], located a few steps south-east of the Carmelite church. Today, nothing more remains than the reset foundation walls, remodelled into a political monument. Nevertheless, it is apparent that it was a three aisled church of medium size (15 m by 10 m) with three semicircular apses. Mogabgab also found the original floor with four central bases for columns and two lower parts of piers, on a higher floor level, which clearly divided the space into three nave bays and an additional bema bay. Even if we cannot be certain about the vaulting system, this division would classically indicate a cross-in-square church with central dome.³⁸⁰ The very regular ashlar of the lower courses of the northern apse, which were preserved at the time of the excavation [73.7], testify to the 14th century origin of the building and suggest that despite its genuinely Byzantine ground plan it was built in a similar architectural language as Saint Nicholas of the Greeks.

The third remarkable minor Greek church from this period has suffered less through the course of time: the so-called Unidentified Church 18, which might have once been the monastic church of Saint Symeon [76]. Here, the references to Saint George of the Greeks are even stronger. Even if after a final collapse in 1936 only the western and eastern perimeter walls remain, the spatial structure and inner elevation can be reconstructed with some certainty thanks to Enlart's description and several historic images.³⁸¹ As it was erected on an irregular, short plot of land, the church is wider than long. Again, we encounter a three aisled building with three semicircular apses. The vaulting system of the nave was innovative albeit structurally idiosyncratic. Arcades of solely two arches with a central pier separated the naves, but above this, a central dome was flanked by two barrel vaults. As a result, the dome arches rested on top of the arcade apexes, while the central pier continued seamlessly into a wall, which

³⁸⁰ For a more detailed discussion of the vaulting system, see the catalogue entry and chapter 3.1.3.

³⁸¹ For more details see the catalogue entry and Kaffenberger forthcoming-f.

was occupied by a large window with simple cusped tracery. The impression of a clerestory was further increased by smaller windows placed in lunette caps in the barrel vaults. Low, groin-vaulted aisles contrasted with the luminous, high central nave. In total, this church exceeds even Saint George of the Greeks in its eclectic choice of structural and decorative elements. The inspiration of Saint Epifanios is strongly perceivable in the octagonal dome drum with mitred windows, even if here eight windows (as in Saint Nicholas of the Greeks) and not only four (as in the south-eastern dome of Saint Epifanios) pierced all sides of the drum. A very specific reference to Crusader architecture are the windows in the barrel vault, a feature that is not known from any other preserved Cypriot church.³⁸² The plain ashlar surfaces of the exterior (the façade buttresses are a later addition) add to the general retrospectivity of style, as we know it from Saint George and Saints Peter and Paul. A number of further elements was inspired by these churches as well: small ones such as the quarter-circle profile of the interior string course, but also the remarkable western portal [76.9–13]. This portal was a stepped columned portal of the usual type, but similar to the northern portal of Saints Peter and Paul surmounted by a steep blind gable. The archivolt was already lost in the 19th century, but perhaps we can reconstruct the common roll and hollow profile with dogtooth moulding? At least this seems to have enjoyed a certain popularity, as it also adorns the stepped portal of the nearby (Latin) Unidentified Church 17 [A.107].³⁸³ Finally, the amount of Gothic details is surprising for a presumably Greek church. The large window with cusped tracery below the dome remained one of the very few instances, where a form of tracery, as simple as it was, has been employed for a Greek church. Furthermore, in the upper part of the façade we see a small niche with a canopy [76.12], which probably housed a statue. Such figure niches can be found rather infrequently among the Latin churches of Famagusta, most notably in the apse of Saint George of the Latins [A.109]. The Unidentified Church 18 seems to reinterpret these figure niches and combine them with the purpose of displaying images of the patron saint placed above the main entrance in the Byzantine tradition (such as in, for example, the late example of Klavdia [106]). As no historical evidence sheds light on the

³⁸² There is a similar window in the second bay of the Panagia in Askeia [43], but this was placed there much later, when the floor level of the church had to be raised significantly.

³⁸³ On Unidentified Church 17 see Enlart 1899, p 383–384 [Enlart 1987, p 297–298].

origins of this most unusual creation, the church is only datable based on the stylistic evidence. This, however, strongly corroborates a date in the late 14th century, at the earliest. In the course of the 15th century, as will be shown in the next chapter, the eclecticism of the architecture, which is already strongly present in Unidentified Church 18, was further increased to become what one could call a 'medieval mannerism'.

4.5 SLOW DIFFUSION? THE AREA OF FAMAGUSTA AND BEYOND

In the immediate surroundings of Famagusta, a number of remarkable buildings remind us that, while new trends were usually set in the urban centres, builders as well as patrons did not remain restricted to these. The church of Saint Mamas in Sotira [210], a few kilometres south from Famagusta, is a dome-hall church of modest dimensions with a semicircular apse. In spite of this conventional Greek building type, it bears a striking resemblance to the urban Greek churches discussed above due to the use of regular ashlar and the overall stylistic approach. Again, as in the case of Saint Nicholas, the majority of the inspiration seems to have come from the church of Saint Epifanios, a more suitable model in terms of size and pretence. The octagonal dome possesses four mitred windows, the other sides of the octagon are surmounted by flagstaff holders.³⁸⁴ The three windows of the apse [210.4] point towards the southern aisle of Saint Epifanios, while the lack of gablets, the use of buttresses and the different vaulting system – the central dome is flanked by two barrel vaults instead of groin vaults – indicates that rather than a copy of the urban church, we see again an amalgamation of different inspirations. While the hood mould of the western portal [210.2], protruding and placed on top of two slanted corbels, seems to derive from the portals of Saint Epifanios [68.15] and Saint Nicholas of the Greeks [70.5], the portals itself show a type of corbels well known from elsewhere. The modified attic profile with dogtooth filling merges the examples from early buildings such as Saint George Exorinos with the corbels of the western portals of Saints Peter and Paul. Double crosses adorn the hood mould corbel as well as certain ashlar of the apse – perhaps this is a reflection of the

³⁸⁴ Flagstaff holders were a standard in 14th century Famagustan churches and are oftentimes an indicator for an inspiration of style coming from the city. On flagstaff holders in Famagusta see Olympios 2014d, p 165–166 and *passim*.

more elaborate double crosses on the façades of Saints Peter and Paul and Saint George of the Greeks.³⁸⁵ The interior of the church is only sparsely decorated and was probably intended to receive a painted decoration from the beginning. The cycle which remains today seems to be of the Venetian period and thus considerably later than the church, which fits comfortably into the last quarter of the 14th century.

The same date of erection can be assumed for the hardly mentioned small church of Saint Barbara [5], situated nearby between Sotira and Agia Napa.³⁸⁶ It is a simple church of one nave with semicircular apse and a barrel vault, again a very common local type. The most remarkable aspects of the structure, which is built in rather rough ashlar masonry, are the façade with the main portal and the exterior string course, which shows unusual relief carvings. The façade is surmounted by a small gable and contains a pointed lancet in its upper part above the richly carved portal. The latter is of the simple stepped type and its doorway shows unusually profiled corbels (a thick roll surmounted by two quirks). The tympanum contains a carved double cross with foliage, almost identical to the crosses of Saints Peter and Paul and Saint George of the Greeks, and is framed by a profiled archivolt with hood mould. The profile itself is a sequence of simple roll and hollow mouldings interrupted by a sharp chamfer, which again finds no direct model. This is also true for the reliefs on the otherwise simple string course. Among a majority of simple foliage, we can also discover a fish and two 'green men', rather clumsy imitations of the same motif present at the two large urban churches. While the interior does not possess any feature of interest except for the rather simple, pyramidal corbels of the transversal arch, the positioning of the niche to the north of the apse strongly indicates its use by the Greek community. The building illustrates how certain ideas and aesthetics spread from the nucleus in Famagusta but were, once again, merged with local traditions and somewhat diluted, perhaps among others due to the smaller availability of the funds and well-trained masons, which were necessary to create the elaborate ashlar masonry and decorative forms.

³⁸⁵ This motif has been interpreted as a sign for the 'True Cross' respectively a Holy Cross relic, by Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 296, but more recently Michele Bacci challenged this interpretation for the case of Saints Peter and Paul, comparing the motif to one found in the family seals of the Syrian Audeth family. (Bacci 2014b, p 230–231).

³⁸⁶ This is all the more surprising, as the church was already discussed in an 1983 article, Hadjisavvas 1983, p 318; there, however, oddly described as of "light construction with dressed stones, [whose] elaborated entrance and its setting lend a charm which is not often found in heavy [sic] Gothic architecture".

A series of other buildings in the area of Famagusta might well date to the 14th century, but provide too little evidence to exclude a later date in the 15th or 16th century. One of those is Saint Andronikos in Liopetri [133], a well-proportioned dome-hall church with an octagonal dome drum with rectangular windows. The church is built from rubble and fully plastered, thus details of the simple portals may have been lost – today they only show a pointed outer arch and the rectangular doorway, chamfered and with simple corbels, which is set back by one step. The three (empty) blazons above the western portal as well as the dome drum suggest a connection with the Famagustan style of the 14th century, but the interior does not provide further links. On the contrary, the piers below the dome are executed as round piers with shields, a solution rather known from Byzantine dome-hall churches. This persistence of traditional types constitutes the main problem for the dating of many of the smaller rural churches. While in some more prominent cases, as in Liopetri, certain elements at least suggest a post-1350-date, others, such as Saint Anne in Paralimni [168] remain entirely devoid of distinctive decorative elements and become somewhat chronologically elusive. In consequence, if we are talking about the style of the rural churches, this still refers to those monuments, which provide us with at least a basic amount of distinctive criteria for a dating.

In the other areas of Cyprus, the evidence from the 14th century is even poorer – not the least, because the Greek churches in the urban centres have either been destroyed or replaced in later centuries. In Nicosia, parts of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa [155] and of the Greek cathedral [156] could go back to this period, but both were so profoundly redesigned in the 15th and 16th centuries, that we cannot determine their previous architectural concept. Larnaca and Limassol are entirely devoid of late medieval Greek churches, while those of Pafos probably do not go back to before the 15th century. An exception is the remarkable Panagia church of Lysos [134], a dome-hall building of considerable size, which shows an octagonal dome, an eastern window with tracery and considerable remains of a portal with blind tracery and foliage, the latter suggesting a (tentative) date of the building in the 14th century.³⁸⁷ Other than this, we only encounter fragments that with some probability belonged to structures of the 14th

³⁸⁷ Olympios 2014c, p 162–165, esp. 164 for the date. We will come back to this building when discussing the later architecture of the region in chapter 5.3.

century. On the Akrotiri Peninsula, the monastery church of Saint Nicholas of the Cats [28], a rather unpretentious single nave building of the 16th century replaced an older Byzantine church. Embedded in the masonry of the 16th century church are, however, vault springers of a rib vault that might have belonged to a previous narthex – the pyramidal corbels and the roll-and-fillet profile of the ribs points towards a date roughly around 1400. A building phase during this period is corroborated by the northern portal, which has been reassembled from elements of a portal originating in the same time, presenting surprisingly well cut foliage and a lintel with several coats of arms [28.5]. The modest (late) 14th century evidence on this site, which after all was one of the most visited places for both Latins and Greeks during the later medieval period, is perhaps symptomatic for the rest of the island. Chapels of little architectural sophistication and with obscure historical context are scattered in the rural regions – chapels which tend to be dated rather later than earlier, and which attest to a slow, or, more precisely, patchy diffusion of the characteristic 14th century urban style.

5 STYLISTIC ANALYSIS II: THE 15TH AND 16TH CENTURIES AS A PERIOD BETWEEN CONTINUING TRADITIONS AND NEW STYLISTIC IMPACTS

*"The passage of time transformed [the] Gothic buildings from foreign, unfamiliar monuments to native trademarks. Now, these churches were part and parcel of the local landscape."*³⁸⁸

Maria Georgopoulou (2005)

5.1 THE 14TH CENTURY URBAN ARCHITECTURE AS TYPOLOGICAL AND STYLISTIC ARCHETYPE FOR THE 15TH CENTURY: BETWEEN AUSTERITY AND MANNERISM

The period of the 15th century, or, as Michalis Olympios phrased it recently, "long 15th century" (beginning already in the aftermath of the Genoese occupation of Famagusta in the 1370s), has been largely neglected by scholarship.³⁸⁹ Several calamities brought an abrupt end to the almost fabulous success of the 14th century. The funds of the crown must have considerably suffered from the loss of Famagusta, the economic centre of the island.³⁹⁰ Further debts remained from Peter I's unsuccessful attempts to start a new crusade in 1365.³⁹¹ And not only the ruling elite but also the broad population of the island was affected: subsequent outbreaks of the plague, droughts and several Mamluk attacks on the south of the island brought additional hardships. Thus, in the light of this politically and economically unfavourable climate of decline, it cannot surprise that the amount of newly erected major monuments can by no means parallel that of the 14th century. The scarce evidence of (mainly Latin) building campaigns in the cities has recently been gathered by Olympios. Skilful renditions reminding of the current Late Gothic style in central Europe remained the exception. Even in the immediate milieu of the royal court, only the spectacular window of the palace gate tower with its curvilinear tracery – today mutilated and

³⁸⁸ Georgopoulou 2005, p 253.

³⁸⁹ Olympios 2015a – The article by Olympios is the first comprehensive study focusing on the 15th century architecture.

³⁹⁰ Olympios 2015a, p 311–312, summing up earlier more comprehensive studies of Peter Edbury, David Jacoby and Gilles Grivaud.

³⁹¹ Most recently Parker 2015, esp. p 60–61. See also Edbury 1985–1987; Edbury 1991, p 197–211 and Edbury 1995b.

placed in the northern wall of the lapidary museum – and the infinitesimal fragments of the Beaulieu abbey cloister testify to a knowledge of current, or at least not entirely outdated forms [A.110–111].³⁹² Apart from these, the evidence is mainly restricted to secular buildings such as the construction of Limassol castle, which was largely built around the remains of a 13th century church.³⁹³ Other buildings only contain fragments datable through a complex stylistic analysis – such as the Greek cathedral of the Odigitria in the centre of Nicosia [156] or only perceivable through few photographs, as in the case of the so-called Caraffa bastion church, buried under the Venetian walls already in the 16th century [A.112–113].³⁹⁴ Both buildings indicate a simplification of elements, an austerity of the appearance, while at the same time no evidence of a new stylistic impact is perceivable. Thus, the judgement expressed throughout the few previous attempts to characterize the 15th century architecture, cannot surprise. Soulard claims that the stylistic “répertoire se décline autour de ces références initiales, finissant par se fossiliser en quelque sorte.”³⁹⁵ This is backed by Olympios, who recognizes a “deep seated conservatism” in those mainly Latin monuments that he investigated. He continues, that “the view from the kingdom’s main centre of architectural innovation in this period, Nicosia (Famagusta was in Genoese hands), indicates that, in spite of a limited number of superficial Late Gothic refinements, much of the late-fourteenth-century architectural vocabulary retained its currency in later decades and [...] has frustrated scholars’ attempts at dating later medieval buildings and construction campaigns and, by implication, defining fifteenth-century styles.”³⁹⁶

Evidently, this problematic situation renders the investigation of the mostly rural Greek churches even more complicated: the almost absolute lack of well-dated and well-studied major 15th century buildings deprives those minor structures of possible

³⁹² For the palace window see most prominently Enlart 1899, p 535–536 [Enlart 1987, p 395–398]; Leventis 2005, p 237–243; Grivaud 2012b, p 142–143; De Vaivre 2012, p 61–63 ; Olympios 2015a, p 315–321. For Beaulieu see most comprehensively, including a bibliography, Olympios 2012 and Olympios 2015a, p 321–328.

³⁹³ For Limassol castle and its complex building history see esp. Olympios 2015b, p 370–395.

³⁹⁴ The latter, initially described as ‘Byzantine’ church ‘of the Ottoman period’ by George Jeffery and as building of the 13th century by Du Plat Taylor, more likely was the church of the Templars. On the excavation of this structure, buried during the construction of the Venetian walls in Nicosia, see Du Plat Taylor 1932 and Schabel 2012, p 196–197, on its redating Olympios 2015a, p 334–339. The issue of churches destroyed during the erection of the walls discussed for example in Grivaud 2012a, p 206–207.

³⁹⁵ Soulard 2006b, p 108.

³⁹⁶ Olympios 2015a, p 333.

contemporary reference points. Therefore, most churches with an uncertain date of origin were rather placed in the Venetian period, a time of admittedly more intense building activities. Nevertheless, as will be shown below, a further investigation of the few identifiable 15th century Greek churches helps to shed new light on this obscure period of Cypriot architecture.

The study of Olympios chooses Nicosia as outset for a glimpse into 15th century church building activities. In particular the Greek cathedral of the Odigitria, a veritable ‘behemoth’, ungainly remodelled several times in quick sequence throughout the late medieval period, sheds some light on possible principles [156]. In the first place, the remodelling of existing structures seems a logical consequence of the circumstances – a multitude of buildings occupied the cities, many of those not older than a few decades, so that the erection *ab initio* of new churches would have been considered an unnecessary strain for the anyway limited funds. In this specific case, a main nave of uncertain shape, which was replaced in the 16th century, possessed at least a southern aisle of possibly five bays with rib vaults. Today the southern part of the church is a symmetrical two-aisle structure, which has previously been considered to be of one building campaign. However, thanks to Olympios’ most recent conclusions, we know now that the outer lateral aisle, and consequently with it the arcade between the two southern aisles, are a later addition.³⁹⁷ The style of this addition copies that of the 14th century aisle to such an extent that only on a detail level, we find the decisive evidence. The prismatic corbel, carrying the two diagonal ribs and part of the separating arcade of the easternmost bays [156.35], is carved asymmetrically; its southern half shows a polygon side more and does not provide space for the formeret of the southern apse wall. In the same spot, a vertical joint indicates the different date of the two apses in spite of their almost identical design.³⁹⁸ Of the arcade, the octagonal pedestals with small corbels to support the round plinth above (we know this type for example from the Latin cathedral in Famagusta) and most capitals with vividly carved foliage are so close to 14th century examples that one might assume that they were used here as spolia. Only the eastern capital, with rolled blazons between the relatively static

³⁹⁷ Olympios 2015a, p 329–332. I wish to thank Michalis Olympios for sharing his observations with me during an on-site visit in 2014. For a comprehensive bibliography see the catalogue entry [156].

³⁹⁸ Olympios 2015a, p 331–332, esp. fig 18–19.

foliage, deviates from this style [156.36]. The vault springers above tell an entirely different tale: as Olympios has remarked, the ribs seem to vanish seamlessly into a cylindrical core continuing above the capital – a decorative principle of ‘dying moulds’, which is totally in accordance with Late Gothic developments in central Europe, but unique in Cyprus.³⁹⁹ The wall responds on the southern wall do not correspond to the circular piers, as they are formed as prismatic half-piers forming 3/8 of an octagon but lacking a base or a capital. As odd as this appears, considering that the roll-and-fillet mouldings of the ribs emerge directly from the unarticulated body of the wall pier, it is certainly part of a consistent plan: the *tas de charge* is worked from the same stone block as the highest part of the pier. The inspiration for this type of piers is unclear, even if the aforementioned ruined church near the Caraffa bastion provides a possibility: there, similar engaged wall piers carried the vault. Instead of three identical polygon sides, the lateral piers show five sides, reminding much of a chamfered rectangular pier. Only in the corners, the supports possessed three sides, here arranged as a quarter of a dodecagon. Is it possible that the piers in the Panagia are a further simplification of this building? Remarkably, the northern aisle of the Panagia shows the same type of supports as those of the Caraffa Bastion church [156.29]. Olympios has aptly pointed out that the western bays of this aisle were clad in a new layer of ashlar during the 16th century building works, which meant the removal of these rather austere wall piers. Only the two eastern bays remain unchanged from the original building phase that can now tentatively be placed in the 15th century. Could the added southern aisle have copied the solution from the northern one – this would in turn point towards a pre-16th century date: it is hardly imaginable that one would have decided for a model that evidently had become undesirable to the extent of triggering a thorough remodelling of the elevation. A Latin building that could be mentioned in this context is the so-called Royal chapel in Pyrga, which has mostly been interpreted as a private chapel of King Janus (reg. 1398–1432) and thus dated to the 15th century.⁴⁰⁰ Here, corbels are used instead of supports, but the transversal ribs of the small, unpretentious space show a prismatic profile. This rib type was in use since the late 13th century (several monastic

³⁹⁹ Olympios 2015a, p 329.

⁴⁰⁰ Enlart 1899, p 428–439 [Enlart 1987, p 325]; Schryver, Schabel 2003; Weyl Carr 2005a, p 325–326; De Vaivre 2006b. Wollesen 2010 proposed an earlier 14th century date, but his theory has not changed the consensus on the original identification of the church.

buildings in Famagusta and Nicosia, the Latin chapel in Kiti), which points towards a certain shared aesthetics of these periods. Coming back to the Greek cathedral in Nicosia, the windows and apse of the northern aisle corroborate the idea of austerity and, on a first glimpse present only little difference to what would be expected of a 14th century building [156.18–19]. The windows pose some problems in terms of their characterization for the whole building: even if most of them are large, rather squat pointed openings of similar size, rarely do two of them show the same design. In the western part of the northern aisle, we encounter three windows, one in the northern wall, one above the apse and one in the apex of the apse itself. The first has a classical hood mould of the 14th century type, set off against the window profile by some centimetres. The frame of the window consists of a roll moulding with softly waved hollow, which also run along the windowsill. This feature already points forward towards the architecture of the Venetian period and will be mentioned again further below. The windows of the eastern wall are more classical in the sense, that their varied roll and hollow mouldings do not include the windowsill, even if the lack of a hood mould on the upper window constitutes another odd deviation of the previous standards. The apse, albeit of the typical cylindrical character on the inside, shows a 5/8 polygon on the outside, the lateral flanks of which are hidden between the adjoining main choir to the south and a heavy buttress to the north. Polygonal apses are indeed not uncommon in the 14th century, but in this period always belong to Latin buildings of overall Gothic style and show the polygon on the inside as well – at least as far as the preserved buildings are concerned.⁴⁰¹ In the 15th century, as we will see further on, they seem to become an alternative, if not the preferred model of apse design.

In the area south of Nicosia, we encounter two relatively prominent Greek churches that seem to originate in the 15th century. The first of these, in the outskirts of Dali, is today in use as a cemetery chapel and known by the name of Saint Mamas [59]. Camille Enlart devoted a considerable attention to it, as for him it demonstrated “parfaitement ce que devinrent au xv^e siècle les traditions françaises en Chypre entre

⁴⁰¹ It is necessary to keep in mind that we do know little about the earlier Greek churches of Nicosia – an outwards polygonal apse of an undated church came, for example, to light in the recent Palaion Demarcheion excavation during the erection of the new Municipality building.

les mains de Grecs dirigés par des Vénitiens”.⁴⁰² Indeed, the building stands in a region that was heavily affected by the Mamluk attacks of 1425, which it would in all likelihood not have survived intact, had it been erected before this date. It is a rectangular building from nicely cut ashlar, which generally resembles the 14th century buildings in its plainness and due to a prominent southern portal with a hood mould, to which we will come back below. In contrast to the often entirely cubic 14th century buildings, the church shows four massive buttresses, decorated with small engaged corner shafts, and a polygonal – and not cylindrical – apse with a deep cavetto moulding. Today, the church is surmounted by six gables, indicating the two groin-vaulted bays of the interior. This vault is, however, the result of a late 19th century rebuilding – Edmond Duthoit’s sketches of the state in 1862 reveal that originally only one large rib vault covered the interior [59.5]. The ribs are only vaguely recognizable, they seem to be of the roll-and-fillet type flanked by lateral rolls and hollows and rest on what seems like prismatic or pyramidal corner corbels.

It is tempting to reconstruct the vault in a similar way to that of the Panagia Stazousa [105], which is not far from Dali, to the south between Pyrga and Kalochorio. As former church of a monastery, this building was initially claimed to be of Latin origin, precisely of the Cistercian Monastery of Beaulieu, by Enlart.⁴⁰³ This identification has been rejected convincingly in the past, so that also Enlart’s dating of the building to the 14th century, forced by what he considered to be the historical evidence, should be considered obsolete.⁴⁰⁴ While indeed the presence of well-cut rib mouldings, cusped window fillings in the narthex, the double chamfered window jambs of the naos or the buttresses with drip moulds would cohere with the 14th century style, the detail treatment of the vault as well as the polygonal apse point towards the later date. This is corroborated by the portals in the eastern part of the church: albeit restored, these present us with simple versions of a portal type, which should become typical for the 16th century buildings [105.9–10]. Here, rectangular doorways with unusual corbels – a

⁴⁰² Enlart 1899, p 201 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 173: “[demonstrates] perfectly what happened in the fifteenth century to the traditions of French architecture in Cyprus when they fell into the hands of Greeks directed by Venetians”.

⁴⁰³ Enlart 1899, p 420–421 [Enlart 1987, p 321–322].

⁴⁰⁴ Schabel 2000, p 353–354. Schabel’s suggestion that the Stazousa Monastery was in fact a metochion of the nearby Stavrovouni Monastery is tempting but can currently not be supported with historical evidence.

cavetto and a roll – are framed with a single roll moulding, running across the lintel as well.⁴⁰⁵ Above the lintel, visually separated from the doorway itself, an arched recess is placed, also within a framing roll. Portal type as well as the corbel moulding do not appear before the 15th century. Thus, just as for Dali, we must assume that the Panagia Stazousa – in spite of its strong 14th century references – is indeed a building from well after the Mamluk attacks of 1425.⁴⁰⁶ For now, it is not possible to narrow down this date any further, but considering a possible phase of economic recovery after the attacks, we might look at a date in the late second or even third quarter of the 15th century.

What has been discussed up to here, presents an image of a moderately developed style, which mainly ‘boils down’ simpler 14th century elements and adds few further simplifying touches. Nevertheless, this is not the complete story – a fact already indicated by the church of Dali and its elaborate southern portal [59.7–8]. This resembles those of the Stazousa church in its general disposition. Here as well, a rectangular doorway is surrounded by a roll moulding and surmounted by an arched recess. Yet, unlike the more austere examples of the Panagia Stazousa, it is richly decorated with ornaments well known from the canon of late 14th century Famagustan architecture. The framing roll of the doorway, it seems, was supposed to be decorated with a flat ornament (remains of which are on the left impost), while that of the recess above is flanked by dogtooth moulding and springs from small rectangular blocks with more foliage. The most conspicuous element is the hood mould with dogtooth moulding and small rose mouldings decorating the horizontal returns. Remarkably, the central voussoir of the hood mould is bent slightly outwards to form the top of an ogee arch. As Olympios remarked, ogee arches emerge as early as ca. 1300 in Cyprus, but remain largely restricted to the tracery of central Latin monuments from the second half of the century onwards.⁴⁰⁷ In Dali, the use of an ogee arch might well be a reflection of the success of this motif in the Late Gothic period in most European areas, even if the variety of uses in the few examples adorning Greek churches in Cyprus does not allow us to speak of a stylistic marker. Two of these examples can be found as crowning

⁴⁰⁵ A similar profile as that of the corbels was used for the apse string course.

⁴⁰⁶ The portal of the mainly ruined and recently reconstructed monastic buildings, which shows decidedly italianate arabesque decorations on the imposts, was dated to the 15th century by Enlart. However, the character of this portal is so strongly inspired by Renaissance creations that we must assume a 16th century date.

⁴⁰⁷ Olympios 2015a, p 315.

the southern apse and transept windows of Saint Anthony in Kellia [98], but unlike the mainly convex example in Dali, in Kellia only the concave upper part of the ogee arch was used.⁴⁰⁸

The idiosyncratic Dali portal and its reference to Famagustan architecture reminds us that Famagusta, in spite of being under Genoese control, did not cease to be in touch with the rest of the island. In addition, the erection of new buildings in the former economic capital of the island did not entirely come to a halt after the occupation. At least one church, the so-called Tanners' Mosque [75], has traditionally been assigned to the 15th century by various scholars since Camille Enlart first proposed this date – an assumption that can be confirmed, even though it is not based on historical evidence.⁴⁰⁹ We know next to nothing about the origins of the church (that is, the community for which it was originally built) and the later use before its presumed conversion into a mosque in the centuries after 1571. The church, vital to the study of 15th century architecture in Cyprus, is a rather small building of a single nave with the plain ashlar walls already described as typical for Famagusta. Simple cusped windows with the usual hood moulds above and three richly profiled portals decorate the exterior – which, if only studied superficially, could easily provoke a wrong dating of the church to the 14th century. However, the details present us with certain features, which are consistent with what we already described of the 15th century architectural novelties. Uniquely for the smaller churches of Famagusta, the Tanners' Mosque possesses a polygonal apse, albeit not formed as a compressed 5/8-polygon (which we encounter in Dali) but with five sides of a dodecagon. The corners of the building, just as the buttresses in Dali, are decorated with small engaged shafts ending in semicircular shields – a motif certainly deriving from the more prominent engaged colonettes with leaf masks in, among others, Saints Peter and Paul and Saint George of the Greeks. The most remarkable and informative features of the exterior are, as is the case for most later medieval churches in Cyprus, the three portals, which in a truly inventive but modestly skilful manner use the whole repertoire of available forms and ornaments.

⁴⁰⁸ Interestingly, the main apse window of this church is one of the few to show the same double chamfer jambs as the Panagia Stazousa – another argument for the 15th century date. Another example for the deep double chamfers is represented by the windows of the northern annexe chapel of the former Augustinian church, here probably directly inspired by the 14th century windows of the main church, where two chamfers are separated by a large step.

⁴⁰⁹ Enlart 1899, p 391 [Enlart 1987, p 301].

The southern and northern portals are almost identical [75.10–13]. They are of the simple stepped type, where an arch on the surface level of the wall frames a deeper lying rectangular doorway and recessed tympanum. They do, however, evoke a certain memory of stepped columned portals, as the flat, heavy roll and hollow profile that is not only used for the archivolt but also for the jambs, is interrupted by capital-like blocks on the level of the doorway lintel. Ornamental decoration is reduced, flatly carved isolated leaves and roses seem to float on the plain capitals, the chamfers of the doorways are occupied with a continuous dogtooth frieze. The corbels of the doorway are almost identical to those in Dali as they are decorated with an inverted attic profile forming an upwards pointing chevron. Finally, the profile of the hood mould deserves a closer look, as it is formed of an unusual cavetto moulding [75.12]. This moulding profile is similar to the slightly less elaborate apse string course in Dali [59.13] and the more elaborate corbel and string course profile of the Panagia Stazousa, the latter showing a framing roll instead of the flat fillet of the Famagustan example. A small rose relief decorates the apex of the northern portal hood mould, while that of the western portal shows three such rose motifs, in the apex and on the horizontal returns.

Apart from this detail, the main portal is modelled entirely differently [75.8]. Here, the jambs are of the classical stepped columned type, the engaged shafts forming part of the jamb stones. They carry capital friezes formed of stacked rolls and hollows of identical diameter. These capitals connect the jambs with the archivolt above in a rather ungainly manner: the latter springs from a rectangular abacus plate, which projects over the deeper lying capitals. The – single – archivolt is dominated by a sharply cut chevron moulding with roll and hollow profile, a hardly systematic sequence of a central roll flanked by what could be called a spiked hollow and two further rolls of decreasing diameter.⁴¹⁰ Carved on the same voussoirs, the archivolt is concluded by two ornamental friezes, one with square rose reliefs, the outer one an oscillating tendril ornament with triple leaves. The form of the portal jambs and the concept of a chevron arch can be found already in 14th century Famagusta – the latter as well as the dogtooth moulding of the lateral doorways going back to Crusader architecture. The profile of the arch could be seen as a late interpretation of more classical roll and hollow

⁴¹⁰ The profile drawing given by Enlart 1899, p 391, is somewhat inaccurate and rather shows how the profile should have looked if faithfully copying the 14th century style.

mouldings. Similar to those of the lateral portals, it is not deeply undercut as was common in the 14th century, but even the hollows remain close to the surface level. Notwithstanding all these unsurprising local references, two elements of the main portal point into a new direction: the capitals and the tendril frieze [75.9]. Already Enlart claimed to be reminded of capitals he saw in the ruins of Saint John in Rhodes, certainly referring to the remains of the Loggia between the former church and the Grandmaster's Palace [A.114].⁴¹¹ Furthermore, the capitals of the nave piers in the Panagia tou Borgou church (14th or 15th century) and the imposts of the corner piers in the Great Hospital in Rhodes (between 1440 and 1489) indeed show the same stacked rolls, separated by deeply cut hollows [A.115–116].⁴¹² In the Loggia and the Great Hospital we also find a possible model for the tendril frieze, in both occasions utilized together with the rope frieze that is the most characteristic ornament of medieval Rhodes. In ecclesiastical context, a similar frieze appears on the main portal of Saint George (14th or 15th century), a church in the west of Rhodes City, which shows a surprising blend of Byzantine and Gothic features and also employs stacked rolls as profile for some imposts of the blind arches decorating the dome drum [A.117–118].⁴¹³ The apparent inspirations coming from Rhodes are surprising in Famagusta, as these are – we will discuss this in more detail below in chapter 5.3 – considerably more common in the south and the west of the island.⁴¹⁴

Coming back to the Tanners' Mosque, the presence of two lateral gables on each side already indicates the rather elaborate two-bay division with cross vaults of the interior. The shape of the groin vaults and the support system differs decisively from the 14th century models. The bays are divided by a transversal arch, moulded with a

⁴¹¹ Enlart 1899, p 391 [Enlart 1987, p 301]. On the early history of the church Luttrell 2003, p 94–99.

⁴¹² According to Luttrell 2003, p 141–143, the church was erected between 1309 and about 1346 “since at that date there was a Latin hospice and a confraternity both dedicated to Santa Maria”. However, the capitals of the nave piers do raise some doubt as to whether they should be considered as part of the 14th century work. On the church also Gabriel 1923, p 179–180; Balducci 1933; Dellas 1999, p 353–355; Dellas 2013, p 106. For the knight's hospital see Gerola 1914–1915, I, p 287–294; Gabriel 1923, p 14–36.

⁴¹³ Gerola 1914–1915, I, p 267–269; Gabriel 1923, p 202–207; .

⁴¹⁴ A further comparison could be found in the lateral niches of the eastern nave bay, which bear some resemblance to those, which frequently occupy the upper part of the main façades of the smaller Greek churches in Rhodes City. Nevertheless, the general appearance of this element is too generic to consider it to be truly indicative. The actual modes of transmission are largely unclear, but will be further discussed in chapter 7.2.

triple roll profile and resting on 'elbow corbels', which vanish into a flatter triple shaft support [75.14–16]. The lateral ends of the vault bays rest on pyramidal corbels, which are placed comparatively low and obliquely in the corners of the nave. The vaults themselves, quite sloppily executed, have nothing in common with the technically pristine 14th century groin vaults, which furthermore show horizontal apex lines, unlike the strongly domed ones in the Tanners' Mosque. In particular the supports with the elbow corbels match the overall impression of the exterior: that of a recombination of elements deriving from most diverse backgrounds in an inacademic, almost playful way. The *horror vacui* of the western portal arch, the cluttering of structural elements with heavy profiles and quaint ornaments, all point towards what one might call a late medieval Mannerism. In a way, this is the result of a development started already with the eclecticism of the late 14th century, from where the step to a more decorative and less systematic approach was not far.

Inside of Famagusta, this building is the only of its type, but a number of rural Greek churches, mainly in the east of the island, show reflections of a similar quirky creativeness. While these churches are usually of the simplest character with respect to their building typology, the portals became the element on which the urge to decorate was focused. One of these buildings, today lost, was described and photographed by Enlart in the remote village of Galinoporni on the Karpas Peninsula [XIX].⁴¹⁵ Already ruined around 1900, we only know that it was a single nave building with an internally semicircular apse, all built of regular ashlar. Its portal was of the stepped type, similar to the lateral portals of the Tanners' Mosque, but unlike the urban example employed a continuous moulding for jambs and archivolt. The moulding profile consisted of a central roll without fillet flanked by flat hollows occupied by dogtooth moulding and a lateral roll. The chamfers of the doorway, in turn, did not show dogtooth moulding. The hood mould is very indicative of the possible models in urban Famagusta: it was of the same cavetto profile and decorated with very similar rose reliefs on the horizontal returns as those of the Tanners' Mosque. The arch profile seems less quirky, more classical than the arches of the latter, but in fact, in the 14th century dogtooth moulding

⁴¹⁵ Enlart 1899, p 409 [Enlart 1987, p 313]; the photograph published in De Vaivre 2012, p 76.

was either used for the archivolts of a stepped columned portal, or, in solely one occasion in the Augustinian church in Nicosia, as flanking the columns of arch jambs.

From the 15th century onwards, the dogtooth moulding accompanying vertical shafts or profiles in jambs can be encountered more often. The church of Saint Luke in Spathariko [215] near Famagusta is a relatively large single nave building from ashlar with a polygonal 3/8 apse. It is entirely plain except for a remarkable southern portal, placed in the central of originally three bays, between two buttresses. This portal shows well that in addition to quirky, inventive solutions, also less eclectic ones were in use. Designed in the way of late 14th century stepped columned portals with dogtooth moulding in the archivolts, only a few details deviate from the – admittedly far more skilfully carved – urban models. The step between the engaged shafts is reduced to a string of dogtooth moulding, just as in Galinoporni, but ending below the capital zone. The capitals themselves are plain and occupied by small knobs – perhaps an only mildly successful attempt to imitate Gothic crocket capitals. Similar to the Tanners' Mosque western portal, the jamb capitals and the archivolts above, springing from flat rectangular plinths, are misaligned in a way that the outer capital only carries an empty abacus and the corresponding archivolt rests on the solid wall (with a corner roll moulding) beside.⁴¹⁶

The use of the late 14th century Famagustan archivolt decoration for an entire arch of the continuous, 'Gothic' type in Galinoporni, as well as the attempt to recreate a 14th century portal in Spathariko, reveal again the playful and occasionally idiosyncratic nature of 15th century architectural decoration. Especially in rural areas of eastern Cyprus, this could provoke a harsh contrast between the densely ornamented portals and the plain, simple architecture of the buildings themselves. Enlart stated, when talking about the Tanners' Mosque, that it was a "peculiar example of [...] how seriously retrograde was the effect on the architecture of Cyprus from the 14th century onwards of Greek and Italian influences".⁴¹⁷ But is it really correct to speak of a 'retrograde' architecture, thus using a more negatively connoted adjective – and where

⁴¹⁶ A small fragment of an unidentifiable carved object with a whirled centralized ornament, which today rests atop the right abacus, certainly belongs to a different context.

⁴¹⁷ Quoted after Enlart 1987, p 301; the translation slightly moderating the pejorative tone of the French original of Enlart 1899, p 391: "Cette église est un curieux exemple du [...] énorme retour en arrière les influences grecque et italienne imprimèrent à partir du XIV^e siècle à l'architecture de Chypre".

would one find Greek and Italian influence in the examples discussed? Indeed, many of the 15th century creations present us with rather comic than artistic qualities. The best example for this might be the portal leading into the inner southern chapel of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia [155.7–8], which was brought here during the 16th century or in the Ottoman era together with other ornamentally decorated architectural fragments from various destroyed buildings. The portal jambs are decorated with a most unusual sequence of creatively but quite ineptly carved ornamental bands: a roll, a fishbone pattern, a roll-and-fillet, a partly distorted dogtooth and a band of small roses. Above a 'capital' frieze formed by a rough block with a relief of a stylised twig with leaves, the jamb profile continues, but is oscillating in the way of a chevron arch. This portal, usually dated to the 15th century, stands, however, in harsh contrast to those structures discussed in the beginning of the chapter, the 15th century phases of the Greek cathedral in Nicosia and the elegant churches of Dali and Stazousa, of which at the most the southern portal of Dali lets us feel a glimpse of the mannerism that apparently dictated the creation of other 15th century monuments.

In the lack of firmly dated Greek ecclesiastical structures from this period, it is impossible to establish any clear lines of development or draw lines of demarcation between the buildings of the 14th and those of the 15th century, but as well towards the Venetian period starting in the last quarter of the 15th century. What could be established was the general impression of a somewhat transitional period, during which architectural austerity and architectural mannerism could develop simultaneously. When Maria Georgopoulou in referring to the buildings of Crete talks about a process or development, which turns the Latin stylistic elements of the 14th century into "part and parcel" of the local building habits, this describes as well the dynamics that started already in the late 14th century in Cyprus.⁴¹⁸ Inspirations from the most diverse sources were merged into what, on a first glimpse, appears to be a common local style. The distinguishing characteristic of this style is, however, its variation in detail, its readiness to include or exclude typologies and decorative elements from a large portfolio that would not change fundamentally over the course of the 15th century. It includes Gothic

⁴¹⁸ Georgopoulou 2005, p 253.

elements as well as ones deriving from the Crusader architecture, which both had become part of the visual culture in especially urban environments. The external input of new forms was minimal during this period, except for few Rhodian elements. What we see instead are a creative use of available elements and an adaptation to diverse aesthetic ideals. On an abstract level, one might even see a parallel to other regional Late Gothic styles in Central and Western Europe. Rather than to solely understand the styles of this period as last, quirky rebellions of the moribund Middle Ages against the arriving Renaissance, one should value the creative and aesthetic qualities that came with it. The period certainly stands for continuity and an organic development of its architecture to match the requirements of a dynamically changing time – something that in Cyprus, as will be shown below, would last up until the Ottoman conquest of 1571.

5.2 VENICE AND THE RENAISSANCE STYLE: ENRICHMENT OR FOREIGN MATTER?

The beginning of the Venetian period in Cyprus did not come in the form of an invasion, as the Latin takeover in 1191, nor was it accompanied by a war, such as the Genoese occupation of Famagusta, but was the result of a political process instead. The presence of Venetian merchants on the island can be attested since at least the mid-12th century, when John II Komnenos granted the Venetians free access to the harbours of Cyprus.⁴¹⁹ In the 14th century were the Venetians granted a number of privileges that their Genoese counterparts had received already in the course of the 13th century. The conflict between the Genoese and the Venetians, struggling for the leading position in the most important eastern Mediterranean trading hub, resulted in the occupation of Famagusta by the Genoese in 1373–1374.⁴²⁰ While this weakened the Venetian position for a considerable period, in the course of the 15th century the tide changed again.⁴²¹ Famagusta lost its enormous importance in the maritime trade, while the Venetian state remained the leading maritime power. Cypriot families were present in Venice

⁴¹⁹ Richard 1973, p 658.

⁴²⁰ A detailed discussion of the events leading to the occupation in Edbury 1980; Edbury 1985–1987 and Edbury 1991, p 197–211.

⁴²¹ A general account of the society in Famagusta during this period, including bibliographical references, in Otten-Froux 2009.

and it was presumably a personal connection of James II, king of Cyprus since his victory over Charlotte, his half-sister and legitimate heiress of the throne, with the Venetian nobility that should pave the way for the last chapter in the history of Late Medieval Cyprus.⁴²² In 1468, five years after he conquered the throne he was married to Catarina Cornaro, 14 at that time, and daughter of the immensely rich patrician Marco Cornaro, who allegedly supported the king financially.⁴²³ This choice of James II was certainly advantageous for the Serenissima, as it already secured important ties with the crown of Cyprus. However, immediate influence on the political destiny of the island was only gained in 1473, when one year after the arrival of Catarina to Cyprus, her husband died under mysterious circumstances. Henceforth, Catarina acted as regent for her yet unborn son. When the son also died in 1474, she became queen and Cyprus received the status of a Venetian protectorate.⁴²⁴ Fifteen years later, after the island had de facto already been part of the trade matrix of the Serenissima, the queen abdicated and found retreat in Asolo in the *Terraferma* – in consequence, from 1489 onwards, Cyprus was also formally under administration of the Republic of Venice. While formerly considered to be a period of regression, of heavy lasting taxes and of a general impoverishment, recent studies have revealed a different image, indeed pointing towards a period of cultural productivity.⁴²⁵ Not surprisingly, the church building activity as well steered towards a second apex in the mid-16th century. As for the previous epochs, only few buildings, mainly of the 1540s, are firmly dated. In addition, one would consider the development of new styles in central Europe to reflect on the local buildings, resulting in an even more multifaceted image. Certainly, as will be discussed further on, the close links of Greek noble families, by now an essential part of the island's administration, contributed to the transmission of new artistic ideas. It is commonly believed that the Venetian presence in the Eastern Mediterranean brought the dissemination of the Renaissance with it, prominently displayed in various public buildings on the Adriatic coastlands (e.g. the palace of Hvar) and on the Mediterranean

⁴²² For the fight of James, illegitimate son of King John II, against Charlotte see Boas 2016, p 534–536.

⁴²³ A general summary of the life of Catarina Cornaro, with further references, in Boni de Nobili 2012. A recent volume collects a series of studies solely devoted to Catarina Cornaro: Rogge, Syndikus 2013; herein Grivaud 2013 on Caterina Cornaro in Cyprios sources.

⁴²⁴ It is likely that the deaths of Jacob II and his son were politically motivated murders, however, this was never proven. On the period of the protectorate most recently Arbel 2013.

⁴²⁵ Papacostas 2010b, p 139–140.

islands (e.g. the loggia in Famagusta). But to which extent did this have an impact on the architectural traditions of the Greek churches that had already proven to be strongly retrospective in the course of the 15th century? The following chapters will focus on chronological aspects of the church architecture in the Venetian period as well as the question of the impact of those up-to-date Renaissance forms that would have possibly been perceived as modern or progressive, or at least unfamiliar.

5.2.1 The late 15th century – a transitional period

As an art historian, working with objects that are often devoid of precise historical context, one might tend to closely link historic changes with artistic ones. While this can be true in some instances, it might not be in others. Thus, it should first be examined whether this transmission of new elements coincided with one of the historical caesuras, be it 1473 or 1489. Papacostas recently demonstrated that at least since the mid-15th century, a strong Italianate influence in the decoration of funerary monuments can be attested, usually connected to one of the island's Greek families with links to Italy (the Urri, the Podocataro).⁴²⁶ Dated monuments of the 15th century, as mentioned above, are rare, so that no similarly precise statement can be made for the church architecture. However, we possess the remains of a dated church of what might have been a transitional period around 1500, Saint Savvas tis Karonos in Prastio [193]. Built as *katholikon* of a Greek monastery in the fertile Troodos foothills, the current simple structure with pitched roof dates from 1742, as a plaque above the main entrance reveals, but includes considerable remains of its predecessor. These remains, comprising of the three portals, an oculus and numerous single carved stones and ashlar, are a possible key to the understanding of the church architecture of ca. 1500, as an inscription above the prominent western portal mentions the year 1501, 1530 or 1533 as date, when "the Exarch of the monastery repaired and beautified [the] church"

⁴²⁶ Papacostas 2010b, p 142–143.

[193.6, 8].⁴²⁷ Almost uniquely for the rural churches of Cyprus, there is also a testimony of the written sources. In the *Livre des Remembrances* of 1468–1469 is preserved a request of a certain hegumen Gerasimos of ‘Saint Save tis Caronou’ to the king (!) for financial aid – specifically a release of taxes – in order to help with the rebuilding of the monastery that had been destroyed in a fire on the 7th of December 1468.⁴²⁸ The king granted the tax exemption and the monastery was rebuilt. Due to the temporal distance, it is not possible to prove that both dates can be related to the same structure, as *termini post* and *ante quem* respectively, but a quick succession of two new churches in a rather small monastery seems somewhat unlikely.⁴²⁹ This would inform us about a building perhaps begun already in the transitional period, at the earliest four years before the death of the last Lusignan king, and finished during the first decades after the formal inclusion of Cyprus into the Serenissima.

The remnants of this church tell us that it was built of nicely cut small ashlar and featured three portals of two different types. The lateral ones, formed as pointed arches without tympanum, feature a double roll and hollow moulding and a smoothly waved hood mould [193.10–11]. Thus, for the subordinate entrances, the builders employed a portal type that was first introduced with the Latin cathedral in Famagusta and only rarely made its way into the local Greek architecture – the most prominent example being the central western portal of Saint George of the Greeks. In contrast, the western portal of Saint Savvas – the size of which reveals that it was always used as main entrance – consists of a rectangular doorway and a recessed tympanum above [193.4, 6]. The mouldings surrounding the doorway run across the lintel, visually frame the opening and set it off against the tympanum as a separate entity. The vertical rolls of the jamb moulding die out into a somewhat flat horizontal cavetto moulding that continues onto the jambs as the inner part of the framing profile. The tympanum is framed by a single, slim roll that does not run across the sloped sill.

⁴²⁷ Gunnis 1936, p 403. The full inscription reads, in Gunnis’ translation “It must be that a king first built this monastery, which time has so damaged. May God on the awful Day of Judgement remember the Exarch of this monastery, who in 1501 repaired and beautified this church.” Today, the inscription is heavily abraded and in particular the date hardly legible, so that other, perhaps more probable readings as 1530 and 1533 have been suggested. See the catalogue entry for further reference.

⁴²⁸ Richard 1983, p 55, l 117.

⁴²⁹ Admittedly, the inscription does not mention that the previous church was destroyed by a fire but due to the work of ‘time’.

This portal structurally reminds of the – much simpler – doorways of the Panagia Stazousa [105.9] and Dali, which, as described above, can be placed chronologically somewhere around the mid-15th century. Further connection can be made through the cavetto and roll moulding of the corbels of the Stazousa church. This profile which, in variations, became very popular in the 15th century, also decorates the jambs of a partly destroyed window in the western wing of the Savvas tis Karonos Monastery, here certainly a remnant of the late 15th–early 16th century rebuilding. It becomes evident that the division of the stylistic development of the Cypriot churches into separate phases, inevitable in a study such as this, is somewhat artificial and should rather be seen as a seamless, continuous process. When the Stazousa portals represented a systematic, somewhat sober example of a new structural idea for a portal design, Saint Savvas added the rich sequence of moulding profiles typical for the 14th century architecture. The result is quite convincing and indeed this portal type consisting of a rectangular, framed doorway and usually a separate tympanum became one of the most frequently used ones in 16th century Cyprus.

In a place like Cyprus, where throughout the 15th century the import of new decorative forms remained restricted to a minimum, it is surprising to encounter the slow but successful introduction of a new portal type.⁴³⁰ Evidently, this could be interpreted as an own development of Cypriot masons, a result of the creativity of the 15th century, perhaps invented for a hypothetic lost building of some importance, that would have had sufficient visual impact to further distribute the idea. But we do in fact find similar, more or less contemporaneous portals throughout the Mediterranean, as for example the 16th century church of Sant'Angelo in Serramanna (Sardegna) can illustrate [A.119].⁴³¹ Some churches in Rhodes city present similar portal types, some of which with an even stronger separation of framed doorway and framed tympanum.⁴³² Furthermore, the type can be found in Venetian Crete, an Eastern Mediterranean region that was admittedly far more prolific in terms of creative late medieval portal

⁴³⁰ It should be remarked that already the western portals of Saint Sophia in Nicosia possess rectangular doorways with a continuous frame; here, however, decorated with a hollow occupied by small rose ornaments, something that is not encountered anywhere outside of Nicosia. On the western portals of Nicosia cathedral Andrews 1999.

⁴³¹ Caboni 2008.

⁴³² Dellas 2013, p 110–111.

decoration than Cyprus.⁴³³ Some of the many examples, sometimes rather crudely carved but essentially based on the same decorative ideas, adorn the churches of the Saints Theodores in Agios Kirilos, Saint George in Ierapetra (here combined with a prominent hood mould) and the Panagia Gouverniotissa near Potamies [A.120–122].⁴³⁴ The majority of the more richly decorated portals in Crete employ, however, a (visually) continuous outer frame that contradicts the visual separation of tympanum and doorway.⁴³⁵ Furthermore, the recurring Cretan rope motifs remain unknown in Cyprus. They nevertheless point towards a possible source of original inspiration of the portal type: the Serenissima itself. There, portals such as those of the Frari church and the Madonna dell’Orto present a comparable concept, even if obviously differing profoundly in their choice of material and elaboration of decoration.⁴³⁶ The main portal of the Frari church [A.123], created in the first quarter of the 15th century, consists of a rectangular doorway, indeed framed by a continuous (rope) moulding, but merged with the tympanum above through the moulding of jambs and archivolts, which are only separated by a horizontal foliage frieze. The side portal, leading into the chapel of Saint Peter (1432–1434), presents a significant modification [A.124]. The richly profiled jambs and archivolts are omitted; what remains is the rectangular frame of the doorway (again with a rope moulding) and the tympanum above, here clearly understood as a separate element, as its ogee-shaped hood mould features a foliage decoration that does not correspond to any part of the lower doorway. The portal of the Madonna dell’Orto, presumably designed by Bartolomeo Bon, reveals its later date of creation, around 1460, in the use of columns with composite capitals beside the portal itself

⁴³³ The specific character of sculptural church decoration in Crete has only been investigated in the wider context of few studies. For remarks on a selection of buildings see already Gerola 1905–1932, II, esp. 267–281 and recently Gratziou 2010, esp. p 55–91; Georgopoulou 2013.

⁴³⁴ Agios Kirilos seems to be unpublished, on Ierapetra: Gerola 1905–1932, p 276 and Gratziou 2010, p 79; on the Panagia Gouverniotissa (also in Gratziou 2010, p 279–280) and a group of nearby churches employing similar portals most recently: Georgopoulou 2013, p 474–477. Admittedly, the more frequent version of this portal type, as in the Gouverniotissa Church, employs a protruding horizontal frieze above the framed doorway, which emphasizes the separation of doorway and tympanum.

⁴³⁵ Among many others the Panagia Hanoutias in Gergeri (Gratziou 2010, p 64, 94), the monastery of Valsamonero (1430s, Gerola 1905–1932, II, p 244; Gallas 1983, p 77–83; Curuni, Donati 1987, p 144–147; Gratziou 2010, p 137–144 and *passim*) or Saint George in Kamariotis, the latter with a coat of arms of the Calergi family (most recently Georgopoulou 2013, p 469–471). For these richly decorated portals, indebted to the Venetian models, there are no *comparanda* to be found in Cyprus.

⁴³⁶ For the Frari church see most recently Valenzano 2007 and Corsato, Howard 2015, esp. p IX–XVIII. For the Madonna dell’Orto Penzo 2014, including comprehensive bibliography.

[A.126–127]. However, these columns carry an ogee shaped hood mould, which strongly reminds of the Frari side portal with its vivid foliage crockets. The portal itself belongs to the same group, featuring the rope-framed rectangular doorway, a heavy frieze above the lintel and a separated tympanum, here semicircular. An outer moulding clasps doorway and tympanum, but as it is a visually subordinate element, the structural separation of both elements remains dominant. In Crete, several portals mirror these elaborate Late Gothic creations, surely in a much simplified and compressed variation, and underline that it was evidently not exclusively the new Renaissance style, which was brought to the Eastern Mediterranean by the Venetians.⁴³⁷ The portal of Saint John in Deliana [A.127–128], awkwardly reassembled from what Gerola believes to be the fragments of the tomb of Domenico Vernier in an 1891 restoration, shows jambs with the typical Venetian rope and foliage decoration, which continues in small returns on the bottom.⁴³⁸ This example might provide us with a possible transfer way of such decorative motifs. The strong tie with contemporary Venetian decorations is indicated by the (ogee shaped) hood mould, which shows an assemblage of varied ornamental bands.

In Cyprus, nothing comparable in terms of the decorative repertoire is preserved and presumably nothing comparable did in fact exist (even if the occasional use of rope mouldings in other contexts indicates that there was a general knowledge of this motif).⁴³⁹ This discrepancy is not surprising, considering that Crete had been part of the Venetian empire since over two centuries earlier. When the Venetian Late Gothic reached its peak around the mid-15th century, Cyprus was still recovering from the Mamluk attacks and two more decades would pass, before ties with Venice were formally strengthened. Especially in the light of the Cretan evidence, one has to be careful to uncritically assume connections between Cypriot portals (and other elements of architecture) and their visually profoundly different Venetian counterparts.

⁴³⁷ Ogee shaped tympanum arches appear for example in Vrises and Faneromeni (Gerola 1905–1932, II, p 266–267).

⁴³⁸ Gerola 1905–1932, II, p 357–359 – The monument / portal of Deliana has, to my knowledge, not been studied in depth more recently, even if it presents an interesting aspect of the presence of Venetian material culture in rural Crete.

⁴³⁹ A rope moulding adorned the outer archivolt of a 15th century portal in the palace of Nicosia, today lost, but the rest of the portal with chevron moulding and crude foliage is more comparable with the rather clumsy style of the Chrysaliniotissa portal [155.7], see chapter 5.1 above. For an image of the first portal, destroyed when the palace was demolished in 1901: De Vaivre 2012, p 63.

Nevertheless, it is more than possible that certain aesthetical ideas were slowly infiltrating the otherwise firmly retrospective architecture of Cyprus already in this period. The new portal type could thus represent the most visible example of the slow shift of building practices that might have preceded or at least coincided with the political changes.

It is an almost impossible endeavour, to assign more buildings to this transitional period (which is, as I must underline again, more of a theoretical construct than a clearly defined period). The absence alone of evident Renaissance forms, or at least strongly morphed traditional elements, is not a conclusive argument for a date in the late 15th century, as we will see how deeply retrospective many of the later 16th century buildings remained. Nevertheless, a few further churches seem to be datable to the same transitional period. The small ruined church of Saint Nicholas in Trachoni [230], not far from Nicosia in the western Mesaoria plain, was a Greek church, rather than a Latin one (as claimed by Gunnis), even if it was apparently in use as a mosque in or before the 1930s. Today, the southern wall has collapsed, but the remaining northern half provides us with sufficient dating evidence. Especially the cornices of the polygonal apse, both with the common cavetto and roll moulding known from other 15th century churches, might serve as indicator. Other than this, the sculpted decoration is restricted to the corbels of vault and portal: while the latter show inverted chevrons just like the church of Dali, the former consist of softly curved cushion corbels, supported by varied polygonal lower parts. The western one reminds of an inverted melon dome or a *muqarnas* decoration, while the eastern one is centralized and softly curved; both are without older models on the island. The design of the building demonstrates well, how much the dating of smaller churches such as this might depend on the individual interpretation. Certainly, the 15th century elements are too prominent to propose any earlier date, but if it was built rather in the mid-15th century or, as it seems more likely due to the soft modulation of the eastern corbel, around 1500, remains open to debate.

Even less solid evidence can be presented for a dating of the small church of the Panagia Melandrina [7], a building of a certain austere quality even in its current dilapidated state. Here, we encounter the familiar cavetto and roll moulding in various places, most prominently used again as string course of the polygonal apse, but, in a more deeply curved version, also surrounding the apse window and the upper belfry

opening. This church, already dated to the 15th century by Enlart (based on now lost fragments of paintings), could as well be dated to the early 16th century based on the window frames, which are repeated in a series of strongly retrospective Venetian buildings such as Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161]. These retrospective buildings form, as mentioned above, the majority of churches during the 16th century. Anyhow, before having a closer look at those structures, it is necessary to discuss the ways of use of the more ‘modern’ Renaissance elements during the 16th century.

5.2.2 Traces of a ‘new’ style: the arrival of the Renaissance in Cyprus

In Cyprus, the Renaissance made its first and most prominent appearance in the context of secular buildings. The fortifications of Famagusta, repaired and significantly improved after the earthquake of 1491, received an elaborate entrance gate towards the harbour, the so-called Sea Gate [A.129].⁴⁴⁰ Erected in 1496, it is of purest Renaissance style, employing an arched doorway flanked by flat pilasters. The spandrels of the rectangularly framed arch are filled with small *tondi*, containing coats of arms. A tabula, containing an inscription, adorns the architrave above; an attic zone decorated with the lion of Saint Marc and a flat triangular gable concludes the portal. The evident similarity of this portal to the famous Porta dell’Arsenale in Venice [A.130] from 1460 has already been pointed out by Papacostas and Langdale, who both discuss another formal parallel: the presumable use of antique spolia, creating a visual bridge into the island’s past, to which we will come back in the next chapter.⁴⁴¹ The evidence for further structures erected in full-blown Italian Renaissance is meagre and mainly restricted to urban areas. In Nicosia, the spectacular star-shaped fortification, for the erection of which numerous important Lusignan-period buildings had to be taken down, dates to the very end of the Venetian period in Cyprus. Already under the threat of the Ottoman invasion, it was begun in 1567 and presumably never completed – thus containing only few gates with reduced, austere Renaissance forms.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ For the well-published fortifications of Famagusta see most recently Faucherre 2006, on the Venetian phase p 359–50; Petre 2010, p 170–183; Perbellini 2011, p 85–102.

⁴⁴¹ Langdale 2010, p 165–166; Papacostas 2010b, p 144–149.

⁴⁴² On the Nicosia walls and their architectural as well as historic context see most recently Perbellini 2011, p 102–109; Grivaud 2012a, p 204–208.

In Famagusta, the most prominent example of Renaissance architecture is the Palazzo del Provveditore, the remains of the royal palace that had been severely remodelled in the Venetian period and that is facing the main cathedral square [A.131–132]. Traditionally accredited to the architect Michele Sanmicheli and his nephew Giangirolamo – although Papacostas warns against taking this attribution as factual knowledge – the façade is thought to have been erected under Giovanni Renier in the 1550s.⁴⁴³ Consisting of three arches framed by monumental columns with doric capitals, which carry a classic architrave – the *Tabulariumsmotiv* – the façade bears close resemblance to that of the Fortezza di Sant’Andrea in Venice (1543 onwards), but also to other buildings in the Mediterranean territories of the Serenissima. The loggia of Hvar in modern-day Croatia, heavily rebuilt during several occasions and consisting of seven instead of three arches, nevertheless presents a striking similarity to the Famagustan building in its contrasting of columns set in front of a rusticated arcade behind. It is no wonder that also the Croatian building was frequently attributed to Sanmicheli, even if its erection was mainly believed to have taken place after the Ottoman attacks on the island of 1571 and thus over a decade after the loggia of Famagusta.⁴⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the loggia remained unmatched and had little impact even on the local urban architecture of Famagusta, not to speak of the rural surroundings. Other buildings with significant Renaissance elements rather adapt the traditional way of Cypriot architectural innovation: they modestly apply novel forms for windows and portals to large, otherwise plain ashlar structures. Several house façades, the fragment of a palace (so-called Bulwer’s arch [A.133]) and the western wings of the royal palace itself are decorated with rustication of different variations – cushioned, with sharp v-joints or, as the most elaborate type, with diamond faces.⁴⁴⁵ None of this was used for any of the 16th century urban churches in Famagusta. This might mean that the new style was perceived as more suitable for the decoration of buildings with domestic purposes or reveal information about questions of patronage. As we are, however, not

⁴⁴³ Papacostas 2010b, p 159–162. Giovanni Renier was captain of Famagusta in 1552–1554 and *luogotenente* (governor) in 1558–1560. On the architectural works of Sanmicheli and the defence of the Serenissima recently Mazzi 2014.

⁴⁴⁴ Grujić 2010, p 60–61. Interestingly, the city of Hvar possesses a church of the Holy Spirit with a late 15th century portal of the familiar type, consisting of an – admittedly more elaborately carved – frame of the rectangular doorway and a separate tympanum with hood mould.

⁴⁴⁵ Papacostas 2010b, p 156.

informed about the patrons for most preserved churches and do not know, if possible Venetian foundations are lost now, this aspect will have to remain open until the discovery of relevant written sources.

The monastery of Agia Napa [4], few kilometres south of Famagusta and an important site for pilgrims, Greek locals as much as Latins from the West, contains the most elaborate examples of Renaissance architecture in a sacral context and is therefore the most important key to the identification of Renaissance period churches in non-urban as well as urban areas. Here, it is the gatehouse, presumably of 1530, which is decorated with Renaissance window frames in its upper storey, all resting on the string course above the ground floor [4.5–6].⁴⁴⁶ Six large openings pierce the upper storey, three of which share the same design, loosely based on the *Tabulariumsmotiv*. Each face of the window jambs is decorated with a separate continuous framing moulding, this decoration is repeated on the protruding pedestals which flank the inner arch. On the inner jambs rests a rather low semicircular arch, in two cases with a simplified leaf ornament, in the third case with another framing moulding. The lateral pedestals carry small octagonal columns with twisted rope ornamentation and stylized leaf capitals, which support a horizontal frieze that concludes the window. All three windows certainly owe their appearance to an – on the island – unprecedented Renaissance ‘spirit’, displayed by the characteristic *Tabulariumsmotiv*. Nevertheless, already Papacostas has pointed out the “idiosyncratic detail” treatment, which differs in the three examples.⁴⁴⁷ Here we see another reflex of the playful Cypriot approach to the use of ornament, which somehow contradicts the systematic application of decorative rules in the Renaissance architecture. The southern window above the main gateway differs from the others in that it is decorated with a diamond rustication, as it is known from urban Famagusta. Unlike those examples, the Agia Napa window seems rather clumsy and inelegant in its execution. Especially the large rusticated voussoirs of the arch contribute to this appearance: only four of them develop a regular pentagonal shape with sharp edges pointing outwards centripetally, while the keystone and the

⁴⁴⁶ The change of moulding profiles of this string course as well as irregularities in the ashlar setting indicate that the gate house was not erected according to a single plan or in a single building phase. Nevertheless, the chronological proximity of all its parts cannot be doubted.

⁴⁴⁷ Papacostas 2010b, p 151. Papacostas refers to similar examples in Venetian Crete, which again indicates that certain phenomena resulted in similar stylistic aspects in the Eastern Mediterranean.

lower voussoirs are compressed to fit into an imagined rectangular frame corresponding to the size of the other windows. This frame is concluded on top with a horizontal frieze supported by two ‘floating’ rectangular rusticated ashlars.

It is revealing that the use of such Renaissance elements remained restricted to the gatehouse, while apparently not deemed suitable for the decoration of the monastery church. This, a highly irregular building of various phases that is partly built into the stone as a cave sanctuary, is quite problematic in its chronology, as discussed in the catalogue entry. Apparently, as is the case with the gatehouse, there were several subsequent phases of renewal in a short period in the 16th century. The main entrance shows a strange blend of hardly reconcilable elements [4.10]. The rectangular doorway originally possessed a continuous frame with horizontal returns on the bottom (the upper part was later replaced with clumsy corbels and subsequently the whole portal filled with a smaller pointed arch). Above the doorway, the rectangular lintel possesses a framing profile, similar to the window jambs mentioned above, and displays a blazon with a double cross. The tympanum is divided in three, with a clumsy rose window in the centre and lateral triangles, all covered in small flower ornaments and surrounded by heavy dentil ornament. The hood mould, with a combined rectangular and quarter roll profile, rests on corbels resembling an open book, probably a derivative of the Levantine gadroon ornament transferred onto the typically Cypriot quarter circle corbels. It becomes obvious that, albeit applying a certain number of Renaissance concepts such as the framed lintel and the dentil ornament, other aspects (the simulated tracery in the tympanum, the corbels) are deeply rooted in the local traditions of Gothic architecture.

This is indicative of the situation in the whole of Cyprus. Strong Renaissance inspirations made their way almost exclusively into the domestic architecture, as further examples such as the monastic buildings adjoining the former Augustinian church [A.134] or the Lapidary Museum building in Nicosia [A.135] – both with Renaissance corbels, gabled architraves, etc. – underline.⁴⁴⁸ Especially the Augustinian’s façade, even if belonging to a mendicant, thus ‘Latin’ context, is quite

⁴⁴⁸ Papacostas 2010b, p 159, is certainly right in dating both to the 16th century, thus rejecting the 15th century date proposed by Enlart 1899, p 163 [Enlart 1987, p 405], for the Augustinian’s façade, recently repeated by Schabel 2012, p 194, on the base of a historic reference mentioning a ‘guest house’ being built by William Goneme before 1473.

instructive in terms of presenting further elements that, albeit not specifically 'Renaissance', can be found adorning Greek churches throughout the island. The conspicuous windows mainly draw their Renaissance character from the elaborate, waved corbels with volutes, which carry the deep windowsill, and the triangular gables surmounting the upper string course of the façade. More interesting for our questions is the frame of the rectangular window opening itself, continuous and with horizontal returns on the lower ends, which is composed of a flat bell moulding with single flowers in the corners. The idea of profiles clasping entirely around elements of construction can also be noted in the case of the lower corbels, where the concave part of the abacus moulding continues vertically along the sides of the corbels. The lateral portal [A.136], part of the same building phase but not entirely wrongly labelled as "Gothic" by Schabel, seems to stand in contrast with the windows. While it does not display Renaissance elements, it does nevertheless bear testimony to the basic concept of using profiles to frame elements. The jambs are decorated with an engaged colonette and thus resemble the 14th century stepped columned portals – only that here, the colonette is flanked by smaller roll mouldings and framed by a continuous ogee moulding. We will come back to this portal type further below, for now it suffices as example to prove that the coexistence of retrospective as well as contemporary forms was by no means impossible, even if the retrospective elements of design remained by far in the majority.

There seems to be only a single church building in Cyprus that takes the inclusion of Renaissance elements to a similar stage as the few presented domestic structures, the church of Saint Paraskevi near Kapsalos [94], a ruin hidden on a remote plateau of the northern foothills of the eastern Pentadaktylos. The northern portal of this otherwise common, albeit relatively large single nave building is framed by a flat rustication with v-joints that reminds of the Famagustan palace windows. The upper part of the portal, a recessed tympanum framed with a similar moulding to that of the Agia Napa church, which rests on a profiled frieze with dentil ornament, indicates a possible connection of this rather enigmatic building with the architecture of the Famagusta area. While the rustication of the portal is unique, the use of a more common tympanum displays the same way of integrating the Renaissance elements into a traditional architectural and decorative framework as the Agia Napa church

façade. Of the other decorative elements of the church, only the vault corbels remain. They are of the quarter circle type, but framed by a continuous hollow, betraying their rather late date of creation.

Apart from the Paraskevi church, the most strikingly Renaissance elements were employed in the (unfinished) church of Agios Sozomenos [16]. This highly interesting building, which will occupy us again further below, possesses prominently displayed funerary niches in its aisles [16.20]. These are decorated with flat pilasters surmounted by somewhat misunderstood renditions of composite capitals – a decorative motif that can be encountered (albeit evidently carved much more skilfully) in a number of Venetian churches, such as the late 15th century Santa Maria dei Miracoli of Pietro Lombardo [A.137].⁴⁴⁹ Certainly, the cubic, plain pedestals of the nave supports, without *comparanda* in Cyprus, derive from the same set of models – they are common in Venice around 1500 as well, even if usually not serving as bases for vault supports.

While a number of smaller urban and rural churches include further less obvious renditions especially of ornaments deriving from a Renaissance context, which will be discussed further below, none of these can be assigned to a common, systematic approach. Instead, they bear testimony to an uninterrupted use of the long established portfolio of decorative elements and building habits, which was enriched, perhaps even rejuvenated in a certain way, but by no means replaced by the slow radiation of the new Renaissance style.⁴⁵⁰

5.2.3 Persistence of an 'old' style: urban and rural churches of a 'Cypriot medieval character'

It is not surprising that in particular the urban environment proved to provide the few small patches of fertile ground, on which new decorative ideas could be developed within an otherwise astonishingly resilient and stable framework of retrospective character. At some point of the 16th century, the Orthodox cathedral of Nicosia underwent a thorough renovation that is instructive in terms of stylistic preferences –

⁴⁴⁹ See in particular Ceriana 2003 for a recent study of the architecture and sculptural decoration of Santa Maria dei Miracoli.

⁴⁵⁰ Papacostas 2010b, p 166–168 with similar conclusive remarks.

as well as practices of representation, which will be discussed in the subsequent chapters. This renovation resulted in an almost complete rebuilding of the central nave and the creation of a new, elaborate northern façade facing the Latin cathedral on the opposite side of the street [156.19–22]. This façade, comprising of the three western bays of the northern aisle, is probably one of the most inventive creations of Cypriot 16th century architecture, even if certainly not its most elegant example. The three bays are each designed slightly differently but share a coherent framing system. Four buttresses separate the bays; their lower zones are unarticulated except for the north-western one, which possesses an engaged colonette and a corner moulding, both ending in swirls of rather abstract foliage. Deep drip moulds, which are part of a continuous string course, separate the lower and upper zone of the façade; the latter is slightly set back and decorated with prismatic shafts attached to the buttress corners. A protruding, moulded horizontal cornice concludes the façade – here, we can find the most revealing evidence for the late date of this building phase: rope ornaments, a fluted cavetto moulding and the various decorations of the small capitals that interrupt the cornice above the prismatic shafts [156.24]. Among these capitals we find, unique among the Greek churches of Cyprus, small hybrid creatures, dragon-like lions, which correspond stylistically to the gargoyles placed on the faces of the buttresses. Other than this, most of the ornamental decoration is retrospective to a point that one might almost consider parts of it to be 14th or 15th century spolia. The three portals – the fact alone, that there is one portal in each bay is remarkable – represent a curious variation of types. The westernmost is a stepped columned portal with cushion-like, flatly ornamented capitals and vivid, chunky foliage decorating the archivolt of the hood mould [156.25]. The central portal, the smallest of the three consists of a rectangular, continuously framed doorway, jambs decorated with immensely slim colonettes, a tympanum with blind tracery and an outer rectangular frame [156.26]. Various ornaments cover the diverse parts of the portal: a flute ornament is discernible on the threshold, inverted cone-and-sphere elements on the jamb bases, a band of roses runs along the jamb colonettes and continues into the archivolt. In fact, the upper parts of this portal are not interlocking smoothly with the rest of the wall, as the ashlar sizes are different. Even if this might well mean that the portal was not intended for this specific place, it is surely a creation of after 1500. While especially the repetitive character of

the ornaments and the blind tracery refer to the older portals of Saint Sophia right across the street, the idiosyncratic multiplication of the small cone-and-sphere elements as well as the frame of the doorway fit better within the artistic context of the 16th century. The easternmost, largest portal is an almost faithful duplication of the Latin cathedral's main portal, varied only in its considerably more squat proportions [156.21].⁴⁵¹ If it was not firmly integrated into the 16th century masonry, one would, due to the flamboyant tracery of the oculus in the large gable above the portal, probably suggest a date in the 15th century. In total, one might speak of a showcase display of skilfully carved portals (and windows as well, one must add), which are designed largely in the style of the 14th century; only enriched with a restricted number of more current or at least modified decorative elements in the upper façade zone.

The new, central nave, in contrast, does not contend itself with a faithful transcription of older models, but, on the other hand, also does without any clearer Renaissance elements.⁴⁵² Here, we can rather study characteristics of the way, in which the 14th and 15th century architecture was structurally maintained while being modified in detail. Especially the vaulting system, even if irregular due to the adaption of older building parts, is insightful. Only three wide, low arches separate the nave from the aisles [156.27–28]. They rest on piers composed of a square core and four attached semi-columns, which rest on flat attic bases and carry somewhat inelegant, block-like abaci. The orthogonal design of the abaci is reflected in the profile of the arches they carry, which, in spite of being decorated with rather common roll and hollow sequences, differ from 14th century models in the plain, flat treatment of the soffit and the stepped arrangement of inner and outer moulding parts. The vault above seems to have imitated 14th century rib vaults; however, once more the treatment of details was varied [156.33]. While the zig-zag pattern of the transversal arches somewhat reminds of the 15th century mannerisms, the use of simple attached semi columns as responds is a common, albeit not mandatory solution for the simplification of more complex Gothic models. We encounter similar semicolumns for example in the northern aisle of the Agia Napa Monastery church.

⁴⁵¹ On this aspect see also Papacostas 2010b, p 166.

⁴⁵² It should be taken into account that the chronology of the nave, which is in fact a product of several phases, has not been convincingly disentangled yet (see also Olympios 2015a, p 328–333).

In Famagusta, the large number of existing churches as well as the gradual loss of economic importance resulted in a lack of comparable large-scale building activity during this later period. Nevertheless, there are two small churches from the period, both unidentified, one labelled as Unidentified Church 19 [74] by Enlart and in use as Mustafa Pasha Mosque since the Ottoman period, the other commonly (and misleadingly) known as Bishop's chapel [72] due to its proximity to the Latin cathedral. Both rather stand in a rural building tradition in that they are simple barrel-vaulted single nave churches. Nevertheless, both are built from the same meticulously cut ashlar that had already dominated the streets of Famagusta since the 14th century and both boast a number of elaborate decorative architectural elements. The portals of the Unidentified Church 19 are among the richest employed for a smaller church in Cyprus [74.3–5]. The western entrance bears a certain resemblance to that of the 15th century Tanners' Mosque [75.8] or even more Saint Luke in Spathariko [215]: a stepped columned portal, covered in an idiosyncratic assemblage of ornamental detailing. A closer look reveals, however, that, even if the large range of various ornaments is indeed comparable, they are employed in a far more systematic way. The columns, separated by dogtooth moulding, possess proper capitals again, which are combined with lateral impostes to form a capital frieze quite alike those of the lateral portals in Saint George of the Greeks nearby [69.31]. The lateral impostes are covered with simplified flat carvings, a variation of small roses in relief, which also adorn the otherwise plain capitals. Again, we can sense the distant model of the southern portal of Saint George, where the impostes are covered with a foliage decoration and the capitals were probably of the crocket type. The stacked rolls, which formed the capital zone in the case of the Tanners' mosque, here (as in Spathariko) serve as abacus and as impost for the archivolt. The design of the archivolt copies the 14th century examples very faithfully in employing a roll and hollow profile with dogtooth moulding in the hollows. Significant differences to both, 14th and 15th century models become only apparent on a third look: the corbels of the doorway and the hood mould. While the former are of the open-book-type known already from Agia Napa [4], additionally adorned with a small-sized dentil frieze, the latter employs a bell moulding – which is somehow close in appearance to the 15th century cavetto mouldings but more softly modulated, not separating the concave and convex elements of the moulding. For the

northern portal, a similar approach was used, even if the model was not the stepped columned portal type, but the less frequent 'Gothic' pointed doorway with continuous moulding. In the case of Unidentified Church 19, this outer moulding is filled with a rectangular inner doorway with framed jambs that closely resemble those of the Agia Napa gatehouse windows and the same book corbels as at the main portal. While the framed jambs and the use of dentil friezes in the portal decoration clearly prove a 16th century date of this building, such elements are absent in the case of the so-called Bishop's Chapel. The latter does, however, share a peculiarity of the interior decoration with the former building. In both churches the moulded transversal arches of the barrel vault rest of heavy trapezoidal corbels with dentils and a profiled abacus [72.10; 74.12], much alike the corbels that can be found in the southern aisle of the Agia Napa church [4.13]. Furthermore, the two Famagustan examples possess a continuous string course on the level of the corbel abaci; a feature that was perhaps inspired by the string courses of Saint George of the Greeks or, more likely, by that of the Greek cathedral in Nicosia. Connections with the latter building are also corroborated by the unusual shape of the apse of Unidentified Church 19, which is polygonal (5/12) and, on the inside, possesses shafts, which mark the polygon edges and are connected with the string course [74.7]. This framing of the polygon faces resembles the very similar solution applied to the outside of the apse of the Panagia cathedral in Nicosia, but could also be a simplified transcript of its interior design, where the horizontal shafts carry the vault ribs – which, evidently, are missing in the Famagustan example, as the apse possesses a large semicircular conch.

Similar smaller-scale evidence from the capital is scarce as the number of preserved Greek buildings in Nicosia is very limited and the buildings often disturbed by numerous later interventions. The most prominent example, the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa [155], does not allow for a precise evaluation of its architectural character in the 16th century due to the complex arrangement of added rooms and inserted decorative details. There is, however, the small building called 'Arablar Mosque' since the Ottoman period, which according to oral tradition might be the church of Stavros tis Missiricou [154], even if, as Schabel underlines, it "could equally be

any of a dozen other churches and chapels".⁴⁵³ The small building plot resulted in an unusual plan of three bays width and only one bay length. Enlart characterised the exterior as "un mélange bizarre d'éléments gothiques français, italiens de la Renaissance et orientaux."⁴⁵⁴ This description, a result of Enlart's attempt to clearly identify and categorize stylistic elements of supposedly superior origin within the Cypriot architecture, is in this case not entirely off reality – after all, already the examples of Agia Napa and the Panagia church showed that Gothic tradition and Renaissance inspiration were not perceived as antagonists in 16th century architecture. The Stavros church is, however, not adorned by renditions of 14th century portals but instead shows rectangular doorways surrounded by the already well-known rectangular frame with horizontal returns. The building corners are decorated with conspicuous engaged shafts – this indeed a motif known since the 14th century – with intermediate capitals on the level of the buttresses' drip moulds, showing a band of cone-and-sphere ornamentation [154.9–10]. While there are differences on the level of detail, such as the decreased diameter of the upper shaft part, these elements are closely related to those of the Agia Napa gatehouse [4.4] and would already be sufficient to date the Stravros church to the 16th century. In addition, the church received a cornice with dentil moulding and a waved volute crowning, which surely made Enlart think of the Italian Renaissance. It is worth noting that the 16th century situation in Nicosia seems to have paralleled that of 14th century Famagusta, with a Greek cathedral being strongly inspired by a nearby Latin cathedral, decorative elements of which were used and freely recombined, while other Greek churches were largely devoid of such references and rather found their models in the (boiled down) derivatives of Crusader architecture. Not only the Stavros church, overall a squat, cubic building with a low octagonal drum, but in particular the Archangel Church in Lakatamia [123], only few kilometres outside the modern city of Nicosia, can be considered part of this aesthetic ideal, albeit again differing in the execution of its details. The description of the church exterior is almost obsolete, so familiar are the main characteristics: plain ashlar walls, here interrupted by similarly plain buttresses,

⁴⁵³ Schabel 2012, p 164.

⁴⁵⁴ Enlart 1899, p 187, transl.: "[...] a weird mixture of French Gothic, Italian Renaissance and oriental elements", in Enlart 1987, p 165.

small window openings, ornamental decoration restricted to the portals, all surmounted by a low dome. The northern and southern portals once more belong to the group of rectangular, continuously framed doorways, combined with recessed tympana [123.7–8]. The western portal consists of a pointed archway, the jambs – with characteristically framed engaged shafts – and arch of which are treated in the same way as the portal in the domestic wing of the Augustinian Monastery in Nicosia [A.136].⁴⁵⁵ A largely identical arch was also used for the tympanum of the southern portal, while the northern one shows a remarkably accurate chevron moulding. This is indicative of the general observation that chevron moulding, originally a motif from the decorative canon of Crusader architecture, enjoyed a renewed popularity in the Venetian period.⁴⁵⁶ In the 16th century, chevron arches do not only adorn the Lakatamia church and numerous domestic buildings in Nicosia but also make their way into more remote rural areas, as shown by the portals of Saint Luke in Klepini [107], Saint John in Argaki [39] and a group of churches around Saint Marina in Potamiou [189]. Furthermore, the zig-zag pattern of the ribs in the Panagia cathedral in Nicosia might be correlated with the same increased interest in the chevron pattern. Albeit there is no second example for this in Nicosia, a similar phenomenon could be observed in the church of Saint Marina in Mari [141.4], where, before its almost entire destruction, the diagonal vault ribs followed a zig-zag pattern.

Looking again at the Archangel Church in Lakatamia, the outer appearance of the church is surprisingly uniform, contrasting with the interior, which is divided into two naves and a narthex and reveals the existence of three building phases at least. For the vaulting, the large portfolio of varied forms was used exhaustively: we encounter rib vaults, groin vaults, a dome and barrel vaults, the former resting on slim round piers with plain capitals. Those piers as well as the rib vaults, which they carry, are clearly inspired by 14th century models, but the few accomplished parts of a later abandoned ornamental carving on the piers reveals the late date: the octagonal abaci above the circular, plain capitals were supposed to receive dentil moulding and an egg-and-dart pattern. The latter is a rarely used antique or Renaissance ornament, which we can also

⁴⁵⁵ An almost identical 16th century portal is exhibited out of its original context among the lapidary fragments in the court of the Hadjigeorgakis Kornosios Mansion in Nicosia.

⁴⁵⁶ See also chapter 4.2 above and Kaffenberger forthcoming-b on the usage of chevron mouldings on the island.

encounter (unfinished, too) on the single pier of the unusual cave sanctuary in Genagra [86] and, in a strangely crude and misunderstood rendition, on the capitals of the nave piers in the Archangel Trypiotes Church in Nicosia [153.9].

The latter, a building of three naves with a dome over the eastern bay of the central nave and a polygonal apse, opens up two important further aspects. Firstly, the vivid discussion concerning its date of erection reminds us that neither dates established on the base of stylistic aspects nor those using written sources or commemorative plaques should be taken at face value. In fact, the majority of scholars opted for a 17th century origin of the Trypiotes Church due to an inscription to the left of the main entrance, claiming that the church was built in 1695 and completed in seven months. One might, however, also suggest considering this as a (not altogether uncommon) form of overstatement; the inscription would then merely be referring to a thorough renovation.⁴⁵⁷ The main argument for a 16th century date of the church is its unusual structural type, the second remarkable aspect. In fact, the 15th century (and most of the 16th century buildings presented up to here) were either repeating older building types or were anyway the result of an expansion process that made it impossible to determine a certain homogenous type. The Trypiotes Church does not repeat 14th century (or older) models, it is instead the least prominent representative of three 16th century churches that developed a new type of three naved hall church with a dome above the eastern end of the nave. The group has long been identified by scholars, starting with Georgios Soteriou in the 1930s,⁴⁵⁸ and, unlike in the case of the Trypiotes Church, the origin in the Venetian period of the other two buildings, the katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery [222] and Saint Mamas in Morfou [149], has not been doubted in recent scholarship.⁴⁵⁹

Saint Mamas is probably the most important rural Greek church of the 16th century in terms of its size as well as its architectural sophistication. Being a well frequented site of veneration for the local Saint, the church was most likely erected in the 1540s, following a large bequest by Eugene Synglitico in 1538, who left the immense

⁴⁵⁷ A comparable example can be found in nearby Lakatamia [123], where an inscription states that the church was built in 1660, but apparently only refers to the erection of the narthex.

⁴⁵⁸ Soteriou 1935, p 50–53.

⁴⁵⁹ Enlart still considered Saint Mamas to be a late 14th/early 15th century church, while others wrongly believed it to be from the 18th century, built only after a fire mentioned in the sources. For the question of the dating evidence, see also the catalogue entry.

sum of 2000 ducats annually for the building of a new church and monastery and, in case he died outside of Nicosia, wished to be buried in front of the saint's icon.⁴⁶⁰ The church is a building with three barrel-vaulted naves, the central one only moderately higher and wider than the lateral ones. Only the central nave ends in an apse, the western and northern façades are accompanied by wide open porches. The cubic, squat building is surmounted by the rather high dome drum that seems to somehow float above the building block, as it emerges from the mass of the large roof. Apart from flat buttresses, the exterior is plain. The walls are pierced by slim, slightly pointed windows with simple chamfers, only the most traditionally designed portals add a certain amount of decorative lavishness. The main portal, of the stepped columned type, employs common 14th century moulding profiles, including the characteristic, albeit varied, cone-and-sphere motifs decorating the archivolt *congés*, and even makes use of *en-délit* shafts for the jambs [149.12]. Only the bases of the archivolts betray the 16th century origin, as they are decorated with bands of a cone-and-sphere and egg-and-dart ornamentation, both probably inspired by models from the nearby capital. The lateral portals all follow the same structural pattern with a chamfered rectangular doorway, the lintel of which is supported by chevron corbels, and a recessed tympanum with moulded frame above [149.13–14].

Even if this division of doorway and niche above is typical for the Venetian period, the lack of a profiled frame around the doorway means that those portals are chronologically rather indistinctive and fall in the category of elements of a generally retrospective character. Chamfered rectangular doorways with chevron corbels are in use as early as the 14th century, then for secondary openings such as the cloister door of the common room in Bellapais Abbey. A comparison with the portal of the late 15th or early 16th century church of Saint Nicholas in Trachoni [230.5] indicates a slight but decisive change in the design. While in Bellapais the chamfer ends below the corbel, as was the usual practice in the Famagustan architecture, in the latter example the chamfer continues across corbels and lintels to frame the doorway entirely. This remains the standard for the 16th century as well, as the examples of Morfou, Saint

⁴⁶⁰ Severis 2010, p 53–54. For the will see also Patapiou 2003–2004. Further 2800 bezants annually were given to the monks in order to conduct masses for the soul of Synglitico.

Nicholas in Orounda [161.4] and Archangel Michael in Kokkinotrimithia [108.5], the latter also with a recessed tympanum above, show.⁴⁶¹

The interior of Saint Mamas in Morfou is dominated by the dome, whose large windows bring a surprising amount of light into the building [149.19]. The overall character could hardly differ more from the multi-naved urban churches of the 14th century. While those included (or at least attempted to include) the Gothic principle of a vertical correspondence of building elements, mainly visualized through responds carrying the vaults or corbels placed above the arcade piers, none of this was used in Saint Mamas. The dome is flanked by barrel vaults, which emerge seamlessly from the plain walls. The rounded arcades below seem to be simply cut out of the walls and do not possess any moulding; they rest on round piers with heavy foliage capitals [149.20–21]. The positioning of a dome atop the central nave of a barrel-vaulted hall church is rather problematic, as it results in large unarticulated lateral walls below the dome. While in 14th century examples, represented by the Unidentified Church 18 in Famagusta [76], it was attempted to avoid this problem by combining low aisles with clerestory-like windows placed in as well the barrel vault as the wall below the dome, this was apparently not perceived as problematic in Saint Mamas. The lack of moulded formerets or string courses (with the exception of those running across the bottom and top of the dome drum) further contributes to the plainness of the structure.

This overall character is shared, if not surpassed by the katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery [222].⁴⁶² This church, erected probably a few decades earlier in around 1500, is a stepped hall church as well, and as in Morfou a dome is placed in the eastern half of the central nave. The exterior differs only in the absolute lack of structuring elements such as buttresses, which is compensated through the thickness of the walls – an aspect that already defined the aesthetics of the 14th century church of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. The portals are simpler than those in Morfou, the western one being the most elaborate. Here, we find one of the few prominent occasions in which the 'Gothic' portal type without capitals and a continuous profile of the pointed

⁴⁶¹ Evidently, there are numerous chamfered rectangular doorways, which possess simpler corbel types or no corbels at all, such as the ones of Saint George in Ormideia [159].

⁴⁶² The two churches, recently published in Jones, Milward Jones 2010 and Papacostas 2013, will be discussed in detail again in chapter 6.3. Nevertheless, they also form important angle points for the description of stylistic aspects of the period, thus are included in this chapter as well.

arch, deriving from the cathedral in Famagusta, made its way into rural Cyprus (even if the two heavy rolls of the moulding are indeed a far cry from the elegant sequenced roll and hollow mouldings of the 14th century) [222.6]. The lateral doorways are simple rectangular openings cut into the wall, only decorated by most unusual corbels, carved with a moulding profile of rather unsystematically applied hollows and beaks [222.9]. The interior of the church is very similar to that in Morfou: the simple arcades on, here, columns, the seamless barrel vaults, the plain walls below the dome, all betray a close relation of the two buildings.

The most obvious difference between both buildings lies in the sculptural decoration of the capitals. Those of Morfou, as well as the frame of the saint's tomb in the northern wall [149.22–24], prompted Enlart to believe in a date around 1400, even if he made clear that he found the carvings to be of rather poor quality.⁴⁶³ In fact, the spacious, hardly refined leaves of the foliage decoration rather resemble the north-western portal of the Odigitria in Nicosia, itself a 16th century interpretation of 14th century models [156.25]. Details such as a band of roses in the jambs of the tomb might go back to the western portals of the Latin cathedral in Nicosia [A.39], but are also present on the doorways of its 16th century Greek counterpart [156.21]. There we might as well find the possible inspiration for the inner archivolt decoration of the tomb, a rather flat vine branch ornament – in the case of the Greek cathedral, vine branches decorate the archivolts of the main portal. The flat, strangely graphic style, which does not match the voluminous foliage around, stands in some relation with the similarly peculiar capitals of the aforementioned north-western portal of the Panagia. The capitals in the Neofytos Katholikon, in contrast, do not imitate medieval but late antique models, namely Corinthian capitals with acanthus leaves [222.18–19]. This is remarkable, as, up to here, we only discussed the dissemination of elements more or less related to either the local 14th century architecture or the current Renaissance style. The latter appeared in rather unspecific decorative patterns or detail ornaments, such as dentil friezes. Evidently, many of those ornaments go back to antique models as well, but their inclusion into the local architecture was certainly achieved via contemporary Renaissance models. But is this also the case for the capitals of the Neofytos

⁴⁶³ Enlart 1899, p 190 [Enlart 1987, p 167].

Katholikon? In fact, it does surprise that a building without any reference to Renaissance architecture in the treatment of the exterior, in its interior possesses an isolated decorative element that is entirely alien to the contemporary architecture of the island. Precisely due to the lack of Renaissance elements, it seems not very probable that the capitals should be inspired by Venetian models. Rather one thinks of the enormous amount of fragments that must have littered the sites of destroyed late antique churches, such as the Chrysopolitissa in nearby Pafos. The capitals possess two series of acanthus leaves, two stylized *cauliculi* ending in helices on each face, and abacus bosses decorated with crosses, *fleurons* and even ornaments worked in an *ajour* technique.

All this is a remarkably faithful transcript of the presumed antique or late antique models, even if executed in a slightly clumsy manner. The second occurrence of a carved decoration, which imitates late antique models, fine acanthus leaves, can be found decorating the dome's string courses. The same motif, also of a rather high quality, decorates the correspondent string courses in Morfou, thus further corroborating the close artistic proximity between both churches.

Furthermore, fragments of an acanthus frieze of highest artistic quality runs across the apse and western wall of the katholikon in the Agia Moni Monastery [216.10–12], in the eastern Troodos. This frieze and the apse itself, which is constructed from meticulously cut ashlar, was variously identified as part of a (hypothetic) late antique or Byzantine predecessor.⁴⁶⁴ This hints at the quality of the carvings, which are, in spite of their late antique appearance, certainly part of a Venetian period building, which was presumably destroyed in a fire and rebuilt in 1638 to take today's shape.⁴⁶⁵ Other fragments of the original building comprise the low round piers with flat rectangular abaci instead of proper capitals, thus a type, which is characteristic for 16th century Cyprus, and a corbel in the northern aisle with an unfinished acanthus carving of slightly lower quality.⁴⁶⁶

We might wonder where this sudden interest in late antique forms comes from, especially in the context of otherwise strongly retrospective buildings, which show little

⁴⁶⁴ Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 1999, p 13–14.

⁴⁶⁵ Papageorgiou 1996, p 82; Perdakis 2013, p 233.

⁴⁶⁶ Perdakis' carefully expressed idea, that the columns and capitals might belong to the pre-Christian temple of Hera on the same site, is hardly convincing (Perdakis 2013, p 230).

to no inspiration by contemporary Renaissance architecture.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps, here, in the case of few central monuments, we can speak of a true ‘translation’ of the Italian Renaissance into a local idiom, thus not the formal inspiration on the level of decorative element, but – plainly speaking – a transfer of the idea to revive antique art and culture. For religious architecture in Cyprus, the relevant point of reference would naturally have been the late antique basilicas, the ruins of which provided ample models for capital design and, presumably, for acanthus friezes.⁴⁶⁸

The churches presented up to here already draw a vivid and almost comprehensive image of the potentials and possibilities of 16th century church architecture in Cyprus. Nonetheless, due to the enormously prolific character of the period, a short survey of the most prominent among the remaining Venetian period churches seems necessary to complete the image. The small but well-built church of Saint George in Potami [187] is another of several Venetian period churches in the plains west of Nicosia, some of which share a simplicity of the architecture (barrel-vaulted structures of a single nave) and an immensely high quality of masonry. In Potami, we encounter portals that visibly go back to nearby Morfou. The western and southern ones are simple, chamfered, with somehow smoothed versions of chevron corbels and a recessed tympanum above. The main portal in the north, facing the village centre, represents a slightly idiosyncratic combination of the standard Venetian period portal with a continuous moulded frame and the more retrospective version with an engaged colonette, a capital zone (here only marked by a flat frieze) and moulded archivolts with small cone-and-sphere motifs decorating the *congés*. The most revealing detail with respect to the date of the church is the cornice that surrounds the building; it is decorated with a dentil frieze and a Vitruvian scroll ornament, the latter interrupted by a relief of a lion head above the northern portal [187.3, 6]. The lion, even if not depicted in the classical profile with lifted paw, might well be a local variation of a reference to the Serenissima, as figural decoration is quite rare in the Greek church architecture of the island. The general retrospective character is underlined by the flagstaff holder next to a simple chamfered oculus in the eastern nave wall and the hood mould above the

⁴⁶⁷ It should be remarked, that the western bay of the Neofytos Katholikon, which was supposed to receive rib vaults, retains rests of a transversal arch with volute corbels and fluting on the arch. It is not entirely certain if this arch is part of the original building or a later addition.

⁴⁶⁸ On the beginnings of ‘archaeology’ on the island see Calvelli 2009.

central window of the polygonal apse. The latter shows, however, a framing profile with horizontal returns that resembles those of the numerous portals of the period [187.9]. Furthermore, the moulded windowsill, which is rather understood as a wide corbel instead of being part of a cornice, bears close resemblance to portal corbels of Renaissance buildings such as those of a palace façade in the market quarter of Famagusta.

In Kokkinotrimithia, the revealing Renaissance references of the small church dedicated to the Archangel Michael [108] are less numerous. From afar, the roll and hollow moulding of the cornice, the polygonal flagstaff holder on the western wall of the naos and the prominent drip moulds of the buttresses all point towards a much earlier date. However, the northern portal resembles the simple type from Morfou and the misunderstood interpretation of the 'Syrian' spirals adorning the hood mould of the apse window further corroborates the 16th century date. This motif deriving from the Crusader architecture is very rare in Cyprus and surely goes back to the Cathedral of Nicosia.⁴⁶⁹

The only other occasion, where the 'Syrian cornice' was employed in the context of a rural church is the northern portal of the 16th century church of Saint Luke in Klepini [107.6], there framing a chevron arch and thus forming a *pasticcio* of distinctive elements of the Crusader architecture that had been in use on Cyprus since the 14th century. While already the portal jambs, with engaged colonettes framed by deep hollows and ending in horizontal, framed imposts, as well as the sill of the apse window, much like that of Potami, indicate a 16th century date, the interior of the church further corroborates this assumption. Here, we encounter a string course marking the base of the barrel vault and stacked corbels that consist of a quarter-circle part and, below that, a pyramidal part. This unusually elaborate treatment of the interior corresponds to the two Famagustan churches discussed above, the so-called Bishops Chapel and the Unidentified Church 19.

In fact, most rural churches of the 16th century employ at least some distinctive details that reveal their late date of building, even if many of them remain closely attached to 14th century or even older building traditions. Often, this detail is more

⁴⁶⁹ See Olympios 2014d, p 102 and fn 51 on the use of the 'Syrian cornice'.

conspicuous, such as in the case of the typical framed portals – occasionally even with small volute corbels – which adorn among others the Panagia Diakonousa in Prastio [190], Saint George in Achelia [1] and the Panagia tou Sindi church [173]. In other cases, as in the chapel of Saint Luke in Arnadi [41] or the village church of Lapathos [124], only a rope moulding on certain corbels indicate that one might stand in a building of the Venetian period. Dentil friezes appear here and there, such as on an unidentified dome-hall church recorded by Edward L'Anson in 1883 [LXIX], which has since been destroyed and which, apart from the dentils, made use of an altogether traditional set of moulding profiles.⁴⁷⁰ Combined dentil and rope motifs decorate the doorway corbels of Saint John Prodromos in Gastria [85], an otherwise almost excessively plain building of elegant proportions. Even if it is a rather small edifice, it helps to grasp more characteristics of the rural churches of the Venetian period, the most problematic of which are those entirely devoid of small decorative indicators. Buildings such as Saint John in Askeia [44] or the *Reduktionsbau* of the Panagia church in Afentrika [2] demonstrate that even for buildings of a certain dimension and elaboration, plain walls and meticulously cut ashlar (in the case of Saint John only employed for buttresses, building corners and the vault) were considered signs of a high quality rather than being a sign of little sophistication. Both, Askeia and Afentrika, employ a characteristic combination of quarter circle corbels for the western transversal arch and double quarter circle corbels for the easternmost, in an attempt to mark with architectural means the sanctuary area. This combination of corbel forms, as inconspicuous as it may be, is nevertheless a good dating criterion, as it seems to be employed exclusively in modest churches of the 16th century.

In addition to this, the churches of Gastria and Afentrika share a purely technical feature, as all ashlar of the barrel vault are marked with masons' marks in the form of Roman numerals [2.5; 85.6]. This is, strictly speaking, not part of a discussion of the style, but can serve as another aid in the search for approximate building dates – other Venetian period churches with masons' marks can be found for example in Agia Napa [4] and Nicosia (Archangel Trypiotes [153]). In fact, masons' marks were rarely used on the island before the Venetian period, while in particular the Venetian fortification

⁴⁷⁰ L'Anson, Vacher 1883, fig 46–47.

buildings, the walls of Famagusta, made use of this originally medieval technique of marking stones [A.138].⁴⁷¹ From there, it seems, the habit spread further to church buildings, even if the original purpose of the marks is not entirely obvious.⁴⁷² One has to remind, in any case, that they do not suffice as sole dating evidence: masons' marks remained in use probably throughout the Ottoman period, as examples such as the apse of Saint Epifanios in Drouseia, according to an inscription built in 1754 and entirely covered in masons' marks, shows.⁴⁷³

Let us, thus, conclude the survey of 16th century church architecture with a closer look at the question of dating evidence. As presented above, the occurrence of renaissance elements helps us to date buildings to the Venetian period, thus more likely to the 16th century, on a more general level. The varied character of the architecture of the period makes it impossible to establish any development of forms from this point on – in other words, a strongly retrospective church without any sign of Renaissance ornament might well date to the very end of the Venetian period, while the presence of such elements does not exclude a date early in the century. This rather sobering conclusion is corroborated by the few churches, for which we have a precise date of erection. If we can believe the inscription, recorded by Alexander Drummond for the Agia Napa Monastery, this building full of Renaissance references was erected in 1530 [4.2].⁴⁷⁴

Further four churches of the 16th century preserve chronologically close dates carved into some part of the structure in Greek letters. The Panagia tou Sindi [173] bears the inscription ΑΦΜΒ (1542) somewhere high up in the vaults; Saint Marina in Potamiou [189.5] presents ΑΦΝΑ (1551) on the lintel of the southern portal; the Panagia Eleousa near Rizokarpaso [204.6–7] has (Α)ΦΛΒ (1532) or (Α)ΦΝΒ (1552)

⁴⁷¹ Early masons' marks can, however, be found at the Latin cathedral of Nicosia: Leventis 2005, p 27.

⁴⁷² The question of masons' marks and their original purpose has been subject of countless case studies and is part of most general works on medieval building practices. For a recent review of methodological problems see Esquieu, Hartmann-Virnich 2007 – none of the (earlier) cases discussed there is comparable to the Cypriot patterns. The mostly used interpretation of the original use of masons' marks is to see them as means to prove the amount of delivered stones from a specific mason in order to create accurate bills. In rural Cyprus, this seems unlikely due to the rather restricted number of different marks – exclusively roman numerals – and their consequent presentation on the front of each ashlar. Perhaps here the marks are rather to be interpreted as some sort of assembly marks.

⁴⁷³ Gunnis 1936, p 221.

⁴⁷⁴ Drummond 1754, p 275.

carved on the lintel of the northern portal. The Panagia of Trapeza differs in that it possesses a whole inscription that reads “ΕΤΕΛΙΟΘΙ Ι ΑΙΚΛΙΧ/Α Αφξζ Χc”, thus ‘completed the church in 1567’, the year written in unusual lower case letters [231.13].⁴⁷⁵ One could doubt the relevance of such carved dates, as they might refer to pretty much every event that was decisive for the church – be this the original building, a renovation, an addition of a part. In short: we know neither whether these inscriptions were carved when the church was begun or finished, nor if this happened in the year that they cite. In Orounda, the date 1703 is carved into the main portal archivolt of the church of Saint Nicholas [161.6]; the portal of Saint George in Achelia bears the date 1745 [1.3] – both presumably referring to a thorough renovation (Orounda) or a partial rebuilding of the church (Achelia). Remarkably, these dates are all written in Latin numerals, while those referring to the 16th century use Greek numerals. Can we thus assume that there had been a change in the writing of dates around the 18th century? In any case, there is little reason to believe that the four 16th century dates were not carved around the year that they specify. The next question is, if the churches adorned by these dates fit within the frame of 16th century architecture. Indeed, the three churches differ profoundly already through their building types. The Panagia tou Sindi is a dome-hall church, the Panagia Eleousa a double naved, barrel-vaulted building of modest dimensions and Saint Marina in Potamiou a unique hall church with a domed transept. In spite of this, we can find decorative elements in each of the churches that link it with other buildings more or less firmly dated to the period. The Panagia tou Sindi is erected from rubble, due to its position in a remote valley close to a river bed, which provided ample building material of this kind. It is unusually tall for a dome-hall church and, unlike older churches of this type, the dome rests on the naos walls instead of dome piers. As a result, the typical lateral niches in the western and eastern bays are dropped and instead unarticulated wall surfaces created. This is at least remarkable, as it suggests a specific approach to the building modulation, which is not too different from that of the hall churches in Morfou and the Neofytos Monastery, where we also encounter domes resting on plain nave walls instead of supports or piers. The octagonal dome drum and

⁴⁷⁵ Gunnis 1936, p 154 claims to have read the date 1563 without describing the location of this inscription. Langdale 2014a, p 46, considers this date to be “very credible” without further commenting the evidence on site. I have to thank Ioanna Christoforaki for helping with the deciphering of the orthographically very incorrect text of the inscription.

polygonal apse indicate, once more, that by the Venetian period both, circular and polygonal shapes were in use coevally. Of the Sindi church, only the building corners and the few decorative details, such as cornices and portals are executed in ashlar. The western portal is rather modest, a chamfered rectangle with waved volute corbels and a recessed tympanum with a roll and hollow moulding that possesses small cone-and-sphere decorations and a hood mould [173.9]. More distinctive is the northern portal, which is of the frequently mentioned type that combines a rectangularly framed doorway – here with cone-and-spheres instead of horizontal returns on the bottom – and a recessed tympanum above [173.11]. While the tympanum is surrounded by a hood mould, a clearly retrospective element, the richly carved volute corbels corroborate the 16th century date. The interior is almost entirely plain apart from the simple but evidently late bell moulding of the apse string course.

Saint Marina in Potamiou, in the same region of the south-western Troodos foothills, is comparable in the use of rubble for most of the masonry (a different, mountainous rubble nevertheless) and in the polygonal shapes of apse and dome drum. We might assume that the rubble was once hidden under a layer of plaster, rests of which still adhere to the eastern gable. This would have evoked the smooth, plain surfaces that were typical also for the ashlar built churches of the period. The dome creates a rather slender, steep impression as it rises high from the massive cubic nave and transept below, again not an uncommon proportioning in the 16th century. Three portals, four windows and a prominent cornice with a smooth bell moulding (most of which might be a later restoration) decorate the exterior.⁴⁷⁶ All portals and windows are designed differently. The main portal is located in the southern wall of the transept and its lower part (the 'framed rectangle') is almost identical with that of the Sindi church, even if the cone-and-sphere in the profile base has become more of a 'double cherry' [189.4–8]. Above this, the mason utilized a sharply cut chevron moulding for the arch of the tympanum and a finely carved acanthus frieze for the hood mould. One might say that this encounter of an ornament that imitates Late Antique carving and another one that goes back to the Romanesque crusader architecture in one portal of the 16th century very much sums up the variety of the architectural decoration at the time. The

⁴⁷⁶ The portals are painted white to create the impression of marble, but they are of simple limestone, just as the window frames.

other elements of the exterior follow this principle, even if in a more modest way: the western portal is again of the usual framed type with much more simple profiles for hood mould and tympanum, while the second southern portal is a simple rectangle with a continuous roll moulding and a similarly framed rectangular window above. The western window is of an unusual biforate shape [189.11]. Here, the hardly elegant encounter of the deeply hollowed frame of the outer arch with the clumsy profiles of the inner arch and their imposts – with dentil moulding –, reveals the building's experimental character. The interior, apart from its unique typology, confirms this: the nave piers, round and with classic pillow capitals and the octagonal piers of the crossing [189.13–14] emit an almost Romanesque aura and are only comparable with those of nearby Arsos [42] – that is, if we accept those to be part of the original building, not of the 19th century reconstruction, which might have well been inspired by Potamiou in this detail.⁴⁷⁷ The corbels of the transversal ribs, which show a roll and hollow profile usually associated with the ribs of the Gothic rib vaults in Famagusta, are entirely idiosyncratic combinations of antique Corinthian and Gothic crocket capitals [189.15]. They are adorned with renaissance pearl and dentil ornament, some foliage, in one case a rope neck moulding and occasionally a bulky flower as lower end. These capitals seem to confirm that the masons of this church were, if not among the most skilful, at least most creative and interested in finding a synthesis of the various stylistic directions that defined the architecture of the period.

The Panagia Eleousa, dated to the same general period by the carved inscription, could hardly differ more [204]. The building originated as a rubble-built single nave church, perhaps of the middle Byzantine period. Only in a second phase, the northern nave, erected from very carefully cut large ashlar, with the dated portal and a lavish southern portal were added [203.3–4]. This southern portal is more in the tradition of Famagustan architecture, which does not surprise considering that the Eleousa church is situated on the Karpas Peninsula. The jambs as well as the archivolt show the same roll mouldings with dogtooth friezes, the capital zone is only marked by flat imposts similar to those in Potami. The idea of a continuous framing of the rectangular doorway

⁴⁷⁷ For a discussion of the unclear building chronology of Saint Philipp in Arsos see the catalogue entry [42]. Due to their pristine, almost industrial quality of carving, it seems more likely that none of the piers is original, even if they might have derived the design from their predecessors.

is here morphed into a simple roll moulding of both doorposts, which continues obliquely onto the tympanum and forms a flat triangle above the lintel. In a way, this turns the common triangular shape of the portal interiors, which is the standard since the 14th century, into a decorative element for the outside. The northern portal is much simpler, a rectangular doorway, which, through its book corbels, also reveals its dependence on the 16th century architecture of Famagusta. The interior adds an aspect, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter: the division of the naves by moulded arches with a retrospective roll and hollow profile. Only details, such as the lower roll of the capitals of the engaged semi-piers, which continues vertically along the corners of the pier, reveal the 16th century origin of these arches and thus confirm the date carved onto the lintel.

A few churches of the 16th century remained unfinished – because of the Ottoman takeover one might assume – and thus give us an interesting cross section of the building habits at a very precise point in time. It is here, that we can come back to the above-mentioned church in Trapeza (close to Famagusta), the remodelling of which is linked with the date 1567 (after which a second remodelling was begun) [231]. The general case is not too different from the Orthodox cathedral of the Panagia Odigitria in Nicosia [156] in its agglomeration of building parts from various periods, which was supposed to be remodelled in a way that the building would look more homogenous from the outside. The complex sequence of building phases, of which at least two date to after the mid-16th century, is discussed at length in the catalogue. Here, it is more important to remark the absence of Renaissance elements and an abundance of moulded arches and simple portals, going back to 14th century models but looking slightly inept, which prompted Enlart to date the phase of remodelling to the 15th century. A closer look reveals details such as the waved chamfers of the western nave arch responds or the use of bell moulding in the north-eastern arch, which belong to the late 15th or 16th century [231.28–29]. Clearly from the phase commemorated in the inscription are the eastern exterior walls, homogeneously erected from large, well-cut ashlar and including a polygonal apse. The evidence proves that even by that time and in the orbit of an urban centre, the quality of masonry and the creation of plain walls was apparently regarded as more important than the inclusion of modern ornamental detail. The fact, that in this case a church with multiple naves did not receive a pitched

roof as many other of the larger Venetian period churches, could be a result of the inclusion of the older dome, which would have been entirely covered under a pitched roof.

The same austerity of the exterior defines the church of Saint Charalambos in Trimithi [234], which remained unfinished after 1571. It is dominated by the three semicircular apses that somewhat remind of the two centuries older ones of Saint George of the Greeks or Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta, even if they are of identical height and similar size. The portals are of the usual framed type, here with horizontal returns and, unusually, a round arch forming the tympanum above. The 16th century origin is hardly disputable, as also the bell moulding of the southern window fits well within the artistic frame of this period. Sadly, what little had been preserved of the interior of the church, was lost when the building was internally remodelled and a vault built in the 1910s.⁴⁷⁸ From Enlart's description, one can reconstruct a partition in three naves, divided by round piers with flat, stacked capitals [234.6]. The vaults, never finished due to the Ottoman invasion of 1571 rather than the Mamluk one in 1426, cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Perhaps one might envision a combination of barrel vaults and a central dome, just as it was intended for the church of Agios Sozomenos [16]. There, as mentioned above, we do in fact encounter Renaissance elements but, at the same time a strong reference to Famagustan buildings in the shape of piers, responds and, as well, the tri-apsidal eastern end.

The fact that as early as the 1530s full blown Renaissance was in use at certain places, while in the 1540s and 1550s strongly retrospective buildings with little or no sign of Renaissance decoration were still erected in all parts of the island, confirms the hypothesis of a somewhat harmonic coexistence of new and old stylistic elements. This paradigm of 'addition' instead of 'replacement' evidently continued unchanged in the half century until the Ottoman conquest. Thus, it is largely impossible to date churches more precisely within the 16th century solely based on their stylistic appearance.

⁴⁷⁸ Gunnis 1936, p 445.

5.3 INTRA-INSULAR VARIETY: THOUGHTS ON THE RELATION OF GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND STYLE

Up to now, we did not systematically relate variations of the rural 16th century architecture to specific geographical locations. On a first glimpse, parallels between buildings in different areas, such as the case of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149] in the north-west and the Neofytos Katholikon [222] in the south-west near Pafos, seem to indicate that variations were rather dependent on other factors than the geographical position. There are, however, examples of smaller building groups, which share specific, locally restricted features – an aspect that I want to elaborate on with the help of selected case studies from the Famagusta and Pafos regions.

When discussing the Panagia Eleousa church on the Karpas Peninsula [204], the Famagustan character of the southern portal and the exuberance of the dogtooth moulding, which can hardly be found in the western areas of the island, has already been discussed. Indeed, it seems that in particular Famagusta remained a central reference point for the inspiration concerning stylistic ideals throughout the centuries, an inspiration that decreased in intensity the further away from Famagusta the new churches were erected. There is a remarkable feature common to many of the churches in the Famagusta region that is also displayed in the Panagia Eleousa: the process of the addition of a second nave, during which richly profiled low arcade arches were inserted in one wall of the older part while retaining the latter's vault. Admittedly, there are examples for this expansion procedure, which has been described in detail above in chapter 3.3.3, that –although the expansion took place in the 16th century– do not show rich arcade profiles. Examples are Saints Sergios and Bacchos in the village of Agios Sergios [13] or Saint John in Kalopsida [90], both near Famagusta, where the new arcades seem to be simply cut into the wall with plain or single stepped soffits.⁴⁷⁹ However, we do count at least five churches in the Mesaoria plain, remarkably all north of Famagusta, some modest in size or artistic quality, that make use of complex mouldings for the new arcades: Archangel Michael in Pigi [180], Saint John Prodromos

⁴⁷⁹ There is some uncertainty of this, as both churches are covered in thick layers of plaster and paint, which makes an evaluation of the original stone surface impossible. The plaster that flaked off the arcades in Makrasyka [137] at least revealed a simple roll moulding framing the otherwise flat soffits, a profile also employed in the church of Vitsada [239].

in Lapathos [124], Saint Nicholas in Sygkrasis [220], the Panagia in Trikomo [232] and the destroyed church of the Avghasida Monastery [208].⁴⁸⁰ The Panagia Eleousa in Rizokarpaso seems to be the only specimen of this group, which is not situated within a 20-km-radius. While it is tempting to see these churches as a homogenous group of buildings due to their geographical proximity and the general similarity of the flat, wide arcades on sturdy piers, a closer look reveals certain differences in detail. The arcade profiles of Trikomo, Sygkrasis and Lapathos are indeed all variations of the arcades of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta: a central large roll with wide fillet is flanked by smaller rolls, after a step follows a lateral hollow and roll (in the western arch of Sygkrasis followed by another hollow decorating the face of the arch). Even if there are significant differences in the detail modulation and, evidently, the skills of the responsible stonemasons, these arches are close enough stylistically as well as geographically to suggest a dependence on the same model. The piers supporting the arcades also differ to some extent. In Trikomo, the central pier is an amorphous, approximately circular block that forms a wide platform on which the arcades rest. The responds in the east and west are formed by low semi-columns flanked by steps and lateral round shafts, crowned by stacked rolls forming a flat capital zone. The same respond type was used in Lapathos, where the central pier is more regular, a round pier with a flat roll-hollow-roll profile instead of a capital [124.7]. Sygkrasis possesses a round pier as well, here with a roll-and-quirk moulding as capital, probably directly inspired by the piers of Saint George of the Greeks [220.10].⁴⁸¹ The responds differ in the east, where the same type as in Lapathos and Trikomo was employed [220.14–15], and the west, where the simpler polygonal respond was likely part of a different building phase [220.9]. If the point of origin was the important church of Trikomo, the expansion of which perhaps happened as early as the late 15th century, or if there was another building, today lost, that inspired all three churches, cannot be solved with final certainty. Notwithstanding, the examples confirm that in the 16th century, the

⁴⁸⁰ We might also add the church of Gypsos, situated between Lapathos and Sygkrasis, which was pulled down in the 1960s and probably possessed a similar arcade; unfortunately, there are no pictorial documents of the interior of this church.

⁴⁸¹ The piers are all destroyed since the earthquake of 1735, but there are fragments of their capitals preserved in the debris scattered in the nave. As these fragments are small, it is not possible to define if they belonged to the original piers or to the strengthening that was installed after the earthquake of 1491. In consequence, it cannot be said if the Sygkrasis pier would have to be erected before or after 1491, even if we accept that it indeed copies those capital forms.

architecture of Famagusta still radiated to the surrounding regions, triggering the use of the same 14th century arcade mouldings for the expansion of three originally very different churches of the 12th and 15th centuries respectively. The arcade mouldings of the Avgasida Monastery [208.7] and the Panagia Eleousa [204.10–11] follow a different type of stepped, plain soffits with rolls flanked by deep hollows along the edges of the steps. For the outer part, this resembles the solution of Sygkrasis, whereas the flat main soffit bears resemblance to the arcade design of the Orthodox cathedral in Nicosia, which in the area of Famagusta was also employed in the Panagia of Trapeza. In fact, in the Avgasida Katholikon, even the quadrilobe piers seem to depend on those of the metropolis in Nicosia [156.32]. The Panagia Eleousa, in turn, employs the more traditional round pier and simple semi-columns flanked by thin rolls / steps as responds, in this aspect following rather the Trikomo-group. In the Archangel Church of Pigi [180], apparently the model of Trapeza was followed in that the responds and piers show a vertical continuation of the arcade profile on the inner faces, while the lateral ones possess simple engaged colonettes. Thus, one can conclude that even within a group of chronologically and typologically similar buildings, the sources of inspiration were diverse and varied. Nevertheless, the group largely remained a regionally restricted phenomenon: apart from the church of Kampyli [92] on the western slopes of the Pentadaktylos Mountains, where the arch is walled up and the moulding profile not clearly identifiable, a majority of comparable later inserted arches in the west of the island received flat faces and soffits.

The West did, in turn, develop other genuinely regional building traditions. On a typological level, one might name the presence of cruciform churches since at least the 12th century, with three or more preserved later medieval examples: the Saint Kyriaki [163] and Saint Sophia [167] churches in Pafos and the Panagia in Chlorakas [52]. Others, such as the Panagia of Emba [64] are of uncertain date, owing this uncertainty to the exorbitantly plain nature of this group of churches. This plain character of the regional architecture presumably goes back to the 14th century already, even if the entire destruction of reference buildings in the town of Pafos makes it hard to study possible modes of transmission. There is, however, the large dome-hall church of Lysos [134], an impressive building of some austerity, which retains fragments of the original portal and an elaborate tracery window in its apse. Based on these elements, the church

was variously dated to the 14th century. While it does have an octagonal dome and flagstaff holders, common in the Famagustan architecture of this period, the use of only roughly cut ashlar as opposed to the extremely elaborate masonry used elsewhere and the retaining of the complex stereometric structure of classic dome-hall churches, creates a rather different general impression. This overall character is reproduced by a number of churches in the region, which do acknowledge the impact that in particular Crusader architecture had on the local building traditions, but include Gothic elements, if at all, only as rare ‘applications’ onto the otherwise simple body of the building.

Thus, the three cruciform churches listed above are only vaguely dated through their portals; a simple one showing book corbels in the case of Saint Kyriaki [163.5], a rectangularly framed one with moulded tympanum above adorning the Saint Sophia [167.5] and two portals with a carved flattened ogee arch in Chlorakas. These latter ones are now of some further interest. Ogee arches as portal decoration are very rare in Cyprus, being restricted to four examples: the Panagia [52.1–2] and Saint Nicholas [53.4] in Chlorakas, the Panagia of Emba nearby [64.4] and the Avghasida Monastery church [208.4]. In all cases, this ogee arch is created simply as a relief carved into the horizontal lintel of the portal. In Chlorakas, heraldic shields occupy the centre of the ogee, while in Emba such a shield overlays the tip of the ogee.⁴⁸² Previously unknown on the island, the possible source of origin for this portal decoration remains uncertain. In the City of Rhodes, the church of Saint Paraskevi of ca. 1500 possesses two similarly designed portals, the southern of which also shows a heraldic shield in the centre [A.139].⁴⁸³ Even if the motif is quite uncommon in Rhodian church architecture as well, there are numerous examples of ogee arches, often with heraldic filling, decorating domestic buildings of the old town of Rhodes.⁴⁸⁴ Thus, we may assume that the urban architectural vocabulary from Rhodes served as inspiration for the churches of Chlorakas and, subsequently Emba – admitting, though, that the mode of transmission cannot be described with any certainty. The heraldic sign on the shields of Chlorakas, a simple ‘tau’, has not been identified and thus does not help with an identification of

⁴⁸² The date 1744, scribbled into the lintel of the Emba portal, is probably not the date of construction. Even if the portal itself indeed contains a number of odd idiosyncrasies, due to its irregular placement and cursory character, the date rather appears to be a later addition.

⁴⁸³ Gerola 1914–1915, I, p 267; Gabriel 1923, p 191–192; Dellas 2013, p 111.

⁴⁸⁴ See for example the House of Claude de Bonpar, dated to ca. 1500 by De Vaivre 2009, p 365–367.

possible protagonists. The Knights of Saint John might have in fact possessed certain villages in the region north of Pafos, even if the identification of 'Arodhes' (20 km north of Pafos) as Rhodian possession, promulgated by among others Dawkins, is problematic and rather likely to be a wrong etymologic analogy.⁴⁸⁵

In Avgasida, the portal stood out as the only element, which was not common in the 16th century architecture of Famagusta or Nicosia. It was frequently used to date the church to the end of the 15th century, connecting it with the also lost funerary slab of a nobleman that was placed against one of the northern buttresses. The date given by Enlart is 1482, but the destruction of the object means that this is not verifiable anymore.⁴⁸⁶ As the arcade design depends on that of the Greek cathedral in Nicosia, as shown above, it rather speaks for a date somewhere later in the 16th century. Architectural inspirations from Rhodes did penetrate the architectural sphere of Famagusta only once before, in minor ornamental details of the western portal of the 15th century Tanners' mosque, so we should see both as coincidental rather than indicative of a general pattern – perhaps in both cases the result of a travelling mason rather than a workshop who operated island-wide. Curiously, the ogee portals or windows were not used for the Castle of Kolossi, which, as the main possession of the Knights of Saint John, is the most prominent example of Rhodian 15th century architecture in Cyprus [A.140–141].⁴⁸⁷ This building seems not to have had much of an impact on the local architecture: its most characteristic decorative element, the thick chain mouldings or 'Rhodian interlaces', well known from the island of the Hospitallers and here applied to *machicoulis* and fireplaces, remain singular on Cyprus.

However, the south-west of the island preserves a small number of further buildings that, even if not applying ogee arches, present decorative details that might go back to Rhodian models conveyed through the castle of Kolossi. Near Mesana, a small village in the lower Troodos Mountains, the large monastery church of Saint George Komanon [146] possesses a western portal of the framed rectangular type, which indicates a date in the Venetian period. The entire outer part of the doorframe is

⁴⁸⁵ See the account of Leontios Makhairas, II, 62, in: Dawkins 1932. On the problems of such etymological conclusions Grivaud 1998, p 347.

⁴⁸⁶ Enlart 1899, p 412 [Enlart 1987, p 316]; De Vaivre 2012, p 360. Imhaus 2004, p 361.

⁴⁸⁷ On the castle and the stylistic similarities with the architecture of Rhodes see most recently, with further bibliography, Olympios 2015b, p 424–431.

occupied by a frieze of ovals carved in flat relief, which seems to be a much-simplified rendition of the Rhodian chain ornament [146.5]. Other similarly peculiar but accurately carved ornaments can be found on the lintel and the protruding hood mould. They include rope and fishbone carvings, which appear again on the fragments of a portal now walled into the western façade of Saint Nicholas in Agios Nikolaos [11] nearby. The striking similarities of these two entirely uncommon sets of decoration indicate a local tradition, which perhaps at one point was inspired by the late 15th and early 16th century architecture of Rhodes – which indeed had a tendency for a similar *horror vacui* as the two remote examples in Cyprus.

The general results of this investigation of local artistic ties, even if not pursued systematically and comprehensively, are far from surprising. There were indeed certain decorative elements as well as building habits, which spread locally and largely remained restricted to their region of origin. In some cases, this might indicate the presence of workshops, which erected several buildings in the same area in a short period – as we can for example assume for the churches of Mesana and Agios Nikolaos. This thought opens up the wider question of modes of transmission and movement of masons – a question that will be touched upon again in chapter 7.2. The evidence indicates that local models were probably often found to be viable and aesthetically pleasing, so that there was no need to search for models in other parts of the island. Again, this conclusion is far from extraordinary.

What does somewhat surprise is that in the area of Pafos, a city, which certainly possessed several large Gothic churches and a considerably more restricted variation of smaller churches erected in a Crusader style, the Greek churches are of a different character than in the region of Famagusta. Admittedly, it is not certain, how many of the Gothic churches were still standing in the Venetian period. Nevertheless, already for the 14th century the impact in Famagusta is much more noticeable. This might have to do with the catalytic role that was apparently played by the church complex of Saint Epifanios and Saint George of the Greeks – which brings us back to the outset of the stylistic analysis of roughly 270 years of Greek church building in Cyprus.

5.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT

On the outset of this stylistic evaluation of the Cypriot Greek churches stood the wish to free the monuments from the frame of a teleological model of a linear stylistic development as well as from the idea of a bipolar Gothic-Byzantine system.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, there was the intent to create a new frame, wherein the dating of especially rural monuments would be more easily achievable. The case study of Famagusta has provided valuable insight on the range of models of inspiration, which left an imprint on the architecture of the city. In particular Saint George Exorinos [A.59–60] and the Armenian church [A.73–80] reveal that, in the aftermath of the fall of Acre, the churches erected in the first decades of the 14th century included many ideas of older architectural models from the Crusader states in the Levant, rather than overtly obvious references to current Gothic buildings in the same urban sphere. Interestingly, the church of Saint Epifanios [68], later dwarfed by the new cathedral of Saint George of the Greeks [69], was the first Greek church to adopt this new architectural language, evidently not without giving it a specific own character. The entrance of the western Gothic into the sphere of Greek church architecture was only achieved with Saint George of the Greeks around the mid-14th century, but the references remained more of a distorted reflection, a 'transcription' of cathedral Gothic into a specifically local idiom. The dominance of plain surfaces created by well-cut ashlar was henceforth the common element for many, but by far not all Greek churches of the island. The new architectural ideas did radiate and reached villages all over the island. Nevertheless, one has to state that the dissemination followed certain geographical patterns, resulting in an abundance of buildings in the East of the island, which are somehow dependant on Saint Epifanios in particular or the churches of Famagusta in general, while the evidence is considerably thinner in the West.

For the 15th century, it was possible to establish, through a small number of datable monuments, a frame of architectural novelties. It seems that two somewhat concurring tendencies predominated during this period of less building activity: one leading into an austere, simplified interpretation of the 14th century architecture, the

⁴⁸⁸ For these problematic approaches see chapter 1.3.

other combining the older models with an exuberance of ornamental detail, idiosyncratically emphasizing the decorative values, which mainly gathered around the portals or windows. The question of external influences plays a subordinate role. Nicola Coldstream states, talking about the western portals of Nicosia cathedral: "By this time the Latin builders in Cyprus were mixing traditional plans with western details that they had modified to make into a style of their own"⁴⁸⁹ – a statement that, albeit referring to Latin builders and describing a different chronological context, could well be used to name the essentials of 15th century architecture in Cyprus. Latin architectural specifics, be these from Western Gothic origins or Eastern Crusader sources, had become familiar, "native trademarks, [...] part and parcel of the local landscape".⁴⁹⁰

Towards the end of the century, perhaps already from the mid-century onwards, one can remark an increasing acknowledgement of current Venetian models, or at least Venetian models through the transmission of Cretan buildings. While it is impossible to demarcate clear steps in this development, there seems to have been a period of transition in the beginning of Venetian rule, during which the church building activities started to increase again. Precise attributions remain complicated in this period as well: was the Panagia Stazousa, built around the mid-15th century, even a characteristic monument of 15th century architecture on the whole, or rather the earliest example employing moderately Venetian aspects? The presupposition to apprehend the monuments as parts of a mesh network proved to be most fruitful for the study of late 15th and 16th century buildings. The dissemination of moderate Renaissance forms from at the latest 1530 onwards, perhaps the only impact of 'external' forms in this period, was not part of a directional development towards a new stylistic idiom. Rather than this, the new elements, together with those generated in the 14th century and refined in the 15th century, formed a large pool, a portfolio of forms, from which new churches were quite freely assembled. Each church building can be linked to others through certain elements, whether they are structural, formal or decorative. On the other hand, these links do not automatically implicate chronological developments and thus do not allow to date buildings more precisely within the 16th century. Already in 1901, Seeßelberg remarked aptly:

⁴⁸⁹ Coldstream 1998, p 60.

⁴⁹⁰ Georgopoulou 2005, p 253; see also Georgopoulou 2013, p 450.

*"[Es] dürften nämlich die Konstruktionselemente und Einzelformen [der zyprischen] Denkmäler allgemein und summarisch überhaupt nicht dergestalt in Vergleichung gesetzt werden, dass man aus der Reife- und Reichthumssteigerung in diesen Einzelbestandtheilen auf eine chronologische Folge und auf eine durchgehende stetige Entwicklung schliessen wollte!"*⁴⁹¹

While this might seem frustrating at first, it does also provide us with an important insight into the consciously stable, occasionally retrospective insular character of the 16th century architecture, or even the more general image of Cypriot church architecture.

What can we now make of these results? In fact, the apprehension of the multi-polar character of the inspirations as well as the detected retrospectiveness will aid with questions of intentionality and significance; patterns of transmission reveal insights into the practices of cultural encounter on the island. The following chapters will further investigate these aspects.

⁴⁹¹ Seeßelberg 1901, p 5.

6 STRATEGIES OF DISPLAYING AND ESTABLISHING TRADITION IN THE (RE)SHAPING OF CYPRIOT VENERATION SITES

*"Praeteritorum enim recordatio futurorum est exhibitio"*⁴⁹²

Abbot Suger of Saint Denis

The previous chapter has shown that a general retrospective character is one of the defining elements of Cypriot church architecture. As demonstrated initially, this can and should not be explained as a failure to keep pace with the more progressive architectural developments in other areas of Europe.⁴⁹³ In fact, it has been shown for other areas of Europe as well, that independently of the respective geographical and chronological context retrospective tendencies were almost always integral part of a region's architecture. In particular the radical 'turnover' between the Gothic and the Renaissance architecture has frequently been uncovered as an idealized if not invented later concept, closely connected to the scholarly idea of clearly demarcated epochs.⁴⁹⁴

Instead, the concept of stylistic retro-referencing forms part of a more complex range of aspects, which can be subsumed under the header of 'tradition'. In addition to the stylistic aspects, spatial phenomena (i.e. the tradition of a place, *traditio loci*) as well as in particular the tradition of material or objects (i.e. the preservation of older building parts), which will be in the focus of chapter 6, are relevant for the interpretation of the Cypriot monuments. It seems necessary, to briefly outline cornerstones of the research history to establish the foundation, on which the following thoughts on the Cypriot material are based.

⁴⁹² Quoted from Panofsky 1979, p 53; "The record of things past is a demonstration of things to come", translation after Kempshall 2011, fn 43.

⁴⁹³ See chapter 1.3.

⁴⁹⁴ See for example Schmidt 1999 for the case of Southern German, Austrian and Bohemian architecture of the 14th to 17th centuries and the recent volume of essays *Le Gothique de la Renaissance*, edited by Chatenet 2011.

6.1 METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS: THE TRADITION OF PLACE, MATERIAL AND APPEARANCE

The general acknowledgement of the fact that the 'new' often contains aspects of the 'old' is far from being a new insight. Already in 1855, Wilhelm Lübke remarked, that the medieval builders were inclined to use older building parts during the remodelling of churches.⁴⁹⁵ This was, however, seen as a disturbance for the investigation of the building, blurring the 'purenness' of the structure and making the dating of the buildings more complicated. While this is, in fact, a valid point – as the previous chapters have shown –, for the different aim of an investigation that strives to shed light on socio-historical contexts rather than solely formal aspects, such incongruences prove to be the most revealing part of a building. At the latest since Richard Krautheimer's *Introduction to an 'Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture'* of 1942, the aspect of iconography, the idea of a readable code of signs, had a place in the study of buildings.⁴⁹⁶ Günter Bandmann's influential study *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* of 1951 further established consciousness for thoughts on copies, historicisms and, thus, implicitly also visualized 'tradition'.⁴⁹⁷ Krautheimer's studies of the churches of Rome were among the first to emphasize the strong connection between 'material', 'tradition' and '*memoria*' – in particular the tradition of place, the *traditio loci*.⁴⁹⁸ Since approximately the 1980s, art-historical research has intensified the investigation of such phenomena of artistic and material tradition within monographic studies as well as within the larger frame of *memoria*-research. In numerous regions of Europe, similar patterns were identified – here, a small selection of prominent and recent works must suffice to signal the extent. For English church architecture, it was foremost Richard Gem, who pointed out the "resistance to Romanesque architecture"

⁴⁹⁵ Lübke 1855, p 347: "[...] so ist doch oft in einem jüngeren Baue ein Rest der älteren Anlage, namentlich der Thürme und der Umfassungsmauern, so wie der Krypta, erhalten worden, wie man denn im Mittelalter das Brauchbare vorhandener älterer Bautheile bei der Neugestaltung zu verwenden liebte." See Nille 2013, p 89 for further remarks.

⁴⁹⁶ Krautheimer 1942.

⁴⁹⁷ Here, the 5th edition was used: Bandmann 1978, for the aspect of copy and historicism see esp. p 48–50. It has to be underlined that, while being an immensely influential work, many of Bandmann's conclusions have been controversially discussed and often rejected by later scholarship. On the limits of architectural iconography see very convincingly Crossley 1988, esp. p 117–118 on Bandmann.

⁴⁹⁸ Summed up, with further references, in Krautheimer 1987.

within the Anglo-Saxon traditions up until 1066.⁴⁹⁹ The Norman architecture of the island was full of retrospective references as well, as, among others, the prominent examples of Canterbury and Worcester cathedrals, the latter studied in detail by Ute Engel, and Glastonbury abbey show.⁵⁰⁰ Glastonbury served as one of two case studies in the volume of Stephan Albrecht, *Die Inszenierung der Vergangenheit im Mittelalter*, published in 2003, with the abbey of Saint Denis being the other one.⁵⁰¹ It is in particular the work of Stephan Albrecht that promulgated a new approach, not only discussing the factual, retrospective symbolism but also shedding light on the role that this symbolism played for the institutions, which were responsible for the erection of the buildings, two of the most influential abbeys in medieval Europe. In order to achieve this, he uses central aspects of the model of the *kollektives Gedächtnis*, collective memory, which was developed by Jan Assmann in the early 1990s.⁵⁰² This model allows him to perceive the 'memory' as a (re)construction, directed by a certain group – here the abbeys – towards a certain requirement of the respective present. This context is used to outline 'institutional identities' and therefore underlines the relevance of Albrecht's ideas also for our (fundamentally different) case, as it connects the aspects of 'tradition' and 'identity'. Of further importance are the three categories of 'tradition bearers' or 'memory bearers', that Albrecht establishes. The first category will be of central interest in the Cypriot context: *Erinnerungsstücke*, which translates to 'memorial objects'. This comprises of those objects, often of an old age, which bear the memorial effect not in itself but require 'activation', that is an external contextualization through somebody initiating the role as memorial object. Such objects can range from small items to whole works of architecture and, according to Albrecht (here referring to Assmann as well) often undergo an intense repair and subsequent intense care.⁵⁰³ The group of 'memorial objects' includes *spolia* as well, thus fragments of ancient buildings, which are reused in the context of a newer structure.⁵⁰⁴ The second category *Kopien* (copies) is also of relevance. Here, the memorial function is not contained in the fabric,

⁴⁹⁹ Gem 1989, esp. p 133–137.

⁵⁰⁰ Engel 2000, esp. p 76–80; Engel 2007.

⁵⁰¹ Albrecht 2003.

⁵⁰² Albrecht 2003, p 10–12; Assmann 1992.

⁵⁰³ Albrecht 2003, p 14–15, with bibliographical information of the research up to 2003; Assmann 1992, p 93.

⁵⁰⁴ For basic information on the concept of *spolia* see Jäggi 1995; Kinney 2006 (with historiographical summary); further thoughts on the issue in chapter 6.3.

the material of an object but rather in its shape or appearance, which is mimicking the shape of past objects, buildings. It is important to recall that, while in art history the terms 'Renaissance' and 'Historism' are both connected with specific epochs, "[sind] 'Kopien' als Rückgriff auf Formen der Vergangenheit in Abhängigkeit von einem historischen Bewusstsein zu jeder Zeit möglich".⁵⁰⁵ However, if we talk of 'copies', we must be aware that the medieval concept of copying seems to have been fundamentally different to today's understanding. Bandmann underlines: "die Kopie im Mittelalter [hat] die zu rezipierende Form nie total erfaßt, sondern nur die wichtigsten, auf den Inhalt hinweisenden Züge".⁵⁰⁶

Albrecht's third category, the *Memorialbilder* ('memorial images') is rather self-explanatory and comprises of all those images that aim at safeguarding the memory of people or events in the past – be this ruler images or images of donors etc. This category will play a subordinate role for the Cypriot cases in this study.

For the purpose of research, all objects that might fall into one of the first categories require additional context to differentiate between a 'traditionalism' as display of meaning and more basic, practical reasons. The recourse to an 'outdated' style can always be considered as the result of an aesthetic choice. Nevertheless, it is problematic to assign further motifs to this choice, as will be shown below. *Spolia* on the other hand might often convey a message but, as has been well recognized in past scholarship, might just be reused for economic reasons. The same is true for the reuse of whole building parts, as was remarked by Matthias Müller, who in his recent article *Steine als Reliquien* presents a useful synthesised model of the relation between 'material' and contextual aspects of buildings that preserve parts of older structures.⁵⁰⁷ When he first discusses economic aspects as reason for the preserving older building parts, he does, however, state that only rarely the cost of integrating older parts would have been lower than a total rebuilding.⁵⁰⁸ We will come back to this debate, which has to be decided individually for every case study. The second aspect concerns 'law'; that

⁵⁰⁵ Albrecht 2003, p 15. – transl. '[...] 'copies' as regress to forms of the past are possible at any time, dependent on a historical awareness'; on this aspect also Schmidt 1999, passim.

⁵⁰⁶ Bandmann 1978, p 48, transl. '[...] medieval copies never entirely comprehend the adopted form, but only the main traits, which refer to a content'; this idea going back to Krautheimer 1942, p 2–20. See also Kappel 1996, p 94–95 and Freigang 2011, esp. p 302.

⁵⁰⁷ Müller 2011, esp. p 29–28 for the systematic overview.

⁵⁰⁸ Müller 2011, p 29–30.

is, property rights, the right of disposition, but also includes the complex issue of church consecration, during which the inanimate material of the building receives its transcendental qualities.⁵⁰⁹ The third aspect, *Erinnerung*, includes “die ganze Vielfalt kirchlicher und weltlicher Erinnerungskultur”.⁵¹⁰ Müller, as well as Albrecht and recently Horn, underline the importance of the place; *memoria* can be connected to a church building and turn it into a subject of the *memoria* itself through its material fabric and conventionalized sense of place, the latter intensified through the former.⁵¹¹

Müller underlines that reality might have seen most aspects actively playing a role in any kind of building project and this statement should be transferred to the categories of Albrecht as well. We must assume that, while in few very prominent cases the sources indicate an awareness of the different strategies, the aspects of categories drawn up by modern scholarship are nothing more than mental crutches to aid with the investigation of the varying phenomena.

Evidently, the thoughts presented here are only a very general outline of those aspects, which are most useful for the study of the Cypriot monuments. Notwithstanding, the use of such models, created with monuments in mind that belong to the cultural spheres of medieval England, Germany and France, for the case of Cyprus bears a number of dangers and problems. The amount of sources in the West is naturally much higher, as the long continuity of most investigated institutions – be they abbeys or bishoprics – resulted in a preservation of valuable accounts. Furthermore, the specific medieval societies within which the case studies are geographically anchored are not necessarily comparable with Cyprus. For instance, they do not include issues of intersecting religious communities, in short: the factor of Byzantium, of the Greek Orthodox tradition is, if at all, only present as a metaphorical, external point of reference or embedded within very specific, small objects (such as imported icons) instead of being an integral part of the society as a whole. In addition, one would have to wonder, to which extent these specific arrays of ‘Western thinking’ were also present in the Cypriot society of the 14th century onwards. In short, would the initiator of a

⁵⁰⁹ Müller 2011, p 30–33. This aspect is strongly dependent on the evaluation of sources and thus less easily transferable onto the situation in Cyprus.

⁵¹⁰ Müller 2011, p 33, transl. ‘[...] the whole variety of ecclesiastical as well as secular memorial culture’.

⁵¹¹ Müller 2011, p 34, 38. See also Albrecht 2003, p 14 and Horn 2015, *passim*.

Greek church building project in 14th century Cyprus have been informed about, for example, Abbot Suger's considerations of aspects of tradition? We might rather doubt such an immediate relation.⁵¹² Thus, if the models of Albrecht, Müller and others are implicitly used or referred to in the subsequent chapters, these should be treated as analogies – analogies, however, that also in this geographical context prove to be helpful in the process of uncovering strategies of displaying 'tradition'.

6.2 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORTHODOX EPISCOPATE IN FAMAGUSTA AND THE CULT OF SAINT EPIFANIOS: *ERINNERUNGSSTÜCKE* AND RELICS

When Camille Enlart described Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta in 1899, he remarked that the church replaced an "ancien sanctuaire [qui] était vénérable et ne fut pas démoli: on se contenta de le restaurer et d'englober sa muraille nord dans le mur du bas-côté sud de la nouvelle cathédrale, dont il devint une chapelle."⁵¹³ Remarkably, Enlart does not simply state the architectural facts of the inclusion, but, in using the term 'venerable', also insinuates the somewhat commemorative reason for the preservation of the old church. In 2006, Soulard and Plagnieux go one step further, when they remark: "La quatrième travée enchâsse la paroi en petit appareil de l'église byzantine voisine, la mettant en valeur sous un grand arc à la manière d'une relique."⁵¹⁴ This use of the word "relique" in the context of a simple wall is of highest interest in the light of the theoretical models discussed above. What the authors refer to, is in fact one of the most remarkable features created by the process of integration of the old church of Saint Epifanios into the new cathedral complex of Saint George of the Greeks. As for the stylistic analysis, this complex plays a central role in the study: it presents an exuberance of aspects that can be interpreted with respect to the models of a visualisation of 'tradition' discussed above. I believe that only in treating the material

⁵¹² For the intellectual sphere of Cyprus during the medieval period, as well as the exchange with the West see most comprehensively Grivaud 2005 and Grivaud 2009.

⁵¹³ Enlart 1899, I, p 311, transl.: "[...]Veneration for this ancient sanctuary prevented its demolition; all that was done was to restore it and to incorporate its north wall in the wall of the southern aisle of the new cathedral, turning it into a chapel." in Enlart 1987, p 253.

⁵¹⁴ Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 295, transl. "The fourth bay encases the wall of the neighbouring Byzantine church, erected from small stones, which is accentuated under a large arch in the manner of a relic'. The feature was also noticed by Jeffery 1916, p 129, who implies a certain 'veneration' as well.

legacy as the basis of the discussion, we can reach relatively sound results, even in absence of relevant textual sources.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the complex of the Greek cathedral consists of two main building parts: the churches of Saint Epifanios and Saint George of the Greeks, the former of which in itself is the result of multiple building phases (we will come back to this below). The crucial evidence, aptly described by Plagnieux and Soulard as 'relic-like' installation, is situated in the fourth bay of the southern aisle, more precisely the southern wall of this bay [69.61]. Here, the two churches, aligned by their respective northern and southern walls, meet in an architecturally remarkable way. The lower wall zone, firmly framed by the triple shafts of the rising vault supports and the horizontal string course, contains a large moulded arch, within which a wall of significantly different materiality and texture becomes visible. This lower wall piece ends in a flat triangular gable and is erected in rubble instead of the otherwise mandatory regular ashlar. What we see is indeed the outside of the northern cross-arm wall of the church of Saint Epifanios.

The process, in which it was integrated into the new southern wall of Saint George, was technically challenging.⁵¹⁵ The masonry of Saint George consists of two shells of ashlars, cut slightly trapezoidal, and an inner filling of rubble. The trapezoidal shape of the ashlars has the advantage that the mortar bed reaches a minimal thickness on the visible outer joint, while being thicker on the inside towards the rubble filling. Furthermore, it was only necessary to carve one side of each ashlar very accurately, while the others remained roughly aligned. This technique is very common in 14th century Famagusta, but in this specific process of remodelling instead of building on a plain spot, it presented the masons with a significant disadvantage. Of the old church of Saint Epifanios, the northern wall was apparently taken down with the exception of the transept front wall, which was intended to be preserved. What remained as well, were the vaults of the small annexe rooms east and west of the transept. To create the situation we see today, thus with the older transept wall forming an integral part of the new wall, the latter had to be exactly aligned with the older wall. The preservation of the adjoining vaults and their retaining walls meant that access to the new wall was only

⁵¹⁵ For this integration process see already Kaffenberger 2010, p 75–77; Kaffenberger 2014, p 181–183.

possible from the north, once it had reached the low level of the older church's vaults. In consequence, the masons had to set the ashlar of the outer, southern shell 'blindly', that is, only checking their roughly cut inner faces instead of the regular outer ones. The problems caused by this are well visible in a conspicuous joint just west of the now largely destroyed old narthex of Saint Epifanios [69.17].⁵¹⁶ This joint begins on the 7th ashlar layer above ground, thus on approximately 2,1 m (outside) and 1,5 m (inside), with respect to the rather uneven modern floor level.⁵¹⁷ In the 15th to 18th layers, the ashlar east of the joint are cut irregularly, in order to correct the significantly tilting and forward leaning lower stone courses. This happens just above the vault level of the older structure, so exactly on a level, where the masons would have been able to access the new wall from both sides. Furthermore, a large discharging arch above the integrated older wall part, visible from the outside only, was necessary [68.37]. The relatively thin older wall, made from rubble and roughly dressed stones, would have hardly been sufficiently stable to cope with the enormous forces of the high wall of 1,4 m thickness above.

In consequence, it is more than obvious that we can exclude an integration of this wall due to economic reasons. Even more so, as at least in this bay no connection between the churches was created; it would not have been a problem to erect the new church just one metre further to the north, leaving Saint Epifanios entirely intact. The connection between the churches, which was created in the third (central) bay in the form of a large moulded arch, would not have required the superimposition of old and new walls [68.28; 69.63]. The arch anyway pierced the older structure in an awkward place, resulting in further technically complicated rebuilding processes, ending with the old narthex dome resting on top of the apex of the connecting arch. The astonishing material evidence leaves no doubt that, just as suggested by Soulard and Plagnieux, the aim of the preservation of the old wall was to display it purposefully in the context of the new church. The elaborate profiled frame, while also having a functional purpose as discharging arch and mediator between the two varying wall thicknesses, serves as *Würdeformel* as well.

⁵¹⁶ On the wall of Saint George adhere rests of plaster that mark the outline of the original western end of Saint Epiphanius, which would have largely hidden the joint.

⁵¹⁷ The layers are counted from the level of the square between the churches, which is the only part of the complex with the original ground level.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the original design of the wall surface. Rests of paintings do adhere to the soffit of the framing arch, but neither on the old wall nor on the filling of the arch appears any indication of plaster. While it might just have fallen off, as in so many other places of the church, the uneven surface of the old wall would rather help the adhesion of plaster. Thus, it is probable that indeed the wall was never plastered over and always visible.⁵¹⁸ George Jeffery reports that he saw fixtures for the suspension of oil lamps, which one might imagine to be similar to those adorning the iconostases of many churches throughout the island.⁵¹⁹ Did the ancient wall perhaps serve as backdrop for a venerated object (an icon?), which – following Albrecht’s terminology – ‘activated’ the memorial capacities of the displayed old wall?

In order to further grasp the contextual significance of this architectural feature, we can come back to a thought first expressed by Enlart. When talking about the old church being preserved as what he calls the ‘low’ chapel, he suggests:

*"C'est peut-être dans cette chapelle basse que l'on vénérât le corps de saint Épiphanie, évêque de Salamine, relique célèbre, dont on perd la trace depuis le XVI^e siècle."*⁵²⁰

Indeed, a veneration of one of the main local saints could sufficiently explain the special treatment, which the old building received. However, this idea, solely based on two late pilgrim’s accounts, which will be discussed below, opened up an ongoing debate over the original dedication of the older church – which shows as well the frustratingly fragmentary knowledge that we have of this central religious monument.⁵²¹ As the recent investigation presented by Papacostas is comprehensive in the presentation of previous positions and relevant historical sources, a brief summary of the state of research will suffice here. The church was known as ‘Saint Symeon’ for many years, a dedication apparently first promulgated by Theophilus

⁵¹⁸ For this question see also Papacostas 2014b, p 50, who considers that the wall might originally have been covered with frescoes.

⁵¹⁹ Nothing is left of these fixtures today. Jeffery 1916, p 129.

⁵²⁰ Enlart 1899, I, p 312, transl.: “This low-built chapel was perhaps the scene of the cult of the body of Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, a famous relic all trace of which is lost after the sixteenth century”, in Enlart 1987, p 253.

⁵²¹ Most recently on this issue Kaffenberger 2014, p 171–173 and Papacostas 2014b, p 38–46, both with reference to the previous discussion.

Mogabgab and John Hilton in 1936, evidently referring to the oral tradition.⁵²² This dedication was based on the account of Etienne de Lusignan, who reports that after the Ottoman conquest of 1571, the Greeks were allowed to keep their cathedral and a church of Saint Symeon.⁵²³ Further information about a monastery of Saint Symeon, a *metochion* of the Saint Catherine Monastery on Mount Sinai, is given in several documents of the 14th and 15th centuries. In 1334, it was granted the right to operate a cemetery. In 1363, a Iohannes de Mothono (or Modono) and his wife state in their deeds that they wish to be buried at Saint Symeon, thus the cemetery appears to be functional at that time.⁵²⁴ In the 1450s, a certain Marco de Messana was procurator of both Saint George of the Greeks and Saint Symeon, which according to Papacostas suggests an institutional link.⁵²⁵

A church of Saint Epifanios in Famagusta is only attested in a single document of the 14th century, the will of Fetus Semitecolo of 1363. If we compare this will to that of Iohannes de Modono, one can remark a surprising discrepancy between the sums of money left to the beneficiaries. Modono does not specify a sum to be given to Saint Symeon for his burial (only 10 besants should go to the church of Saint Nicholas), while his wife assigns 25 besants for this purpose. Semitecolo does not specify any sum of money to be given to his selected burial site as well. He does, however, leave the large sum of 1000 besants to Saint George of the Greeks, remarkably the only church to profit from a financial bequest in this will, and later specifies that ten members of the Greek clergy be paid to salute his soul.⁵²⁶ Would Semitecolo, after giving a large sum to the Greek cathedral, not want to be buried in the immediate proximity?⁵²⁷ Thus, it seems probable that at least in 1363 the old church adjacent to Saint George was known by the name of Saint Epifanios. This could also explain the surprising lack of any financial benefit for the burial church of Saint Epifanios, which would have profited from the

⁵²² Mogabgab 1936, p 22; Hilton 1936, p 1: “[...] chapel known as St. Simeon’s [...]”.

⁵²³ Lusignan 1580, fol 289 v.: “Quant aux Grecs, ils esperoient bien d'auoir toutes leurs Eglises Grecques: mais ils ne peurent obtenir que la Cathedrale, & celle de saint Simeon [...]”.

⁵²⁴ Otten-Froux 2003, p 39–40: “[...] il choisit d’être enterré à l’église Saint-Siméon de Famaguste”; “Elle demande à être enterrée à l’église Saint-Siméon de Famagouse, à laquelle elle lègue 25 besants blancs”.

⁵²⁵ Papacostas 2014b, p 45.

⁵²⁶ Otten-Froux 2003, p 42.

⁵²⁷ Sadly, the only excavations in the cathedral precinct were carried out in the 1930s and are hardly documented. It is thus not clear, if and where burials might have taken place here.

large donation to the Greek cathedral as well, as they were certainly part of the same ecclesiastical institution. The presumably more humble sum given by Modono and his wife for the burials in Saint Symeon seem, in turn, hardly to be enough to pay for a tomb within the Greek cathedral complex. Instead, I would like to suggest the ruined complex of Unidentified Church 18 [76] as possible site of the monastery of Saint Symeon – we will come back to this below.⁵²⁸ While Papacostas correctly concludes that both, the churches of Saint Symeon and Saint Epifanios known from the sources, might or might not be related to the surviving building, the admittedly scarce evidence of the three deeds rather speaks in favour of a dedication of the church to Saint Epifanios.

But does this bring us closer to the question of an established cult or veneration? In fact, only from the Venetian period onwards, do several pilgrims mention the veneration of Saint Epifanios in the church of Saint George.⁵²⁹ In 1519, Ludwig Tschudi states that in Famagusta “rüheth S. Epiphanii Cörperl / so allda Erzbischoff gewesen / den man uns zeugt / ist noch ganz unnd unversehrt”.⁵³⁰ In 1566, Christopher Fürer von Haimendorf adds the valuable information that apparently not only the body was displayed then, but ‘on the right side of the church’ also the marble tomb with an illegible Greek inscription.⁵³¹ Perhaps, this could be the sepulchre (i.e. sarcophagus) that Florio Bustron reports to have been found ‘recently’ in the ruins of Salamis/Constantia around 1560?⁵³² Indeed, Tschudi only mentions the body of the saint, but no sarcophagus or inscription, so it might have been brought here only in the course of the 16th century. As mentioned above, those two sources caused Enlart to believe that the saint was venerated in the old church, implying that this veneration existed from the beginning. This thought was later taken up by Jeffery, who adds the (purely hypothetical) assumption that the saint’s sarcophagus must have been placed

⁵²⁸ On the Unidentified Church 18 and the possible identification see Kaffenberger forthcoming-f.

⁵²⁹ On Saint Epifanios and Famagusta see exhaustively Papacostas 2014b, p 46–50.

⁵³⁰ Quoted from Tschudi 1606, p 96 – transl. “[...] rests the body of Saint Epifanios, who was the archbishop here, and the body, which we were shown, is entire and unscathed [...]”.

⁵³¹ Fürer von Haimendorff 1646, p 300–301: “[...] in der Kirchen der Griechen S. Georgii auff der rechten Seiten ist eine sehr alte Marmorsteinern Begräbnuß Epiphaniï, welche ein Griechisches Epitaphium hat ist aber nicht mehr zu lessen”. Transl. in Cobham 1908, p 78: “[...] the Greek church of S. George, in which you see the marble monument of Epiphanius, with a Greek inscription so wasted by age that it cannot be read in its entirety”.

⁵³² See also Papacostas 2014b, p 47–48. On the chronicle of Bustron Calvelli 2009, p 125–134, on the sarcophagus esp. p 114, 132. Bustron claims that “non è gran tempo, che fu trovata la sepoltura di santo Epifanio con lettere grece, che cio facevano noto” (fol 5 v.; quoted after De Mas Latrie 1886, p 18).

in the old church, along the same wall that was displayed so ostentatiously within the new cathedral.⁵³³ He even attempts to identify the venerated piece with a marble sarcophagus that he saw lying in the streets surrounding the church, but as this sarcophagus is lost now, it is impossible to verify this assumption.⁵³⁴

Unfortunately, we do not possess a single reference to a veneration of a Saint Epifanios relic within Famagusta for the 14th century. Even more so, Papacostas has remarked that by the mid-14th century (1349 and 1355), the relic of Saint Epifanios was still venerated at the site of his original burial place within the ruins of Salamis.⁵³⁵ Nevertheless, he admits that relic fragments of the saint had certainly come to other places within the island and abroad (Benevent, Bohemia).⁵³⁶ Makhairas mentions a processional cross having been commissioned by Patriarch Ignatios of Antioch in the 1340s, shortly after the famous cross-relic of Tochni had been rediscovered.⁵³⁷ This processional cross included a relic of Saint Epifanios.⁵³⁸ Of Saint George of the Greeks, in turn, we know that it possessed passion relics, again from late sources of the 16th century.⁵³⁹ Would it be possible, that a reliquary such as the processional cross, housing diverse relics, was acquired for Saint George in the same period? Anyhow, the most important Epifanios relic on the island seems to have been his skull, the commemoration of which is attested in the Latin (!) cathedral of Nicosia in 1353.⁵⁴⁰ Thus, the dispersion of Epifanios relics did in fact refer to body relics as well, not only contact relics (which were decisively easier to partition or even produce). This obviously contradicts Tschudi's statement, who claims to have seen the body unscathed.

⁵³³ Jeffery 1916, p 129.

⁵³⁴ Jeffery 1916, p 130.

⁵³⁵ Papacostas 2014b, p 46, who refers to the accounts of an English Anonymous of ca. 1344–45 (in: Golubovich 1906–1927, IV, p 447; Hoade 1970, p 60) and Fra Niccolò da Poggibonsi of 1346–50 (in: Bellorini, Hoade 1945, esp. p 127). On the issue also Stewart 2008, p 89, who only refers to the account of Ludolf von Suchen (before 1341?): “[...] sant epiphanyes ein heylicher man zu bischof erwelet worden und do selben begraben.” (in: Suchen 1477, fol 38 v.). On the veneration of Saint Epifanios in Salamis and the history of his church there Stewart 2008, p 63–90.

⁵³⁶ Papacostas 2014b, p 46.

⁵³⁷ On the Cross of Tochni and the processional cross Schabel 2005, p 181–182.

⁵³⁸ Leontios Makhairas, II, 77, in: Dawkins 1932, p 107. On possible reasons for Makhairas not mentioning a veneration of Saint Epiphanyes, even if it might have existed, see Papacostas 2014c

⁵³⁹ Papacostas 2014a, p 343–344: “[...] in 1580, a fragment of the True Cross said to have originated from a church of Saint George at Famagusta, where it had been held in high esteem by both Greeks and Latins [...]”

⁵⁴⁰ Papacostas 2014b, p 47. See Coureas, Schabel 1997, p 306 and 310; Schabel 2001, p 366 for the original source, a record entry of Archbishop Philipp of Nicosia, 18.05.1353, in the Nicosia cathedral cartulary.

Perhaps, the German traveller's account solely replicated a *topos* created by the responsible clerics in Famagusta to raise the appeal of the shrine and attract more pilgrims. It seems hardly possible that at some point the head returned to Famagusta.⁵⁴¹ We might also consider Papacostas' suggestion that the body, which was thought to be the one of Saint Epifanios, came to Saint George after the earthquake of 1491 together with or even as content of the sarcophagus described by Fürer von Haimendorff.⁵⁴² The partition of the relic was evidently possible in the 14th century and by the 16th century there was apparently no problem seen in a 'duplication' of relics, or at least concurring oral traditions. Thus, we should consider that the transfer of an additional or fragmentary relic of the saint to the small church of Saint Epifanios or the new cathedral in the 14th century would have hardly considered problematic. Furthermore, the veneration on the old burial site in Salamis could have easily continued even after the bodily relic was translocated: the holiness of the site was still ensured by the fact that it had served as burial place and thus come into contact with the saint's body.

The historical context, in which the church of Saint George was erected, further corroborates the idea of an early translocation. Before the 13th century, Famagusta was a rather insignificant albeit rudimentarily fortified coastal settlement, the precise character of which is still open for debate.⁵⁴³ More important for our specific question is the fact that before 1260 there is no mention of a Greek bishop of Ammochostos/Famagusta. Already after 1222, the organisation of the Greek episcopate was reformed and in a process, stretching over several decades the number of bishoprics reduced to four. Those were paired with, or rather subordinated to the Latin ones that had been established in 1196 under Pope Celestine III. The official residences of the Greek bishops were ordered to be in rural outposts so that they would not interfere with their Latin counterparts. In the diocese of Famagusta, this rural outpost was 'Karpasia', once an important Late Antique see that had probably lost its

⁵⁴¹ According to the 18th century traveller Giovanni Mariti, the fate of the relic was already then unknown: "In Famagosta era il corpo di S. Epifanio Vescovo di Salamina, nè saprei, che cosa ne sia stato dopo la presa della Città." (Mariti 1769, p 153). Transl.: "The body of St Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, was buried in Famagusta, but I do not know what became of it after the sack of the city" (in: Cobham 1909, p 66).

⁵⁴² Papacostas 2014b, p 49.

⁵⁴³ See Papacostas 2014b, p 25–33 for early mentions of the city (as Ammochostos) and the question of a fortification before the 14th century.

importance in the course of the middle Byzantine period.⁵⁴⁴ Therefore, when in 1260 bishop Joachim of Karpasia is mentioned in the *Bulla Cypria*, it seems probable that he resided on the Karpas Peninsula rather than in Famagusta itself.⁵⁴⁵ As Papacostas remarks, there is no evidence that the church of Saint Epifanios, albeit probably structurally going back to at least the 11th or 12th century, served as cathedral before the 14th century.⁵⁴⁶ The *synthronon* that Mogabgab claims to have seen during restoration works in the northern apse of Saint Epifanios, vaguely recognizable on two historic photographs, is today all but gone.⁵⁴⁷ It seems more relevant to remember the quick succession of architecturally elaborate expansion phases of the church from the late 13th or early 14th century onwards. At this time, the sudden success of Famagusta as economic capital of the island surely created the need for a representative, sizable Greek church. Did the bishop already celebrate mass in this church? We might assume it, but in the absence of corresponding sources, the first clear sign of a formal transfer of the bishop's residence from Karpasia to Famagusta is the erection of the new cathedral.

It is important to acknowledge that this process was in all probability not the 'return' of a bishop – which has been occasionally stipulated –, as no previous Greek bishop had officially resided in the city. This created an extraordinary situation, as there was no local site-specific tradition to build on. However, there was the old church that had been remodelled to serve the needs of the Greek community, but retained what were probably the oldest building remains in the city. A mere preservation of the old church alongside the new one would have had multiple possible reasons: keeping it as general reminder of the tradition of the Orthodox Church in this city, or as church for celebrating the mass until the new building was finished, or simply because it had been

⁵⁴⁴ Papacostas 2014b, p 34: "within the Latin see of Famagusta the Greek bishop would reside in the Karpas ('in diocesi Famagustana in Carpasio')". The quotation from the 1222 agreement on the ecclesiastical organization of Cyprus, edited in Coureas, Schabel 1997, p 251.

⁵⁴⁵ For the *Bulla* see Richard 1996; Coureas 1997, p 297–306; Schabel 2005, p 203–210. Commonly, Rizokarpaso is assumed to be the *de facto* see of the bishop, thus the village church of Saint Synesios would have likely served as cathedral. Surprisingly, this 12th century building shows no signs of a reconstruction or remodelling throughout the 13th century. The church of Panagia Kanakaria in Lythrakomi [135], in contrast, received a conspicuous dome at some point during the 14th century. Could this church, considerably closer to Famagusta, have served as cathedral?

⁵⁴⁶ Papacostas 2014b, p 34, 50.

⁵⁴⁷ Mogabgab Photographic Archive: A.6635, A.6637 – on the pictures, the structure appears to be heavily damaged by a missile that hit the church in 1941. The *synthronon* must have vanished at some point after 1941, presumably during the rebuilding of the apse around 1960.

remodelled only a few decades before. Nevertheless, the costly and somewhat aesthetically problematic inclusion resulted in a significant disturbance of parts of the older church, thus even defying the purpose of a transitional use as cathedral. It is not very likely that the wall itself, without further context, could have provided more than a general sense of age, thus nothing that the preservation of the old church without displaying it in the new building could not have provided. It is here, where presumably the memory of Saint Epifanios played a decisive role. There was the much venerated burial place of the saint in the deserted ruins of Salamis nearby, where in the middle Byzantine period a new multi-domed church had been erected over the ruins of the south-eastern annexe buildings of the Late Antique Epifanios basilica [A.16–18].⁵⁴⁸ It is interesting to note that by the mid-14th century, it was in Salamis, where a new cult of Saint Catherine was established, while mentions of Saint Epifanios became scarce.⁵⁴⁹ One might tentatively interpret this as a shift of veneration sites, which generally preserved a veneration in Salamis, but installed a different saint that apparently had a high appeal to western pilgrims. The destiny of the Epifanios veneration in the region of Famagusta remains obscure between the mid-14th and early 16th century, as mentioned above, but it is hardly imaginable that this central figure of Cypriot church history was simply forgotten for more than a century. Did the attempt to establish a 'new tradition' in Saint George of the Greeks perhaps fail to exceed a purely local importance, thus not attracting Western pilgrims due to the more attractive shrine of Saint Catherine? This might explain the lack of written documents, which for the most part come from a Western context. Nevertheless, the question has to remain open for the moment.

I would in any case argue that what we see today, is the result of the creation of a retrospectively constructed tradition, the staging of a setting that could evoke a tradition, which seemed to be tightly connected to the specific site.⁵⁵⁰ Of course, what is presented here, is a mere hypothesis, currently not supported by further written documentary evidence. Nevertheless, I believe that especially the material legacy indicates that the authorities responsible for the erection of the new cathedral intended

⁵⁴⁸ See the recent, comprehensive study of Stewart 2008, esp. p 63–90.

⁵⁴⁹ On the cult of Saint Catherine in Salamis Calvelli 2009, p 157–246, esp. 240–245 on the identification of the shrine.

⁵⁵⁰ For this issue of 'new' and 'invented' traditions see in particular Hobsbawm 1983.

to create a visual frame for the perceived as well as factual long-lasting tradition of the bishopric. If Papacostas assumes that the integration and display of the old wall is in fact aiming at “ensuring the historical and institutional continuity”, he is surely right in general.⁵⁵¹ Only, there was no continuity on this specific site.⁵⁵² The assumed transfer of a relic of Saint Epifanios and the establishment of a cult on site would have been visually authenticated by the ancient stone material of the old church, even if this church was perhaps not connected to a specific cult before the 14th century. Olympios and Papacostas have recently suggested the possibility of a dedication of the old church to Saint George.⁵⁵³ It is not impossible that this is indeed true for the first centuries of the building’s history and that only with the erection of the new church in the mid-14th century, this dedication was transferred to the Cathedral and the old church named after Epifanios, in an attempt to enhance the impression of a long-lasting tradition.

The idea of continuity is further conveyed in certain other aspects of the building. The apse of Saint George is adorned with a large *synthronon* [69.4, 48], much resembling the similar installation in the apses of the Late Antique basilicas and their successors (such as that of Saint Epifanios in Salamis). When discussing the assumed *synthronon* of the older church, Papacostas states that these features were still in use in the middle Byzantine period, however “hardly suitable for sitting [... and thus fulfilling] a merely symbolic rather than a practical function”.⁵⁵⁴ The same is true for the one in Saint George: the steps are far too short and low to serve as seats, furthermore changes in the liturgy had made this feature obsolete for the service.⁵⁵⁵ There are, nevertheless, traces of a fixture in the centre of the apse wall, two vertical grooves that indicate a somewhat high structure solidly linked with the wall behind. This might have been a throne, or, much less likely, an altarpiece of Western character. The date of erection of the *synthronon*, which was first described by Enlart, is somewhat unclear, as its ashlar are slightly less regular than the apse masonry and do not interlock with the

⁵⁵¹ Papacostas 2014b, p 50.

⁵⁵² On the general importance of a site-specific ‘*memoria*’ see chapter 6.1 above.

⁵⁵³ Olympios 2014c, p 169–170 and Papacostas 2014b, p 42. A Greek church with a dedication to Saint George is mentioned as early as 1307, but it remains unclear if we can identify it with the current building. For the will of Peter de Sancto Donato, referring to an ‘altare Griffonorum sancti georgii’, see Balard 1984, p 152 and Balard 1985, p 284. Schabel 2005, p 182 assumes this to refer to the predecessor of the current Greek cathedral.

⁵⁵⁴ Papacostas 2014b, p 43.

⁵⁵⁵ Papacostas 2014a, p 344.

latter. It seems that it was installed as an afterthought, but this may have taken place even before the completion of the church, as surely the lower eastern parts were among the first to be erected.⁵⁵⁶ Furthermore, we must question, whether the erection of a large stone iconostasis after the earthquake of 1491, presumably rendering the *synthronon* fully invisible to the faithful visitors, would not have contradicted the latter's instalment.⁵⁵⁷ In fact, the presence of a first screen before the stone iconostasis was erected is quite probable, but this may have been a more openly designed *templon*.⁵⁵⁸ Anyhow, it seems more probable that the intended audience for a structure such as this would have been the clergy itself than the regular churchgoers. The idea of taking up a *Würdeformel* of late antique basilicas, also prominently present in the basilica in Salamis as well as in the adjacent later church [A.17–18], certainly aligns well with the idea of suggesting a historic continuity. We might wonder, if the attested *synthronon* of Saint Epifanios was also installed there, when the new church was built, or even the remainder of a factual late antique predecessor.⁵⁵⁹

In several Cypriot churches, *synthrona* testify to the presence of a Late Antique church on the same site, which was subsequently integrated into the new building. In the case of Saint Prokopios in Sygkrasis, not far from Famagusta, the *synthronon* might be the only surviving masonry of the predecessor, otherwise confirmed through the 6th century *opus sectile* floor in the bema area, which attests to the symbolic value of this feature [A.26–27].⁵⁶⁰ So it is well possible that, when the clergy of Saint George of the

⁵⁵⁶ Papacostas remarks, that the decision against interlocking masonry could have been made due to the difference in weight and the resulting risk of static problems/cracks. Papacostas 2014a, p 345

⁵⁵⁷ For the question of the *templon* see Jeffery 1916, p 131–132; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 293; Kaffenberger 2010, p 93–94; Papacostas 2014a, p 345. Plagnieux and Soulard suspect an erection shortly after completion of the church, but the multiplication of the cone-and-sphere motif below the sole surviving column base of the iconostasis resembles similar bases of the 16th century portals of the Panagia Odigitria in Nicosia and Saint Mamas in Morfou. Thus, there is hardly a reason to doubt the late date first suggested by Jeffery.

⁵⁵⁸ There are some closed early screens preserved on Cyprus from the 12th century onwards, for example in the hermitage of Saint Neofytos (after 1197), see Pallas 1985–1987, more recently commented on in Gerstel 2006a, p 140. For a discussion of the transition from *templon* to iconostasis see Chatzidakis 1979 and Wharton Epstein 1981. In any case, we must wonder, how applicable the model for such small structures is to the large cathedral: it is somewhat hard to imagine the structure in Saint George as fully closed, as the size and number of necessary icons would have been immense.

⁵⁵⁹ The lower courses of the 'venerated' transept wall indeed show a different masonry, consisting of the same large ashlar as the semicircular structure identified as *synthronon* by Mogabgab, ashlar of a format that was rather used in a late antique context. Until further excavations, this has to remain speculation.

⁵⁶⁰ Chatzichristophi 1997; Papacostas 1999, II, p 69.

Greeks saw the *synthronon*, they were visually reminded of their institution's tradition, known to go back to the origins of Christianity on the island.

Another feature of Saint George that should be included in this context is the rarely discussed spatial arrangement of the interior. Nothing is left of the original floor tiles of the church. What does remain is a curious step, today separating two levels of the soil on the ground. The u-shaped step runs along the piers of the second to fourth bays of the central nave, ending at the foundation of the iconostasis in the east and thus creating a slightly raised platform in the centre of the church.⁵⁶¹ This platform has been connected by Plagnieux and Soulard with the presumed veneration of Saint Epifanios; they suggest that the sarcophagus of the saint was in fact placed on this platform, so that a procession of pilgrims could have taken place around this feature.⁵⁶² As discussed above, the marble sarcophagus seen by Furer von Haimendorff was most likely placed in the church only during the 16th century – Furer in addition speaks of a place 'on the right' (thus not in the centre).⁵⁶³ Furthermore, it seems not very likely that a feature in such a prominent and peculiar place would have gone uncommented in the pilgrims' reports from the 14th century on. More likely, we should follow Mogabgab, who, upon excavating the foundations of the platform, discussed it with Georgios Soteriou and suggested its use as "a dais for the notables of the parish, or for the choirs, most probably for the former."⁵⁶⁴ More interestingly, he connects the feature with the church of Saint Barnabas, the second important Greek saint to be venerated in the region of Famagusta. There, however, the platform, which Mogabgab apparently uncovered in 1934, seems all but gone.⁵⁶⁵ Indeed, the projecting platform reminds somewhat of the imprint left by the screen arrangement in certain Late Antique churches, such as the main basilica in Peyia, albeit it is protruding much further.⁵⁶⁶ Unfortunately, there are

⁵⁶¹ The platform was uncovered during the excavations in the 1930s: Mogabgab 1951, p 189.

Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 295 doubt the correctness of the information on the size given there, but indeed the dimension of 54,5 ft to 23,5 ft, which roughly equals 16,6 m to 7,2 m, is absolutely correct. The height of 8 inches, 20 cm, is confirmed by the preserved structure as well.

⁵⁶² Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 295: “

⁵⁶³ Furer von Haimendorff 1646, p 300–301. 'On the right side' could admittedly refer to the position of the church within the city as well, but it is more likely that the marble monument described afterwards is meant.

⁵⁶⁴ Mogabgab 1951, p 189.

⁵⁶⁵ For the church of Saint Barnabas most recently Stewart 2008, p 132–143 and Maguire 2012, II, p 63–64, there a full bibliography.

⁵⁶⁶ Maguire 2012, II, p 54–55, with full bibliography. In Peyia, the screen was placed on the axis of the last arcade columns in the aisles but one column axis further west in the central nave.

no sufficient traces on the stone step or the heavily damaged piers to argue in favour of a screening in Saint George.

In any case, the suggestion of Plagnieux and Soulard touches upon the aspect of liturgical, or, more precisely, processional use of the structure. The presence of the platform, the 'venerated' wall and of multiple doorways connecting the two churches and the complex with the streets around it [69.4], begs for an attempt to reconstruct patterns of use. The lack of currently known relevant written sources, together with a rather restricted knowledge about the precise practices or rituals in the Orthodox service at that period and the already hypothesized layout of the 'venerable' sites within the complex, requires to leave the good practices of scholarship behind and enter the sphere of speculation. If I briefly follow this trail here, this is done with future scholarship in mind, which might uncover those reliable sources necessary to come closer to the real occurrences. Admittedly, the study of usage through analogies with other buildings, but also through the material evidence is highly problematic for Greek churches due to the rather flexible nature of the liturgy within the space.⁵⁶⁷ If Jás Elsner states that "the material-cultural frame of a ritual centre – architectural, topographic, decorative – may offer no clues at all as to what people choose to do liturgically within it", this verdict is somewhat sobering but, to a certain extent, seems to generally apply to Byzantine churches as well.⁵⁶⁸ Recently, Vasileios Marinis concludes from his study of Constantinopolitan churches:

*"[F]ormal aspects of the building, like its size and type, and even its decoration, often had a tenuous link to its liturgical function. They could enhance the symbolism of the ritual, or they could be influenced by it, but neither was necessary, and there is no causal relationship between them."*⁵⁶⁹

Nevertheless, if returning to the material evidence on the site of Saint George of the Greeks, certain distinctive features might be hard to explain through means other than functional ones. For the question of movement within the church, the position of access ways is crucial. Saint George possessed a total of seven doorways: one to the

⁵⁶⁷ On this aspect a number of more recent publications, for Byzantium most prominently Ousterhout 1999, esp. p 86–156; Marinis 2012; Marinis 2014.

⁵⁶⁸ Elsner 2012, p 19.

⁵⁶⁹ Marinis 2015, p 770.

north, facing the city; three to the west and further three to the south. In particular the two western ones in the south are of interest: the doorway in the second bay from west leads into the small courtyard, which fronts the two western entrances of Saint Epifanios, while that in the third, central bay – in fact a wide arch – leads into the church itself. The only doorway to the south of Saint Epifanios is in the second bay from east. The multitude of options would have indeed permitted specific processional ways, entering the complex from one side, presumably through the northern or western portals of Saint George, then passing by certain 'memorial objects' – be this the old wall itself or, more likely, a movable artwork such as an icon, which could provide the content or context for the wall. Considering the position on a lateral wall of the church, this might be a parallel to the practice of venerating an icon or a fresco with the depiction of the patron saint in a niche of the northern wall, often opposite from the entrance in many rural churches of the island.⁵⁷⁰

The visitors would then, one might imagine, have the possibility to continue through the wide arch of the third bay into the older church. It is worth noting that this passage, albeit entirely erected in the mid-14th century, shows an aesthetically rather ungainly misalignment between the large, well proportioned, carefully moulded arch towards Saint George and the lower, squat arch that had to be inserted to support the retained, older vaults of Saint Epifanios [69.63]. The latter arch is evidently built from the same roughly cut ashlar as the old transept wall. Thus we might assume a re-use of the material of those parts, which had been taken down previously. In the context of a building project of the size and pretension of Saint George, it is somewhat unlikely that this happened due to economic reasons and certainly it did not testify to the presence of inept masons. The decision to distinguish between the old and the new church, even within a part of the building that had to be erected contemporaneously, might have been purposeful. Here, the passing visitor would have experienced a transition from the 'present' sphere into the 'past', displayed not only by the misaligned arches but also by the difference of floor level, which required a steep descent into the

⁵⁷⁰ See for example Saint George Terratsiotis in Avgorou [47]. One might wonder, if these niches did not in fact develop from the Famagustan model, as most of them date to the 15th and 16th centuries. In the Byzantine tradition, the patron saint could be depicted on the piers or wall in vicinity or beside the iconostasis, often within a frame (Wharton Epstein 1981, p 24). Perhaps this practice could have played a role in the later development?

old church.⁵⁷¹ Evidently, at the current stage of research it is impossible to define, how the older church would have liturgically functioned after the erection of the new cathedral. Perhaps, the situation was comparable to that of the famous crypt of Saint Denis, which, even after the relic of the saint was lifted to the presbytery above during the 12th century, was still attended by pilgrims venerating the empty tomb.⁵⁷² In the case of Saint Epifanios, only future excavations might shed more light on the question of the interior arrangement. However, even the discovery of a substructure of a sarcophagus might not be conclusive, as this could still date to the 16th century.

Even if the general knowledge about the ritual use of the two churches is, as presented, frustratingly fragmentary, a brief excursus towards another feature uncovers a further aspect of *memoria*, here the memory of the individual rather than of a saint. The aisle walls of the church are pierced with niches, low pointed arches that resemble Late Antique *arcosolia* [69.66].⁵⁷³ Lateral brackets indicate that the niches were once meant to receive funerary slabs and that these niches were, if not the place of burials then at least the place to commemorate the deceased. It has been recently shown by Michele Bacci that these niches go back to Latin models present in the majority of Famagustan churches.⁵⁷⁴ It seems that originally they were used as ‘compressed chapels’ with distinct altars, where masses for the soul of the deceased could be read – ‘pro anima’-chapels. This function was combined, perhaps also due to the formal similarity of the niches with *arcosolia*, with the display of tomb slabs within. Such niches made their way into non-Latin building habits already early in the 14th century, when the western bay of Saint George Exorinos received such a niche [A.67].⁵⁷⁵ As Bacci points out, the presence of numerous side altars would not have been possible

⁵⁷¹ It is not sure, how long the rough masonry of the lower arch remained visible. Today, small fragments of paintings prove that once it was plastered, but the fragments are too small to indicate a date or iconography. Furthermore, it is unclear how the significant gap between the horizontal upper end of the lower archway and the higher arch was originally closed.

⁵⁷² Albrecht 2003, p 142–143. The crypt of Saint Denis goes back to the first Merovingian building, walls of which were preserved and displayed together with those of the 9th century expansion of Abbot Hilduin during the 12th century rebuilding – one of the most striking examples of the relic-like treatment of older building parts.

⁵⁷³ Jeffery 1916, p 131, presents a lengthy argumentation on how these niches would have weakened the structural integrity of the church and thus shown that the ‘Greek’ builders were largely inept compared to ‘Latins’. This is, of course, wrong on both accounts: the church collapsed due to failing nave piers, shaken already by previous earthquakes and the question of masons and builders is certainly more complex.

⁵⁷⁴ Bacci 2009b, esp. p 27–28.

⁵⁷⁵ For Saint George Exorinos and its chronology see chapter 4.2.

in a church of the Orthodox rite.⁵⁷⁶ It is, however, well possible that the niches are the product of an ostentatiously displayed site-specific individual *memoria* – common among the Latin elite, but a new feature among the Orthodox – surely inspired by the dynamic, hybrid society of 14th century Famagusta. In the context of the erection of Saint George, presumably shortly after the plague of 1349, the niches seem to have had a double purpose. They provided locations for individualized memorials, which were not only positioned in the vicinity of a venerated relic but, due to their placement under a moulded arch in the lateral walls also formally paralleled with the central *Erinnerungsstück*, the old wall of Saint Epifanios. Thus, the hypothesized Epifanios-Memoria, albeit newly created at this site, would have most likely provided the frame for an ‘*ad sanctum* burial’.⁵⁷⁷ The burials, in turn, would have provided the necessary funds for a building project of such unprecedented dimensions as much as they would have for their part somewhat legitimated the veneration through the active practice of individual *memoria*. Perhaps, this practice is mirrored in the will of Semitecolo, who bequeathed a large sum to Saint George of the Greeks but wished to be buried and commemorated in ‘Saint Epifanios’?⁵⁷⁸

To conclude: with a certain probability, the erection of the Greek cathedral after the relocation of the bishopric to Famagusta in the mid-14th century was accompanied by the establishing of a veneration of Saint Epifanios. This important bishop had previously been venerated in Salamis/Constantia, at his burial site in the late antique basilica supposedly erected during his lifetime. The veneration seems to have been transferred to the fabric of the old main Greek church in Famagusta, which was staged as *Erinnerungsstück* through the relic-like display of its northern transept wall and, presumably, further activators that are lost to us today. The presence of a *synthronon* in Saint George might be interpreted as a symbolic reference to the perceived late antique origins of the Greek Church, manifest through the (ruined) basilica and its middle Byzantine successor in Salamis. The occurrence of funerary niches along the lateral walls testifies to a practice in the tradition of *ad sanctum* burials, probably part of the strategy to evoke the impression of a long-standing, site-specific tradition. While

⁵⁷⁶ Bacci 2009b, p 28.

⁵⁷⁷ The term *ad sanctum* originally describes the practice of burial agglomerations near martyrs’ tombs in urban Rome.

⁵⁷⁸ Otten-Froux 2003, p 42.

the lack of relevant sources for the 14th and 15th centuries condemns this theory to remain a pure hypothesis, the veneration of the saint is attested to during the 16th century, when the shrine was apparently enhanced through the 'discovery' of the saint's 'original' sarcophagus – a process, which was most likely aiming at providing an additional *Erinnerungsstück* to raise the appeal of the site for pilgrims.

During the previous argumentation, we did not touch upon two important topics: 'style' and 'identity'. Saint George of the Greeks has been interpreted in the past as a visualized challenge of the Latin bishop (due to its size and lavishness), or as sign of the Greek submission (due to the Gothic elements and several keystones, which bear the royal coat of arms of Jerusalem). We will come back to the issue of style and identities in 14th century urban Famagusta below, but it seems clear that the establishment of a veneration site for one of the most important Greek bishops of Cyprus could only underline the fact of the long-lasting tradition of the Greek Church on the island. Thus, it would have served as one means of distinction, purposefully arranged to characterize the institutional identity of the Orthodox episcopate.

6.3 'COPIES' AND 'IMITATIONS' AT PILGRIMAGE SITES AND PARISH CHURCHES

Much of the argumentation above cannot be proved with absolute certainty, so it is certainly a dangerous endeavour to try and establish a system of references relying on the interpretation of Saint George of the Greeks as a new setting of an Epifanios-Memoria. Even more so, as parallels inevitably point at strengthening the original argumentation and thus bear the danger of circular reasoning. Furthermore, the range of methodological problems connected with the discussion of imitations solely based on formal congruence was summed up recently by Freigang:

"[I]n what sense can a formal relationship be interpreted at all? Is a formal relationship a concrete reference to the imitated building, or to the architectural idiom of, or anecdotal associations with that building? Can morphological similarities in architecture convey precise spiritual, political or dynastic messages, just as heraldic devices do? And if so, can these messages be understood as semantic units or terms that are combined to form a sort of complex text – a text that modern

*viewers can decipher as a series of stable cognitive codes, signalling, for instance, a complex network of political dependencies?”*⁵⁷⁹

Nevertheless, for our case a comparison of Saint George / Saint Epifanios with other veneration sites of in particular local saints seems promising in order to establish – at least on a formal level – the extent to which they referred to, copied and imitated the undisputed central Greek ecclesiastical structure of 14th century Cyprus. Keeping in mind the warning of Freigang, who insists on the necessity of “adequately reconstructing or representing a specific historic reality”, conclusions concerning symbolical or ‘iconographical’ connotations in the instances of ‘copies’ and ‘imitations’ in this chapter should be treated as careful suggestions – for a sound ‘reconstruction’ of the historic reality we still largely lack the relevant sources.⁵⁸⁰

Paul Davies, upon discussing Italian Renaissance pilgrimage sites, characterizes the process of ‘copying’ or ‘imitation’ as “a practice in which churches were designed to make references to more celebrated shrines in such a way that the allusion would be immediately recognizable to pilgrims.”⁵⁸¹ While Davies subsequently introduces the expression ‘likeness’ as a more neutral term, referring to the fundamentally different approach to the term ‘copy’ in medieval and early modern times (see chapter 6.1 above) and the traditionally more form-related ‘imitation’, I will retain these expressions, bearing in mind the respective characteristics. Günter Bandmann’s definition of a ‘copy’ proves to be helpful, defining it as a process in which “das Vorbild [...] in typische Teile aufgelöst [wird], und diese werden in der Kopie neu gruppiert”.⁵⁸² The typical parts, which were chosen for a regrouping during the copying process could be particular elements of the topography or the building itself and, as Bandmann adds, the more

⁵⁷⁹ Freigang 2011, p 297–298. In his approach, Christian Freigang discusses a more differentiated apprehension of the term *Imitatio* with reference to Gothic churches in Western Europe, not without questioning overly simplified past approaches.

⁵⁸⁰ Freigang 2011, p 297.

⁵⁸¹ Davies 2013, p 187.

⁵⁸² Bandmann 1978, p 48, transl. ‘[...] the model is taken apart into typical elements, and these are regrouped in the copy’.

unusual the model was, the less specific the copy had to be in order to be understood as a reference to the original.⁵⁸³

One of the most remarkable, albeit under-studied sites of veneration in Cyprus is the monastery of Saint Irakleidios [185] near the ancient city of Tamassos, south of Nicosia. Encased in a monastic complex, which is attested since the 18th century, the main church presents a multitude of phases, the earliest of which go back to Late Antiquity. Today it consists of two naves, built above the main nave and northern aisle of an 8th century basilica, which itself was built within the ruins of a much larger 5th century building.⁵⁸⁴ The precise chronology is unclear and the multitude of phases best reflected by the eastern end of the complex. In fact, four apses of differing radius constitute the east end of the church: a wide outer one spanning the width of all three naves of the 8th century building can be assigned to the 5th century structure; the smaller apse together with the corresponding nave piers were later integrated into a *Reduktionsbau*. A polygonal apse, reduced in height by the 1960s restoration campaign, seems to have been part of an 18th century rebuilding. In any case, the integration of older piers in the nave walls – a process known from other sites such as the Panagia in Afentrika [2] – should not be considered a deed of immediate memorial character. More importantly, to the south-east of the church, partly cutting through the Late Antique apse, there is a square domed building, erected as a *martyrion* over a lower cave, probably originally a Hellenistic tomb [185.4, 9–11].⁵⁸⁵ The building, as the oral tradition states, houses not only the sarcophagus of the saint bishop Irakleidios and Saint Mnason but also the burials of the Saints Theodoros, Macedonios, Irakleidiana (the sister of the bishop) and Myron.⁵⁸⁶ A *martyrion* on this site can be traced back to the 4th century, but the current building evidently dates from the Latin period.⁵⁸⁷ It is roughly square in outer shape and surmounted by a dome with a high, octagonal drum. The

⁵⁸³ Bandmann also includes the highly problematic aspect of symbolic numbers. While there was for sure a discourse about numeric symbolism in the Middle Ages, this was often applied to standing buildings retrospectively as an intellectual or theological comment and would hardly have played a major role in either building practices or the perception of people worshipping in a church. For Cypriot buildings, this approach was used on Saint George of the Latins in Özdurol 2002, hardly convincing in the outcome.

⁵⁸⁴ Papacostas 1999, II, p 36–37.

⁵⁸⁵ On the question of transformed ancient tombs see esp. Papageorgiou 1999.

⁵⁸⁶ Irakleidios was the first bishop of Tamassos and said to be a disciple of the Apostle Barnabas, while Mnason came into contact with Saint Paul as his travel companion or host.

⁵⁸⁷ Papageorgiou 1986, p 490.

interior has a cruciform appearance, created by the deep arches that carry the dome. The southern arch is significantly deeper and thus creates something like a short cross-arm. The whole structure is erected from rubble, apparently building material reused from the ruins of the site, as is indicated by some column drums built into the wall. While it is tempting to attribute a memorial value to this reuse of material, it is far more probable that here we encounter an example of a reuse due to economic reasons. Only the wall edges, the interior of the drum and dome as well as the two string courses consist of newly fabricated ashlar. These parts would have hardly reached the same quality of surface if erected with rubble, while the walls themselves were surely plastered. The octagonal shape of the dome drum and the use of ashlar in its fabric betray the date of erection well into the mid-14th century.

On a first glimpse, the situation differs profoundly from that in Famagusta. The whole structure, including the *martyrion*, bears testimony to a *traditio loci*, a long-standing tradition of a veneration on the same site. As the monastic use is not attested before the Ottoman period, the original use of the structure remains unclear. It might have well continued to be in use as cathedral of the episcopate of Tamassos into the Latin period. Nevertheless, as the latter did formally cease to exist during the period after 1222, in particular the centuries, which interest us, lies in some obscurity.⁵⁸⁸ In any case, the site topography resembles that of Saint George of the Greeks: the placement of a separate space, charged with the *memoria* of an important local saint and adjoining the presbytery of the main church to the south. This position for a memorial chapel itself has a tradition going back to the Late Antique period, as Stewart has recently remarked.⁵⁸⁹ The renewal of the memorial chapel through the building of a new mausoleum, which is in fact sizeable enough to dwarf the (later) church next to it, is uncommon. While the formal parallels are evident and might indicate a certain relation, there are more churches with similar topographies on the island. One might think of the church of Saint Anastasios in Peristeronopigi, where a square chapel with a sail vault, erected in the middle Byzantine period over an ancient cave, flanks the 18th century main church to the north [A.142]; or of the Panagia Diakonousa [190] in Prastio, which is flanked by two chapels to the north and south, the former perhaps serving a

⁵⁸⁸ For the history and art in the (reestablished) bishopric see Kokkinoftas 2012.

⁵⁸⁹ Stewart 2008, p 95–96.

funerary function, the latter as shelter for a holy well.⁵⁹⁰ The reconstruction of a relation between the sites – and to which extent this relation would have been evident to the visitor – is more problematic. Indeed, the octagonal dome drum presumably found use for the first time in Saint Epifanios, but it is somewhat dubitable that this formal element would have been enough to relate the sites. The interior of the mausoleum, otherwise very plain, displays a number of memorial pieces: the eastern part of the room is raised, containing the original cave, and separated by a screen. The latter is formed by fragments of the Late Antique screen, which were later covered up with paintings depicting the venerated saints [185.10].⁵⁹¹ We must wonder, if the display of these *spolia*, objects of high age, was too general to be understood as specific memorial pieces, so that the paintings were used in an afterthought as 'activators' and deemed more useful than the relief decorations that vanished beneath the plaster. The fact that the paintings covered the antique pieces instead of being placed below them, points to a more utilitarian explanation: by that time, the *spolia* were simply not recognized as *Erinnerungsstücke* anymore.

In the context of Saint Epifanios, the arrangement of the northern wall is of some interest. There, the antique sarcophagus venerated as that of Saint Irakleidios, evidently a *spolium* as well, is placed against or rather partly within the wall and framed by a blind arch forming a shallow niche, which is only 20 cm deep [185.9]. A deeper small niche beside the sarcophagus attests to a ritual use of this sarcophagus, which distinguishes it from the second sarcophagus positioned on the opposite side of the room. Could this blind arch – high, shallow and certainly not summoning the more usual image of antique *arcosolia* – be a reflex of a similar arrangement in Saint George of the Greeks? As presented above, the placement of a sarcophagus attributed to Saint Epifanios in Saint George of the Greeks is only described in 16th century sources, but perhaps we could assume a predecessor in the 14th century. Considering that the Irakleidios Mausoleum is very likely to be later than the church of Saint Epifanios, would the complex have transcended the level of a formal imitation and indeed presented a 'copy' of the Epifanios Memoria? Obviously, being aware of the circular reasoning

⁵⁹⁰ For Saint Anastasios in Peristerona see Gunnis 1936, p 377–378. The precise date of the chapel is hard to determine, as it is almost entirely devoid of decoration. The sail vault points towards the 12th century.

⁵⁹¹ Chotzakoglou 2012, p 241–246.

behind it and the admittedly rather generic character of the similarities, this theory has to remain a speculation. It is, nevertheless, tempting to relate the two sites of veneration, which seem to have undergone a remodelling and presumably a renewal of the cult during more or less the same period.

The placement of a sarcophagus within a shallow niche of the northern wall inevitably evokes the comparison with another central site of a local saint's cult: the church of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149]. Already George Jeffery remarked that the old wall of Saint Epifanios, framed by a profiled arch, reminds of the tomb of Saint Mamas, certainly one of the most extraordinary solutions for a venerated shrine in Cyprus [149.22].⁵⁹² Here, an antique sarcophagus was placed in such a way underneath / within the northern wall, that its lid remained visible from both inside and outside the church [149.16]. The reduced wall thickness necessary to create this effect, was achieved with a construction very much like that of Saint George / Saint Epifanios. A large discharging arch, only visible from the outside, corresponds to the profiled frame of the niche on the inside. Apparently, this arch was initially left open during the building process. After the sarcophagus had been placed in the assigned spot, the arch was filled with ashlar of slightly varying sizes: vertical joints and a curved levelling course below the discharging arch indicate the later infill. It is remarkable that the sarcophagus was apparently brought here from a different place, as Arthur Megaw found out during (sadly very restricted) excavation works on site.⁵⁹³ Apparently, the sarcophagus interferes with the debris layer from the destruction of the most recent predecessor building, which he dates to the Lusignan period. Megaw claims to have found vestiges of in total three previous churches, but the test trenches opened during the excavation seem too small to extrapolate truly reliable results [149.2].⁵⁹⁴ Of these predecessors, however, no fabric was made part of the new church. Today, the general topography of the shrine does not resemble that of Saint George of the Greeks: the church of Saint Mamas possesses only a single interior space, albeit divided into three naves. An

⁵⁹² On the *vitae* of Saint Mamas, who was not a local saint but is said to have come to Cyprus only after his death, floating in his sarcophagus, see generally Berger 2002, the first connection of the Saint's *vita* with Cyprus in Leontios Makhairas, I, 32, in: Dawkins 1932, see also Severis 2010, p 55–59.

⁵⁹³ See Remsen 2010, p 88–89, who refers to the unpublished excavation report of 1958.

⁵⁹⁴ Remsen 2010, p 72–73 is rather uncritical towards the interpretation; his plan seems to copy that of Megaw including unlikely reconstructions of the three churches.

unusual north-eastern doorway, apparently placed with its inner face towards the outside, might, however, indicate the original plan or presence of a side chapel, as already Remsen pointed out [149.17].⁵⁹⁵ This chapel could have occupied the site of today's northern porch and sheltered the outer side of the saint's tomb. A drawing of Alexander Drummond, who visited the monastery in 1754, indeed shows a low annexe attached to the northern side of the church [149.8]. The reliability of this drawing is somewhat questionable, but a corbel next to the north-eastern doorway, strangely out of place and function in the current context, seems to corroborate the evidence of his drawing [149.17].⁵⁹⁶ This corbel sits rather low in the corner between the north-eastern buttress and the northern wall plane; it is polygonally shaped, waved and decorated with a floral motif on the bottom and could thus date to the 16th century. The slight misalignment indicates that it came to its current position as an afterthought – what was it supposed to carry? A vault of an adjoining chapel would have cut through the large windows, which pierce the northern wall. Furthermore, the (restored) wall surfaces are uninterrupted and show no traces of interlocking vaults. Until further excavations explore possible foundations in the area north of the church, the question of the original appearance of this area will have to remain open.

Nevertheless, the layout of the tomb itself, adorned with a remarkable vita icon filling the whole lunette of the framing arch, would have presumably already been sufficient to link the shrine to, generally speaking, similar ones originating in the 14th century.⁵⁹⁷ Its architectural features (the columns, carrying the richly decorated ornamented frame) recall the Latin tomb memorials described as “contracted commemorative chapels” by Bacci.⁵⁹⁸ Two graves found in the vicinity of the saint's tomb testify to the practice of factual *ad sanctum* burials, which is also described in the will of Eugene Synglitico from 1538.⁵⁹⁹ The latter bequeathed, in addition to the immense sum of 2000 ducats annually for the church building, 2800 bezants annually, so that two monks would read services for his soul. Furthermore, he stated that, should

⁵⁹⁵ Remsen 2010, p 90.

⁵⁹⁶ Drummond states, that he omitted the “mean corridor in front”, as it does, according to his opinion, not fit the architecture of the church. This refers to the open porch later replaced by the current one, which is indeed missing from the drawing. This might, despite of the poor quality of the drawing, indicate a certain reliability as far as cubatures are concerned. Drummond 1754, p 267.

⁵⁹⁷ For the icon Weyl Carr 2005b, p 164.

⁵⁹⁸ Bacci 2009b, p 30.

⁵⁹⁹ Severis 2010, p 53, Patapiou 2003–2004.

he die somewhere else than in Nicosia, he wished his body to be 'carried to Saint Mamas and be interred in front of the image of this saint'.⁶⁰⁰ Perhaps, this is a reflection of the practice established in Saint George of the Greeks already during the 14th century? We must be careful with this conclusion, for we do not know about the precise presence or location of burials in Saint George.

Lastly, a look at the architectural design of the church, at its style, opens up a range of further aspects. The high architectural quality of the building had already been recognized by Drummond, calling it "the handsomest of its kind on the island [...] in a kind of Italian taste", and Enlart, a bit more dismissively accusing the builders of trying to "régénérer la vieille architecture byzantine en lui infusant les principes de la belle construction et de la belle sculpture des Franks."⁶⁰¹ It comes as no surprise that the latter statement parallels Enlart's opinion of Saint George of the Greeks, also considered to be above the usual quality of Greek churches due to its 'French' style. Even more recent scholarship attempted to group the two churches under the umbrella term of 'francobyzantine domed basilicas' (I have discussed the problematic aspects of this notion in chapter 1.3). Undeniably, the churches share several obvious features: the plain outer walls, the cylindrical character of the apse (albeit there is only one in Morfou), the façade with three portals and a large window in the upper part and, above all, the high dome [149.10]. While from a scholarly perspective, these aspects are far too vague to indicate an 'imitation' or 'copy', might it not have been these particular aspects, that constituted a (subconscious) *Würdeformel* for veneration sites? Even if it seems that the cult of Saint Mamas was more frequented than that of Epifanios at the time, the architecture of the Greek cathedral in Famagusta must have still formed a reference as bold visual statement and it could look back to the advantage of a long-lasting (albeit dislocated) tradition. The drawings of Vasily Barsky, travelling monk of the 18th century, show, which aspects of the churches were the most obvious to the visitors: the large western portal, the pointed windows piercing plain walls and the

⁶⁰⁰ Patapiou 2003–2004, p 231: "portade/ et sepellido a Sanco Mama di Morfo davanti la imagine di ditto santo"

⁶⁰¹ Drummond 1754, p 267; Enlart 1899, p 190, transl.: "[...] to regenerate the old style of Byzantine architecture by introducing into it the principles of the fine construction and fine sculpture practised by the Franks" in Enlart 1987, 167.

dome.⁶⁰² While he does depict two levels of windows for Saint George, the fact that the upper one is placed in a clerestory is omitted – this aspect, important for a scholarly discussion, was apparently not relevant enough to catch his attention [69.6].

In consequence, I would argue (with all due care) that apparently, when Saint Mamas was (re)built in the first half of the 16th century, not only were similar strategies applied to legitimate the cult through *Erinnerungsstücke*, but also the main aspects of the Famagustan church chosen to create a visual ‘imitation’, evidently in the widest sense. The veneration of the saint within the church, the arrangement of the venerated sarcophagus, the custom of burials in the vicinity and the general appearance of the church would have certainly been complemented by aspects of oral tradition and the presentation and explanation of the site to the visiting people.

One must wonder, if the same could have applied to the katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery [222]. The parallels in appearance of the two churches are so blatant that they would merit to be called ‘imitations’, not only in the medieval sense.⁶⁰³ The tomb of the saint recluse was, however, not venerated within the new, 16th century church but within his cave hermitage west of the church, so that no parallel to the ‘venerable wall’ in Saint George or the sarcophagus of Saint Mamas can be found [222.1]. Furthermore, Neofytos, a saint of rather local importance at the time, differs from the other two saints discussed above in another central aspect. While Epifanios was a 4th century bishop and Mamas a 3rd century Martyr, the recluse Neofytos had lived only a few centuries before by the time the new church was erected.⁶⁰⁴ We do not have documentary evidence, if this fact was perceived as a lack of legitimation: would the average pilgrim have known such details of the hagiographic legends, or, more likely, would these have been of secondary interest to him? While this remains speculative for the case of the pious visitors, the clergy could certainly have been aware of this ‘disadvantage’ compared to other more popular veneration sites – on an island, where virtually every site of veneration provided roots in Late Antiquity. In this context, it is

⁶⁰² Grishin 1996, fig 4 (Saint Mamas, Morfou), fig 7 (Saint George, Famagusta). In fact, while the drawings of Barsky are not very reliable in detail, the number and appearance of domes is always correct.

⁶⁰³ For the detailed discussion of parallels and differences, see chapter 5.2.3 above. In fact, the Neofytos Katholikon seems to be by some decades earlier than the Saint Mamas.

⁶⁰⁴ On the life work and later sanctification of Neofytos the Recluse most comprehensively Galatariotou 2002.

remarkable that the church of Morfou seems to be some decades later than that of the Neofytos Monastery, so itself the formal, artistic 'imitation' of a supposedly less prestigious, remote monument. The older Katholikon deviates mainly in one very significant point: here, the capitals of the nave columns are imitations of Late Antique models [222.18] instead of the Gothic ones later employed in Morfou [149.20–21]. While this would hardly be worth noting in the architectural environment of Renaissance Italy, here the overall character of the church remains medieval, most strikingly displayed by the purely Gothic western portal. Thus the capitals stand out as a distinctive deviation from the expected – of course, the 'expected' from a modern, scholarly viewpoint. We must wonder, what these unprecedented capital forms – certainly distinctive enough to serve as indicative element – might have meant for the patron, who commissioned them, what in turn for the visitor. Would they have constituted a factor of visualized antiquity, linking the church building with a distant past and through this creating a legitimization based on a (simulated) high age?

In Saint George, an ancient wall was used to convey the sense of tradition and antiquity of the veneration, in Saint Mamas a sarcophagus to indicate old age and support the not-so-old passage of his vita, stating that the body came to Cyprus in a sarcophagus. Here, at the monastery of Saint Neofytos, the very striking reference to the Late Antique decoration might have played an analogue role. One should probably not stretch the idea of a reference to Late Antiquity too far, as the visitors of the site would have certainly been told about the saint living during the 12th century, if this was at all relevant to them. Nevertheless, the considerable awareness of the long-standing tradition of the local Orthodox Church might have made these capitals a visual sign (directed at least at the clergy) of the saint's irrefutable position within the local church history. Evidently, without further written sources, such thoughts once more have to remain suggestions rather than conclusive explanations for the remarkable architectural features. Just as in Saint Mamas it is, nevertheless, well possible that the general features of the architecture indeed aim at creating a reference to the 14th century urban veneration site in Famagusta. This might furthermore serve as explanation for the shape of Saint Mamas, somewhat copying the older, remote structure of the Neofytos Monastery. Of course, we are not well-informed about the process of defining the shape of a new church building. But it is certainly possible that

either master mason or patron knew the newly-erected Neofytos church: if the latter was indeed perceived as referencing the Famagustan 14th century cathedral, one might have opted to employ the same model, being aware of its visual impact and the related connotation.

A third church of the late Venetian period deserves further attention in the context of shrines related to Saint George of the Greeks: the unfinished church of Agios Sozomenos near Potamia. Enlart attributed the dedication of Saint Mamas to the church, underlining that it “présente beaucoup d’analogies de style et de plan avec [l’église] de Morfou”.⁶⁰⁵ He assumes that a monastic community was responsible for the erection of the church and that they must have known the church of Morfou, but does not specify, where from he gets this information, including the dedication of the church. While indeed the original presence of a monastic community is well worth a thought, it seems far more likely that the erection of the church is connected with the site of the venerated hermitage of Saint Sozomenos, up in the steep cliff overlooking the (today deserted) homonymous village. The vita of this saint is virtually unknown, although he is thought to have come to Cyprus from abroad as one of ‘the 300’, a group of clergymen and lay people who are occasionally said to have fled from Saracen attacks on Jerusalem in the 7th century. An alternative tradition describes ‘the 300’ as pious Alamans (Germans), who came to the East during a crusade of the 11th century and arrived in Cyprus in the aftermath.⁶⁰⁶ Evidently, this legend, notwithstanding a variation in details, is perfectly suited to create somewhat plausible vitae for a large number of obscure local saints, mostly venerated in rural areas.⁶⁰⁷ In any case, Sozomenos seems to have enjoyed a certain popularity from at least the Lusignan period onwards, as is testified by the veneration of his skull in the royal chapel in Nicosia in the 14th century and an inclusion of his relic in the processional cross commissioned by Ignatios of Antioch in 1340.⁶⁰⁸ An additional cult connected to the site of his hermitage is not attested in the sources, but corroborated by a painted cycle of the 14th

⁶⁰⁵ Enlart 1899, p 195, transl.: “[...] presents many analogies both in style and in plan with the [church] at Morphou [...]” in Enlart 1987, p 170.

⁶⁰⁶ See Kyrris 1993b for the question of origins and identity of the ‘300’.

⁶⁰⁷ See Papacostas 2014c, p 197–199 for the question of rural and urban veneration.

⁶⁰⁸ The Sozomenos-relic discussed in some detail in Bacci forthcoming-a; for the processional cross see above in chapter 6.2.

century, commissioned to replace an older decoration of the cave.⁶⁰⁹ Nothing is known about later centuries.

Nevertheless, the presence of a well-built 16th century church, the erection of which was apparently interrupted by the Ottoman invasion of 1570, in this remote area strongly points towards an attempt to strengthen or revive the cult in this period. And indeed the site is in some way related to all three buildings discussed before. The topography parallels the situation in the Neofytos Monastery, even if the church is not built immediately next to the hermitage but in the village centre.⁶¹⁰ A relation to Saint Mamas was established by Enlart, as mentioned above, but here we do not know further details. The architecture – at least what had been completed before the Ottoman period – shares certain very general features with Saint Mamas, such as the regular ashlars and the semicircular apse shape, complemented by some small details like the compressed tympanum of the main portal and the fact that the portal capitals remained largely undecorated. These features are by far not distinctive enough to establish a more than very general 'likeness'. Most conspicuously, the nave arcade does not follow the uninterrupted serial rhythm of columns with capitals of Saint Mamas and the Neofytos Katholikon, but returns to a system of heavier round piers with flat capitals and moulded eastern and western responds [16.19]. Thus, the arches are not cut out from a continuous wall but understood as individual components of the vault system again, an impression that is further increased by the single shafts rising from the capitals of the nave piers. They accentuate the central bay, which most likely was intended to carry a dome.⁶¹¹ This system shows a surprising correspondence with the original interior structure of Saint George of the Greeks, where round piers with shafts rising from their capitals and moulded arcade responds were used as well.⁶¹² In Saint George, the central bay was accentuated by means of a larger diameter of the shaft, which carried the arches supporting the dome [69.45]. Apparently, the single shaft in Agios Sozomenos reflects this and was intended to carry the dome arches, while the lateral, thinner shafts of Saint George, corresponding to the rib vaults, were omitted

⁶⁰⁹ Papageorgiou 1999, p 48–52.

⁶¹⁰ At the Neofytos monastery, the Katholikon stands approximately 150 m east of the cliff with the hermitage of Saint Neofytos, while the hermitage of Saint Sozomenos occupies a cliff 350 m north-west of the village centre.

⁶¹¹ For this issue see the detailed discussion in Kaffenberger forthcoming-a.

⁶¹² See chapter 4.3.

and deemed unnecessary for the envisioned barrel vault. Furthermore, the return to an eastern end with three cylindrical, plain apses creates a further formal link of the two churches. The projected church in Agios Sozomenos seems to have been an intentional attempt at creating a 'copy' of the island's most important Greek church.

The question is once more, if this process of copying was only generally aiming at increasing the prestige of the church by using a certain established aesthetic formula, or if the reference exceeded this level and included the specific idea of promoting the suspected cult of Saint Sozomenos by paralleling it with that of Saint Epifanios. No previous buildings on site or ancient *spolia* were used in the church, neither can one recognize a specific place where a veneration could have taken place. There are, however, three wall tombs (two of which preserved), protruding from the wall in the shape of chapel-like "Halbciboria" [16.20].⁶¹³ Their decoration is strongly influenced by contemporary Renaissance models, but structurally they certainly go back to the models of the 14th century niches of Saint George: a shallow pointed niche with a moulded frame. It seems not too far-fetched to assume these to be intended as burial places for the wealthy, probably Greek patrons.⁶¹⁴ The 'copying' of Saint George together with the revival of the 'tomb niches' (which had, in this specific shape, predominantly found use in the 14th century) might serve as indicator of a larger plan. This would have included to not only revive the cult of Saint Sozomenos (in order to match that of Saint Epifanios and, thus, also that of Saint Mamas), but to establish a similar practice of *ad sanctum* burials as well – probably in 'absence' of the saint himself, but legitimated through the ritual setting.

Up to here, the discussion included a small selection of only three sites of saint's cults, which all differ profoundly in their origin, the saints' vitae and the amount of available contemporary sources. Nevertheless, those sites do share sufficient topographical, architectural and / or decorative features to be linked with each other and to the (presumably older) veneration site of Saint Epifanios. Nevertheless, this is in all likelihood not the only point of reference for medieval Cypriot shrines, as the

⁶¹³ This term used in Bacci 2009b, p 23.

⁶¹⁴ It is unclear, who founded and sponsored the erection of this church, but it is likely that it was a member of one of the wealthy Greek families that had intruded into the highest social spheres and entertained close links with Venice, be it the Gourri, Podocataro, Synglitico, or another family of the likes. See Kaffenberger forthcoming-a and chapter 7.3.

multitude of veneration sites with different architectural layout and history proves. For churches such as Saint Tychon near Amathous or Saint Athanasios Pentaschoinites, both veneration places of local saints with origins in Late Antiquity, phases of expansion, reduction and rebuilding in the Latin period were promulgated. However, their subsequent collapse in the 18th or 19th centuries and the lack of conclusive evidence concerning the successive building phases makes an investigation of this specific period of the buildings much harder.⁶¹⁵ In fact, both sites show many of the strategies to enhance a saint's cult discussed above. Saint Tychon, probably at first a basilica, which was reduced to a single nave church on the foundations of the old central nave at a later point, possessed an unusual structure to the north: three apses added onto the aisle wall, the central of which resting atop a large, vaulted tomb [A.143].⁶¹⁶ Lehmann has convincingly described that this is most likely the site, where the late antique Bishop Tychon of Amathous was venerated and the large number of late antique tombs found below the church floor attest to the attraction this site must have emitted. If the church was indeed rebuilt in around 1400, how were the three apses above the saint's tomb integrated? The continuous northern wall without any doorways seems to indicate that the apses were given up altogether or only accessible from a corridor [A.144], whereas a small chapel with apse to the south of the old church appears to have still been functioning. How can we explain this discontinuity of the once most venerable part of the church? Perhaps the solution is simple: the cult might have been forgotten altogether, the rebuilding result of a similar process as it is observable in many other sites on the island (such as Afentrika [2]), where the continuity of the site was not connected to a specific veneration – thus a display of a different aspect of 'tradition'. In contrast, the cult of Saint Athanasios [A.145–147] was still operating in the late medieval period, the vaulted tomb chamber beneath the church still accessible to pilgrims from a staircase in the central nave.⁶¹⁷ There is, however, little knowledge about the extent to which the building was reconstructed in the 15th century – does, for example, the rather clumsy imitation of a *synthronon* belong to this phase and thus

⁶¹⁵ Papacostas 2014c, p 193–196. For the church of Saint Tychon and its multiple phases of construction most recently Lehmann 2005, p 36–38 and Prokopiou 2013, p 257–259.

⁶¹⁶ Lehmann 2005, p 36 suggests 'around 1400' as date of the reduction to one nave, while the phase plan given in Prokopiou 2013, p 270 suggests the 8th century. This might suffice to indicate the current lack of knowledge about the succession of building phases on this site.

⁶¹⁷ Papacostas 2014c, p 194.

suggest antiquity in a similar way as in Saint George of the Greeks? The absolute lack of regular ashlar masonry, which could serve as indicator of a late medieval building phase, makes it almost impossible to distinguish the building phases.

Neither site presents any striking reference to Saint George of the Greeks, yet they teach us a valuable lesson about the investigation of 14th to 16th century veneration sites. First, the practice of site specific veneration and *ad sanctum* burials is, of course, not an invention of the Lusignan period but in itself part of the 'tradition'. Second, there were certainly a multitude of veneration sites on the island, where the traditional cult continued into the Lusignan period as part of a local memory, while other cults ceased to exist, even if the buildings might have remained in use as normal churches. It becomes obvious that the network of religious sites, which will need to be further explored, does not only span geographically, within one period, but also chronologically through all historic periods.⁶¹⁸ It is here, where markers of tradition play a central role, be these 'copies' or 'imitations' of veneration sites, consciously applied *Erinnerungsstücke*, or specific *spolia*, a distinct group of objects among the *Erinnerungsstücke*, as discussed briefly in the following chapter. It became obvious that the somewhat frustrating divergence of sources and material evidence as well as the sheer number of little investigated sites, will require more sustained investigation, before any more sound results might be reached. While we still understand too few nodes in the relational network of shrines and veneration sites, the use of strategies presented in the previous chapters suggests a very specific interest in a system of referencing for at least some prominent building endeavours.

6.4 SPOLIA: BETWEEN AESTHETIC SHOWPIECE AND CONVEYOR OF A DISTANT PAST

The term *spolium* generally describes repurposed decorative objects, which are taken out from their original context and employed within a younger structure. Linguistically it is connected with the idea of robbing, plundering, but the factual process of spoliation always included a high estimation for the repurposed objects. Through them, an appropriation of an enemy's culture or, more general a different

⁶¹⁸ For a study investigating such a multidimensional network in a regionally well-defined area see Nixon 2006.

cultural sphere could be achieved on a material level.⁶¹⁹ And indeed, famous examples such as the group of tetrarchs or the Quadriga displayed at Saint Mark's in Venice fulfilled a double role in legitimating the succession of the Serenissima to the Byzantine empire and indicating the latter's defeat.⁶²⁰ Research into the question of *spolia* flourished in the past decades and produced a wide range of studies, discussing specific cases as well as general practices.⁶²¹ Often, the central question of the case studies is, whether the use of the *spolia* is a result of a pragmatic or a contextually charged decision – as it was put by Beat Brenk: a question of “aesthetics versus ideology”.⁶²²

In the context of this study, we already came across a group of objects, which could be considered *spolia*: the saints' sarcophagi. Their role is clearly defined by the context of veneration, in which they are placed. The example of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149.16, 22] makes clear, that even an inscription referring to two female members of the Artemidoros family did not hinder the connection between the object and the legend of the saint, whose body is said to have crossed the Mediterranean in a floating sarcophagus.⁶²³ Evidently, the inscription was not visible to the pious, as it was buried below ground level – the visitors solely saw the upper part of an antique marble sarcophagus. The fact that this sarcophagus indeed originated in a period, when the saint was believed to have lived, was probably rather a coincidence. Thus, while the sarcophagus visually legitimated the saint's vita, its own original context did not play a further role. The same is true for the numerous antique sarcophagi on the island, which are said to have once contained the bones of a locally venerated saint. As examples, the two displayed in the courtyard of the Saint Kelandon church of Arodes (an otherwise insignificant 18th century building) should suffice, which, as oral tradition claims, hold

⁶¹⁹ Kinney 2006, esp. 233–234.

⁶²⁰ For the discussion of some specific of the many *spolia* of Saint Mark and their function see recently Nelson 2007; Maguire 2010.

⁶²¹ See most recently Hansen, Haveland 2015 on the medieval churches of Rome and Brilliant, Kinney 2011 as a valuable compendium of case studies. For a systematic evaluation of the state of research and bibliographical reference Kinney 2006, p 239–247; Binding 2007, p 5–9; since 2006 numerous further studies have approached to topic from various angles, mainly with specific objects in focus.

⁶²² Brenk 1987. See also Ward-Perkins 1999: “entre idéologie et pragmatisme” or Binding 2007: “Materialspolie oder Bedeutungsträger?”.

⁶²³ For the inscription see Severis 2010, p 49.

the remains of the Saints Agapiticos and Misiticos [A.148].⁶²⁴ Here, the sheer presence of an antique sarcophagus was connected with Christian saints through the power of oral tradition.

In this chapter, the focus will lie on the occurrence of 'classic' *spolia*, more precisely those decorative or structural elements of older (church) buildings, which were repurposed in the immediate context of a new church. The use of *spolia* was a common procedure in Cypriot church architecture since Late Antiquity – as Maguire states: "[...] in the earliest churches in Cyprus the use of *spolia* for their columns and their capitals was virtually universal."⁶²⁵ This predominance of *spolia* as building material had certainly little to do with ideological reasons. The ample availability of the building material made it simply an economically viable solution in a time, when a high number of large structures was erected. A slightly different case is presented by the 9th century churches of Saint Barnabas near Salamis and Saint Lazarus in Larnaca, churches of a very similar structural character, marking the veneration site of an important saint.⁶²⁶ In both cases, antique capitals are placed at the top of the nave piers, marking the corners of the vault springers [A.149]. Charles Anthony Stewart, who studied the structures meticulously, does not refer to any symbolic quality of this evident process of spoliation, but does underline the aesthetic value of the capitals, serving as "sculptural decoration after the church was plastered, jutting out from the smooth white surface."⁶²⁷ In this case, economic and decorative reasons go, as is often the case with the use of *spolia*, hand in hand. If Amy Papalexandrou has stated for a number of Byzantine churches in Greece that "certain *spolia* may have been perceived as tangible vehicles for the transmission of social memory, primarily as mnemonic devices capable of operating at various societal levels", she also includes the question of the beholder and the context, which play a central role in the evaluation of a context for *spolia*.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁴ Gunnis 1936, p 177. Curiously, Kelandon, said to be one of the '300' Alaman saints, was accompanied by a certain Agapios (perhaps here the origin for Agapiticos) and Varlaam, who is in turn believed to be buried in one of the sarcophagi as well.

⁶²⁵ Maguire 2012, I, p 91.

⁶²⁶ Stewart 2008, esp. p 144–151 on the previously disputed dating.

⁶²⁷ Stewart 2008, p 127.

⁶²⁸ Papalexandrou 2003, p 76.

By the beginning of the Latin period, the use of *spolia* seems to have played a minor role in the Greek church architecture of Cyprus, especially concerning the rural churches.⁶²⁹ While a reuse of older building parts, evidently due to economic decisions for the most part, can be stated for many rural churches of this period, there are virtually no *spolia* to be attested. Also in the urban environment of Nicosia and Famagusta, where ample material from the ruined site of Salamis would have been available, the situation differs only slightly. Remarkably, it is in the Latin cathedral Saint Sophia of Nicosia, where we can see two of the most prominent uses of *spolia* in this period. The four large columns with varied capitals of the ambulatory certainly originate from a different original context: they differ in height and one of them has an unusually shaped, capital-like decoration attached to its base [A.42]. Two of the capitals are Byzantine in origin, while two are probably contemporary with the erection of the choir.⁶³⁰ As was recently underlined by Günther Binding, columns were among the most important *spolia* to be employed in medieval architecture. Evidently, the skilful treatment of the stone and the apparent lack of technical ability of masons during the period to produce pieces of similar size and quality resulted in a veritable column-hunt from as early as the Carolingian period on. Charlemagne imported columns from Ravenna for his palace chapel around 800; 12th century Abbot Suger describes how he was forced to bring columns from Rome, as he could not find anything equivalent closer by.⁶³¹ The sources are clear in their total omission of aspects of meaning or semiotic qualities when explaining the reuse of antique columns. Thus, if the columns in Nicosia indeed come from an earlier building on site, as has been suggested before, they would probably rather reflect western practices, having been chosen for reuse due to their size and in consequence for the value of their material.⁶³² Of course, one might discuss the question of visualizing a continuity with the older building on site, but the question is,

⁶²⁹ In contrast, in the buildings *spolia* can be found more frequently, such as the portals of Nicosia cathedral (before 1300) and central column/capital of the Bellapais chapter house (mid-14th century), where also a lavish antique sarcophagus is displayed in the cloister, repurposed as lavabo [A.47, 50].

⁶³⁰ It is not clear, if these *spolia* were placed here already from the beginning or only when the choir had to be rebuilt following the earthquake of 1491, as recently discussed by Olympios 2010.

⁶³¹ Binding 2007, p 45.

⁶³² On the question of the columns and a possible cross-in-square church on the site before the Latin cathedral see Papacostas 2005; Leventis 2005, p 29; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006c, p 132, 141, esp. fn 115.

why this should have been an aim for the Latin bishop at the time of the erection of the choir in the 13th century, or even less during the 15th century rebuilding (which, this is of some interest, followed the original 13th century design meticulously). The value of the material was presumably also the cause for the reuse of antique granite columns in the now ruined church of Saint Anthony in Famagusta.⁶³³ The second occurrence of *spolia* in Saint Sophia is more interesting, as the reused pieces are not of antique but medieval origin: the northern transept portal seems to have been carved by a mason trained in the environment of Crusader Jerusalem or brought to Cyprus from there [A.37].⁶³⁴ Olympios relates this with a general presence of a 'Levantine layer' within the identity of the Latin clergy of Nicosia at this period.⁶³⁵

In any case, these occurrences of *spolia* are rather exceptional. Even in Saint George of the Greeks, the largest Greek building site of the 14th century and, as shown, otherwise full of features aimed at creating a sense of tradition, we can only reconstruct one location of *spolia*, in the context of the northern portal [69.41, 42]. This portal, designed with certain stylistic references to the older portal of Saint Epifanios, included jambs made of marble and presumably carved from antique columns. A small marble corbel, today among the debris on the ground of the church ruin, evidently began its life as column base, which was in the 14th century turned upside down and re-carved. Both uses of marble *spolia* are not purely functional, as numerous other portals in the city possess limestone jambs and corbels of an even higher sculptural quality. The use of marble must thus be connected with a certain value inherent in its decorative quality. The use of *spolia*, however, is certainly owed to the lack of natural marble sources on the island. Already the eastern portal of Nicosia cathedral and the northern portal of Saints Peter and Paul make use of marble jambs, which were fittingly carved from spoliated columns [A.36, 88]. The lintel of the latter example even reveals its origin on the backside, which still shows the curve of the column. Slender *en-défilé* colonettes from marble adorn the steps in these portals. In this case we must wonder, in which late antique context one might have found such long and thin columns, especially in matching pairs and exact sizes. However, even if these were indeed also placed in the

⁶³³ Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 248–251.

⁶³⁴ Olympios 2009a, Olympios 2014a, p 215. The investigation of medieval *spolia* is still far behind that of antique ones, as has been noted by Albrecht 2003, p 15.

⁶³⁵ Olympios 2014a, esp. p 225.

new context as *spolia*, we can once more be sure of the purely aesthetic, decorative character.

It seems, that a certain shift in the use of *spolia* went hand in hand with a revived interest in the island's own history and tradition, in particular that of the early Christian period, beginning in the late 15th century with the Venetian takeover. We might say that, even if the full-blown Renaissance style never managed to grow roots in Cyprus, the Renaissance ideals, conveyed through first archaeological surveys and early scholarly treatises in fact did.⁶³⁶ Of central interest in this context is the layout of the cathedral square in Famagusta, literally spiked with *spolia* in the Venetian period: not only did the façade of the new loggia contain four large granite columns from Salamis [A.131], but two further columns were erected freestanding on the square.⁶³⁷ The scenery was further enriched by the presence of the 'sarcophagus of Venus', a richly decorated roman *spolium* once placed between the two columns, which still stands in a less obvious corner of the Loggia, and a relief frieze decorating a long bench along a structure known as Loggia Bembo, concluding the square to the south. The ensemble has recently been paralleled to the Piazzetta di San Marco by Allan Langdale, the *spolia* thus given a function in the public staging of the Serenissima's lawful power of justice.⁶³⁸ Even if it is here not the place to discuss the validity of the idea that this might have not only been a general statement but more precisely directed towards the Greek community, we can surely follow the idea of an ostentatious display of the past in one of the island's most important public squares.

The question is now, how this new 'atmosphere' of an interest in the past, combined with the revived (or newly established) idea of *spolia* as conveyors of a specific meaning, affected the Greek church architecture of the island. If indeed the sarcophagus of Saint Epifanios was only 'found' in the 16th century, Papacostas is certainly right in attributing this event to the overall trend, even if the specific value of sarcophagi in the veneration of saints is certainly thinkable independent of the new

⁶³⁶ Papacostas 2014b, p 48; in more detail in Calvelli 2009, p 144–155.

⁶³⁷ Today, they are moved to the side, standing next to the façade of the Ottoman *medrese* adjoining the square to the north. The original position can be seen in the 1571 engraving of Stefano Gibellino, who, otherwise not preoccupied with smaller details of the urban topography, made sure to display the columns prominently.

⁶³⁸ Langdale 2014b, esp. p 166–167; before already expressed in Langdale 2010, p 169–170. Parts of the evidence also discussed in Calvelli 2009, p 149–152 and *passim*.

interest in the antique roots.⁶³⁹ In Morfou, the saint's sarcophagus was doubtlessly only placed in its current context in the 16th century. Apart from this, the use of *spolia* is largely restricted to a similar formal element as in Saint George: the slim colonettes of the western portal [149.12]. Could one suppose that the new ideals charged this placement of the *spolia* with additional meaning? Remarkably, identical spoliated columns (additionally carrying composite capitals) flank the holy doors of the iconostasis [149.18], while the altar table behind is assembled from four small marble columns with capitals (three identical ones, the fourth slightly larger) and a thick central column fragment, all "reused here for their antiquity and sanctity" [149.25].⁶⁴⁰ Without doubt, the use of column *spolia* (as well as roman *cippi*) for altar tables is common practice in the Byzantine area throughout the Middle Ages and aspects of an attributed antiquity and holiness might play as much a role in this practice as more profane, economical reasons. In Rhodes – generally comparable in terms of its historic situation – spoliated columns or capitals are used as altar table rests in a majority of the modest rural churches.⁶⁴¹ In specific cases, such as this, there is a continuity of the function: presumably, the three small columns with engaged capitals carried the altar table already in the late antique predecessor.⁶⁴² There is a third location, largely ignored up to now, where *spolia* columns were used: the large triforate window of the western façade [149.11].⁶⁴³ All *spolia* in Morfou, except for the sarcophagus, are placed along the main axis of the building, stretching from the western entrance and the window above, through the Holy Doors of the iconostasis to the altar in the east. Had the value been perceived as purely decorative, would one not have expected *spolia* to appear in other parts of the building as well? This specific alignment suggests that the *spolia* played a role in enhancing the prominence of this central axis. Without any written comments, we cannot go further than this in the interpretation. Probably the central western doorway played a role in certain ritual processions, which included the opening of the

⁶³⁹ Papacostas 2014b, p 47–48.

⁶⁴⁰ Cesaris et al. 2010, p 104.

⁶⁴¹ Examples would be the unpublished church of Saint George near Monolithos (15th century?) or Saint Irene near Malona (14th–15th century, according to Gallas 1984, p 281–282), the latter with a fragmented column shaft carrying a Corinthian capital as altar table.

⁶⁴² Nicolaou 2013, p 168.

⁶⁴³ The two columns are clearly from different contexts, one of them being slightly shorter and carrying an unusual crocket capital, the other having cracked twice apparently before it was set in its current location.

Holy Doors. The marble columns would then have formed the visual frame for such an event, the altar table, presumably only visible during such special liturgy, could have enhanced this visual display.

In Cyprus, unfortunately no comprehensive investigation of the altar tables was possible due to the often restricted access to the Holy Bema area of those churches still in use. An evaluation of disused churches or those without remaining iconostasis indicates that column drums and capitals were used as well but apparently often replaced in later periods by solid blocks. Original altar tables made from *spolia* remain in the Panagia of Sygkrasis [219], here formed of a simple column drum, and the Panagia Eleousa near Rizokarpaso [204]. Of the latter, the rest of the altar table seems missing, but a large trapezoidal, late antique impost with a cross carved on the front, today placed in the spot of a possible altar, surely served as altar table [204.11]. Except for Morfou, I am currently not aware of a large altar table in Cyprus, which includes small columns on the four corners.

In Rhodes, such columns with engaged capitals often found their way to other locations in the church, for instance as finial of the façade gable, where they were displayed as pieces of antiquity and value.⁶⁴⁴ This latter practice is, however, not prominently traceable in Cyprus.⁶⁴⁵

In fact, one cannot speak of a certain practice of employing *spolia* in late medieval Cyprus. The prominent examples are all isolated and somewhat singular. In Lambousa, the 16th century church of Saint Eulalios, an elongated single nave church with a high dome, possesses four marble columns with cross reliefs attached to the lateral interior walls, carrying blind arcades [127.8]. The columns are of slightly different size, so that the north-western one rests atop a limestone base fabricated to adapt the size to that of the others. In any case, they certainly come from the late antique basilica on the same site, of which today only crumbling fragments of a mosaic floor to the north of the church remain [127.3]. Even if it seems probable that the new church was erected over the central nave of the basilica and that the building material is reused, except for

⁶⁴⁴ For example Agia Anastasia near Monolithos (14th century?) or the Koimesis-Church of Kattawia (Gerola 1914–1915, I, p 354; Gallas 1984, p 276–278).

⁶⁴⁵ Remarkably, in Emba [64], a column or *cippus* is placed on top of the western dome – a practice known from Rhodes as well (for example at the old chapel of the Skiadi Monastery, see Gallas 1984, p 291–292). Might this, together with the ogee-arched portal indeed reflect a transmission of certain Rhodian building patterns?

the columns no attempt was made to integrate older parts (such as an apse or *synthronon*). This is even more surprising, as the katholikon of the Acheiropoietos Monastery [126], only 500 m to the south, represents the most remarkable example of an integration of a late antique apse into a later (admittedly already middle Byzantine) church. This observation could be paralleled with the evidence of Morfou, where the emphasis was placed on the moderate use of *spolia* as well, and no parts of the previous churches on the same site integrated. Could we thus state a shift from a valued perception of old building parts as carriers of 'tradition' towards *spolia* in the Venetian period? One certainly has to be careful with such attempts to generalize, as the process of integration and repurposing was always highly site-specific – economic and aesthetic reasons could influence decisions just as much, if not more than ideological ones. If in the early 16th century the old dome-hall church of Trikomo [232] was not replaced, but kept largely intact during the addition of a second nave, this was certainly not charged with a symbolic meaning but happened due to the fact, that its painted decoration of exceptional quality was still intact. We could easily find several more examples like this. The old church of Saint Epifanios in Famagusta had undergone this process before its integration into Saint George of the Greeks in the early 14th century, the village church of Agios Sergios [13] nearby in the 16th century. Even if in both cases the painted decoration has gone today, we might assume its presence at the time of the integration. In general, most cases of additive expansion as described in chapter 3.3 (as opposed to a rebuilding from scratch) were surely caused by economic reasons, so they do fall in a slightly different category than *spolia*, even if those can also find use for purely economic reasons. If the new arch inserted in the church of Agios Sergios received a reused marble column to support the weight of the superstructure [13.8], this is certainly a result of necessity (of a stable support) and availability (from the nearby ruins of Salamis). Of course, the decorative value of a column is higher than that of a masonry pier. Any further interpretation of this column would surely be too far-fetched.

A last example corroborates the general image that in Cypriot church architecture, *spolia* rarely possessed a very specific meaning that transcended a general decorativeness and vague 'value of antique objects': the church of the Archangel Michael Trypiotes in Nicosia [153.6–8]. The origins of this church are entirely obscure, its date of erection still heavily debated. An inscription next to the southern portal

mentions the year 1690 as the date of its erection; however, already Camille Enlart proposed the 16th century as possible alternative.⁶⁴⁶ The church possesses a veritable collection of spectacular sculpted objects, displayed primarily around the portals. The lintel and imposts of the southern portal, in a somewhat clumsy but carefully executed late Romanesque style, show foliage and mystical creatures. Beside this, a gothic voussoir with a bishop's head is placed. The north-western portal comprises two imposts, decorated with 15th century ornamentation, which carry a lintel with a row of gothic gables carved in relief, insinuating small canopies – an object of remarkably high quality that presumably once adorned a funerary monument. This installation is crowned with a convex oval shield, which displays four motifs resembling heraldic symbols: a cross on a mountain, a fleur-de-lis, a single wing and a lion's head. Two of these appear in the heraldic shield on the lintel of the northern portal as well, the lion and the cross, combined in two of the four quarters, the other two with diagonal bends [153.3–4]. The cross on a hill combined with a bust of a lion can be identified as the coat of arms of the Podocataro family, and the overall Renaissance appearance of the northern portal might deliver a clue as to when the church was originally built.⁶⁴⁷ This does, however, not help further with the interpretation of the *spolia*, remarkably all pieces of medieval origin: until the building chronology is entirely disentangled, we do not know when they were inserted and where they came from. If we assume that all were already part of the mid-16th century building phase, they could, due to their diversity perhaps only be read as a display of lavish decoration, intended to enhance the prestige of the building. It is not altogether impossible that the provenance of the pieces is among the approximately forty churches, which had to be taken down, when the construction of the city walls in the 1560s began, as suggested by Enlart.⁶⁴⁸ An analogous case is the church of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa [155], which is literally sprinkled with remarkably elaborate portals, capitals, window-frames from the 15th and 16th centuries. With some probability, this assemblage came here, when the southern

⁶⁴⁶ Enlart 1899, p 181–184 [Enlart 1987, p 160–163], with a detailed description of the *spolia*. For the 1690s date see Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 286–287.

⁶⁴⁷ This combination of heraldic symbols is, among others, displayed on the funerary monument of Ludovico Podocataro, cardinal in Rome, interred in Santa Maria del Popolo in 1504. On other occurrences De Collenberg 1977, p 121. See also the Podocataro coats of arms at Saint Marina in Tersefanou [244] (Papacostas 2010b, p 143).

⁶⁴⁸ Enlart 1899, p 184 [Enlart 1987, p 162–163].

annexe chapel was built, which includes moulded ashlars in secondary use in its transversal vault ribs. When this annexe was built is unclear. However, it is obvious that in the process of reuse of building material, the most prominent, decorative pieces were kept and displayed, while others were used regardless of their former context.⁶⁴⁹

In rural Cyprus, the reuse of medieval *spolia* is even rarer than that of late antique remains, presumably because such fragments were simply not available or remained within the cities. An exception might be the Panagia church of Koutrafas [XXIX], rebuilt in the 18th century but reusing the portals of its predecessor. The northern portal shows mismatching foliage capitals under the lintel, which seem to have been in secondary use already when the previous church was built in the Venetian period.

A final phenomenon connected to the discussion of *spolia* should be mentioned. Throughout the island, fragments of in particular late antique churches are stored in churchyards of later buildings. Mostly, these are 5th or 6th century capitals or columns, which seem to survive entirely out of any built context today. Single capitals lie, for example, near the 15th or 16th century Panagia of Pyrgos [199] and in the churchyard of Saint John in Dromolaxia, an 18th century building which may have earlier roots.⁶⁵⁰ Saint Marina in Tersefanou [244], 16th century, and Saint George in Gypsos [XX] (a modern church on the site of a 16th century predecessor) are surrounded by a whole assemblage of fragments, including capitals and columns.⁶⁵¹ How should these *disiecta membra* be interpreted? Surely, not in all cases can they be explained as remnants of an old church on the same site, which made it through time by pure coincidence. A large column with a cross carved on it, lying in front of the small Panagia church of Sygkrasis [219.3], proves that such *spolia* were transported to new cultic sites, as the position, up on a small hill plateau, would have hardly been suitable for a late antique basilica of considerable size. Presumably, there was indeed a practice of displaying such *spolia* in churchyards without reinstalling them into the buildings' fabric from the 16th century on. Perhaps the *spolia* received specific functions later on: in Tersefanou, an old column

⁶⁴⁹ An analogue case for the random reuse of moulded ashlars is presented by the southern portal of the Panagia in Arediou, presumably of the 16th century.

⁶⁵⁰ Gunnis 1936, p 221 still speaks of “a number of marble Corinthian capitals [...], the marble font is supported by another”, but today only the one supporting the font, turned into a flowerpot, remains in the court.

⁶⁵¹ A marble plaque with interlacing patterns in Gypsos, today above the portal, is presumably the same which Gunnis saw in use as altar table of the 16th century building.

base was hollowed out to serve as water basin, a column fragment shows furrows perhaps caused by the sharpening of knives and tools [225.4].⁶⁵²

If Lucia Nixon, upon discussing the sacred topography of the Sphakia region in Crete, states that “the reuse of [...] *spolia* means the explicit, visible paradigm of authentic palaeo-Christian elements in the new churches of the Venetian occupation”, this thought argues in favour of a high amount of deliberate intention in the choice and placement of *spolia*.⁶⁵³ For Cyprus, a similar conclusion is hardly possible. While the increasing value of *spolia* as ‘fragments of the past’ during the Venetian period is certainly diagnosable, their display in the context of Greek churches is not comprehensive, area-wide but restricted to solitary cases. Also the preservation of such fragments in the wider context of a church seems to allude to a general sense of age and venerability, perhaps combined with local superstitions such as in Tersefanou, rather than indicating a deliberate choice of *spolia* as conveyor of a complex ideological message within a generally understood semantic system.

Curiously, the use of *spolia*, late antique as much as medieval, in Greek church architecture increased during the Ottoman period. The church of Saint John in Katydata, for example, rebuilt in 1870 but including large parts of an 18th century predecessor, possesses several ancient reliefs and relief fragments built into the outer façades. Two columns, perhaps from the nearby site of antique Soloi, including matching capitals of exceptional quality, carry the rib vault of the interior [A.150].⁶⁵⁴ This period is not within the focus of this study, but it seems that the question of the use of *spolia* in Greek church architecture during the Ottoman occupation of the island merits a further investigation.

⁶⁵² Such furrows can be found all over medieval Europe, in the West in particular on corners or doorjambs of churches. It is not clear, if this formed part of ritual, superstition (generating stone dust with healing or other capacities) or was simply a convenient way to sharpen larger tools.

⁶⁵³ Nixon 2006, p 71; generally on *spolia* and the reuse of older building parts p 70–73.

⁶⁵⁴ Gunnis 1936, p 259.

*"Gruppen stützen typischerweise [...] das Bewusstsein ihrer Einheit und Eigenart auf Ereignisse in der Vergangenheit"*⁶⁵⁵

Jan Assmann (1992)

The *Livre des Remembrances* of 1468 informs us about an incident, which in general could hardly be more unspectacular: a vineyard in the vicinity of Famagusta changes owners. In this case, however, the protagonists and circumstances of the deal add a curious note. The vineyard in question is called "erminesque" ('of the Armenians'). Its ownership is transferred to a certain Costas Habibi by Valiande de la Garde, widow of Jacquot Scalioti. Immediately after, Habibi sells the vineyard to Marco Piazzenti, the new husband of Valiande. As a result of this transaction, 33 besants go to King James II, while 6 besants go to the Greek bishop of Famagusta.⁶⁵⁶ Thus, an 'armenian' vineyard is sold by the widow (with a French name) of a man with Greek-Italian name, to another man with a Christian first name and an Arab last name. He seems to have acted as intermediary, as the vineyard is immediately given to the new husband of the former widow, an Italian by name. Two external parties profit from the transaction, the Latin king and the Greek bishop of Famagusta.

This interesting anecdote, featuring a multitude of protagonists from different backgrounds, illustrates vividly the multicultural character of Cypriot society in the 15th century, a result not only, but largely of the events of the 14th century with refugees from the whole Levant and merchants from the West arriving and settling on the island. In the light of this, inevitably, every discussion of Cypriot artistic production will face the problem of establishing a relation between the artworks and the somewhat vague idea of 'identities'.

⁶⁵⁵ Assmann 1992, p 132, referring to a statement of Rüdiger Schott. Transl. 'Collectives usually base their consciousness of unity and individuality on events of the past'.

⁶⁵⁶ Richard 1983, p 125–126.

7.1 MORE METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS: IDENTITIES, APPROPRIATION, ARCHITECTURE

It is here not the place to discuss at large the theoretical backgrounds of this term, which has dominated parts of the research in cultural history of the past decades in all its facets. For our purpose, it suffices to remind of the basic definition of identity proposed by Jan Assmann in his highly influential work *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*.⁶⁵⁷ Briefly summarized, Assmann suggests a simple model, differentiating between the 'I-Identity' and the 'We-Identity', the 'collective identity'. The 'I-Identity' is further refined by a distinction between 'individual' and 'personal' identity: the individual identity describing the individual's consciousness of its being an individual, the uniqueness of its life; the personal identity referring to the specific social role of the person. All forms of identity are in the widest sense predestined by the cultural environment, but collective identity, unlike individual or personal identity does not exist *per se*. Rather, it is constituted by the identification of individuals with this specific concept and its strength depends on the scale in which it is present in the thinking and acting of the members of the identitarian group.

For the question, in which way artworks, in our case architecture, relate to identity, it is important to be aware of this difference between in particular personal identity and collective identity. Rather than personal identity, it was collective identities of religious and ethnic groups that have traditionally been investigated in research on Cyprus, evidently focusing on the 'Latins' and the 'Greeks' and their encounter on the island (notwithstanding the problematic presupposition that ethnic and religious identity are in both cases congruent). James Schryver has recently pointed out the elusive character of 'identity', specifying that "there is still a great deal we do not yet understand concerning its relation to and expression through material culture, in late medieval Cyprus and elsewhere."⁶⁵⁸

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari has categorized previous attempts of discussing 'Cypriot identity' through the investigation of this relation in three groups: the 'Greek approach' (focusing on the degree of "Hellenism or Byzantinism or Romanity of the Cypriots"), the 'Cypriot approach' (drawing the image of a "separate identity that includes non-

⁶⁵⁷ See Assmann 1992, esp. p 130–133.

⁶⁵⁸ Schryver 2014, p 8.

Greek groups as well”) and the ‘multi-inclusive approach’ as an “acknowledgement of both differences and similarities between the Cypriots and the rest of the Greek world, involving various degrees of divergence from a Greek model and integrating non-Greek groups as well.”⁶⁵⁹ Furthermore, she points out that, what we are dealing with, is a “process of acculturation”, evolving over several centuries of contact between the Greeks, Franks and other ethnic groups. James Schryver has in the past established a model of “spheres of contact and instances of interaction”, which is helpful to understand this process as a temporally and contextually differentiated whole, consisting of a multitude of individual phenomena.⁶⁶⁰ One of these phenomena, of these instances of interaction, albeit a rather insignificant, marginal one, has been presented above: the story of the sold vineyard. Nikolaou-Konnari continues with what could be treated as an instruction manual for further research:

*“The investigation of the various acculturative phenomena that affected the Greeks and the Franks reveals whether these involved cultural interaction, rejection, or assimilation; it also allows the modern scholar to examine whether they resulted in the disappearance or redefinition of ethnic and cultural identity for either of the groups involved in the contact situation, the adoption of another, the emergence of a new one, or the coexistence of a multiplicity of identities.”*⁶⁶¹

While presented in the context of the study of textual sources, this basic statement can be transferred onto the study of architecture as well, albeit not without caveats. The potential impact of new artistic and aesthetic principles is, at least in the very specific case of Cyprus, often related to the arrival of a new ‘identity group’ on the island: be this 1191, the year of the Latin takeover, or the late 13th century with its constant arrival of refugees from the Levantine territory, culminating in 1291.⁶⁶² Acculturative phenomena are, as I have shown variously in the previous chapters, easily traceable, usually in the shape of ‘Gothic’, ‘Latin’, or more generally ‘alien’ elements integrated into the local architecture. The interpretation of these phenomena is less evident, as the initial discussion of the ‘franco-byzantine’ has shown: the same monument, Saint

⁶⁵⁹ Nikolaou-Konnari 2014, p 37–38.

⁶⁶⁰ Schryver 2005; Schryver 2006; Schryver 2010 – recently updated and refined in Schryver 2014.

⁶⁶¹ Nikolaou-Konnari 2014, p 38.

⁶⁶² Jacoby 2014b.

George of the Greeks, has been perceived as example of a general interaction, an assimilation or even more submission of the Greeks to the Latins or conversely as rejection of exactly this submission.⁶⁶³ This was depending on factors such as the researcher's own (cultural as well as historical) position, the assumed protagonists "involved in the contact situation" and, occasionally, on a prefigured result of the investigation.⁶⁶⁴

A number of problems connected with the investigation of Cypriot identities become apparent. Identity is, evidently, not a solid object, which one could reconstruct with certainty, as one would do with the original appearance of a church, for instance. Identity shifts, depending on the aspects, which are considered and depending of the person who is considering them. To answer to the array of problems, Schryver has suggested seven aspects, which should be taken into consideration when examining identity with reference to material culture.⁶⁶⁵ In short, these aspects address questions of the time frame; number and character of components; internal changes; context of the material objects (audience and function); different views of audiences; geographic aspects; the position of the scholar.

In particular, the aspects of time and context seem to be of essential importance in the scope of this study. The wide scope of time, including almost three centuries of Frankish rule in Cyprus, should not mislead to attempt an all-comprehensive explanation of questions of identity. Indeed, when Schryver points out that "the culture and society produced on Frankish Cyprus was not an exact hybrid, but was one in which expressions of various allegiances were constantly being negotiated", he refers to the somewhat performative character of identity.⁶⁶⁶ This negotiation was a process, interior and exterior, concerning the personal as well as diverse collective identities. It is important to add that each individual could easily be part of different collective identities. This leads to the suggestion that what was constantly negotiated were in fact layers or facets of identity. Identity, as we will see below, was not a statement nailed to the church doors, figuratively speaking. The individual expressions of identity could be indistinctive, occasionally contradictory; yet this does not mean that they are without

⁶⁶³ See chapter 1.3.4.

⁶⁶⁴ Nicolaou-Konnari 2014, p 38.

⁶⁶⁵ Schryver 2014, p 11; Schryver 2010, p 150–151.

⁶⁶⁶ Schryver 2014, p 8.

value or impermeable for scholarship. The dynamic character of the 'identities' requires a self-limitation to very specific time-cuts: what is conclusive for an object of around 1350, will not necessarily be true for another similar object of around 1450 or 1550.

The second central aspect is that of context, to which Schryver adds the 'audience' and the 'function'. For the study of the Cypriot churches, a slight shift of focus seems helpful, rather speaking of 'protagonists'. The vague 'audience' could, on the first level, contain in general 'the others' (if the negotiation of identity expressed through the object of material culture was a purposeful confrontation, demarcation) and 'the own' (if the object functioned as visual strengthening of a certain identity). In the case of Greek churches, this would be the Latins (as 'others') and Greeks (as 'own'). On a second layer, all members of these groups were part of different collective identities, defined by different parameters, different modes and possibilities of expression. The most important ones of these parameters were the patrons of a church, the clergy, the builders and the simple worshippers. In combination with further layers of differentiation (profession, function within the secular society etc.), each individual, as part of a collective identity, differed from other members of the same collective identity. This being said, it is nevertheless possible to make statements about the character of collective identities, if being aware of the reticulate character of identities within a society.

Notwithstanding, we must wonder about what architecture can contribute to the identification and description of identities. Margit Mersch recently came to a rather sobering conclusion when discussing the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta, which still resists an attribution to a specific rite and function (Nestorian / Syrian? Latin / Franciscan?).⁶⁶⁷ Due to the overall similar characteristics of this church with others of Greek, Melkite or Latin rite, she states: "It is not possible to distinguish separate cultural or religious identities in this sacred architecture." And indeed, there is surely reason for a certain misbalance between those studies, which relate painted decorations to questions of identity and those trying the same with works of

⁶⁶⁷ Mersch 2014, p 261. See chapter 4.3 for a detailed discussion of the church – considering the entire evidence, the interpretation as Nestorian church is the most probable, while the identification as Dominican building can not stand.

architecture.⁶⁶⁸ First, the creation process for paintings, in particular icons, is less obscure – instead of an undefined, unknown group of workers, there is a single painter or, at the most, a small workshop responsible for the execution. Second, images almost inevitably contain iconographic elements (if not solely ornamental) as well as inscriptions and thus offer criteria in addition to 'style' for clear distinction. In particular inscriptions play a decisive role: the church of Saint George Exorinos in Famagusta, long known as Nestorian, was more recently related to a Syriac, presumably Maronite community by Michele Bacci, based on palaeographic as well as iconographic arguments [A.65].⁶⁶⁹ If Bacci concludes, that the diversity and incongruence of the various paintings in the church can "hardly be interpreted as expression of a sharply defined collective identity", this leads to a third aspect: paintings can be perceived as diverse objects of material culture, each connected to the personal identity of a specific patron, which can explain their occasionally contradictory nature.⁶⁷⁰ Architecture, an often less private and predominantly public form of artistic display, is traditionally rather bound to be interpreted in the context of collective identities – an issue, which should at least be kept in mind. It is this aspect, which Justine Andrews seems to be addressing subconsciously, when she speaks of "complex and eclectic choices made by patrons of architecture in fourteenth-century Famagusta".⁶⁷¹ While acknowledging the fact that architecture might well be a result of diverging agendas, this short statement (here admittedly taken out of its context) raises a fourth aspect: who is responsible for what? Andrews attributes the power of conscious choices to the patrons.⁶⁷² Certainly, the patrons played an important role in the final decision, but can we indeed exclude the factor of masons, builders and their respective training and experience, if we are well aware of this factor when discussing paintings?

A last issue is closely connected with the question of patronage and (conscious) choices made by the protagonists, as well as the above-mentioned question of audience. I believe, it is essential to distinguish between phenomena, which help us to

⁶⁶⁸ For questions of identity related to painted programs or icons see the most recent contributions: Bacci 2014a; Bacci 2014b; Paschali 2014a; Weyl Carr 2009.

⁶⁶⁹ Bacci 2006 and, with updated information and further arguments, Bacci 2014a.

⁶⁷⁰ Bacci 2014a, p 158.

⁶⁷¹ Andrews 2013, p 441.

⁶⁷² See also Andrews 2013, p 437: "[...] Orthodox patrons appropriated some architectural forms [...]"

characterize identities, be those personal or collective ones, and others, which were originally intended to shape and display identities. Not every display of artistic appropriation would have been understood as a purposeful display of identity; even less would have been intended as such.

Notwithstanding this multitude of problematic aspects, I believe that a further investigation of architecture with respect to the vague term of identity still can offer numerous new insights. Due to the scope of this study and the demonstrated impracticability of generalizing results, it is necessary to focus on one specific aspect, in which a display of identity can become manifest: the 'tradition'. Already Assman has stated that groups usually base their consciousness of unity and individuality on events of the past, thus linking aspects of memory and (group) identity.⁶⁷³ In addition the strength of tradition, in shapes and forms of architecture as well as in an ideological sense, has been demonstrated in the course of this study.

7.2 FAMAGUSTA IN THE 14TH CENTURY: DETERMINING THE PROTAGONISTS (PATRONS – BUILDERS – CLERICS – WORSHIPPERS)

In continuation of the thoughts presented in previous chapters, the first time-cut chosen as an outset for the investigation of identities is 14th century Famagusta. I have demonstrated the multitude of retrospective references of the architecture of both, the church of Saint Epifanios [68] and later of Saint George of the Greeks [69]. However, what these buildings reveal about the identities of the protagonists involved in their creation and shaping, is fundamentally different.

The early 14th century additions to Saint Epifanios stand, as described in chapter 4.2, in a typological tradition of local building habits (the dome-hall church) while the decorative aspects align fully with other churches of diverse communities in Famagusta, showing a strong appropriation of architectural forms from the Crusader Levant. In particular, these are the Armenian and the (presumably) Maronite church, but also the minor Latin churches north of the Latin cathedral, known as Templar and Hospitaller church. At this point, facing the apparent convergence of the style of

⁶⁷³ Assmann 1992, p 132 – see also the initial motto of this chapter.

churches of different rites as early as the 1300s to 1320s, one might be inclined to reinforce the statement of Margit Mersch and declare the tracing of identities connected to these buildings impossible. Nevertheless, this evident congruence in many aesthetic aspects is in fact a key to the understanding of building processes.

As underlined above, the factor of the 'executing' protagonists, the builders and masons, should be more strongly considered and seen in balance with that of the clergy and the patrons.⁶⁷⁴ Of course, we believe to know far more about the latter, through written sources usually consisting of wills and deeds, bestowing certain sums of money upon a church. In the case of Saint Epifanios – if we accept this dedication as given – there is only one mention in the will of Fetus Semitecolo of 1363, which does not refer to a certain amount of money given to the church.⁶⁷⁵ Even if there are sources such as this, only rarely do they state, if the patron paid for a specific part of the church – which would be somewhat prerequisite for the assumption that he decided upon the design. More common are references like those documented in further notarial deeds of the priest Simeon of the 1360s. On the 7th of March 1363, a plague-stricken Peter of Negroponte leaves a very modest sum of 12 besants to the (not identifiable) church of Saint Dimitri and another 6 besants to the priests of the same church.⁶⁷⁶ One might speculate that the 12 besants were destined for the church itself (maintaining works or liturgical furnishings), while the money for the priests was intended to pay for the masses to be read for his soul within the church. The next testament contained in the same collection of documents, dated already to the 8th of February of the same year, informs us that Michael Caibach, facing an untimely demise due to the plague as well, leaves among many other bequests 200 besants for the works on the episcopal church of Saint George of the Greeks.⁶⁷⁷ Unlike the 12 besants of Peter of Negroponte, which would presumably not have been sufficient to pay for the creation of any distinct architectural part of a church, the 200 besants of Caibach were a remarkable sum. However, it is hard to imagine that a bed-ridden, moribund patron would find any

⁶⁷⁴ For a consideration of the respective roles see Coldstream 2014, p 69.

⁶⁷⁵ Otten-Froux 2003, p 45. See chapter 6.2 for a detailed discussion of these aspects.

⁶⁷⁶ Otten-Froux 2003, p 40–41.

⁶⁷⁷ Otten-Froux 2003, p 42. The 200 besants are an impressive sum, compared to the 50 besants, which constitute the entire legacy of the previous mentioned Peter of Negroponte. They are put into perspective if considering that Caibach left 300 besants alone to his slave Iani and put aside 500 besants for his funeral and the funerary services.

interest in discussing the architecture of the building, which he is funding through his demise – unlike, one might imagine, the general layout of his tomb site and perhaps the motif of paintings executed for the sake of his soul in the immediate surroundings. Thus, if we assume any involvement of patrons in the design of the church, these would rather be permanent patrons, ensuring a more stable, constant funding of a church building site. These would be a prerequisite for pursuing any building activities. With the exception of private foundations, the impulse for the start of a building project would more likely have to come from the clergy of an already existing church, from a monastery or a similar institution.

For further insight into the roles of masons and clergy, we have to come back to the material evidence of the church itself. Which elements of design would have been eligible to be decided upon by a patron, which elements would he have had an interest in deciding upon? To answer this question, it is helpful to once more come back to the criteria recently proposed by Olympios for a qualified analysis of transfers of forms: the distinctiveness of a certain form, the anticipated impact and the intentionality of the quotation.⁶⁷⁸ In the case of the southern nave of Saint Epifanios [68.12], the most remarkable and fundamental deviation from the older traditions of Greek church architecture on the island is certainly the building technique, the use of extremely well-cut ashlar throughout. While the visibility of this formal element is high, it remains a rather generic factor, due to the almost compulsory use of this building technique. Thus, it is hardly suitable to display any intention or serve today as indicator of a subconscious distinction. On the other end of the spectrum, there is a small, carved detail of the apse string course, which ends on the south-eastern corner of the building in a small foliage relief [A.151]. A very similar leaf design occupies the lateral ends of the northern portal hood mould of the (slightly older) northern 'Twin Church', albeit the underlying profile differs [A.152]. On one hand, this small foliage element is certainly distinctive due to its uncommon application to the end of a horizontal profile. On the other hand, the visual impact is minimal, due to the size and position of the element, proving that the quotation was not intentional. Elements such as this were neither important enough to be commissioned specifically by patrons nor to be preselected by

⁶⁷⁸ Olympios 2014b, p 143.

the institution, the church was commissioned for. They are certainly part of the builders' or masons' artistic freedom. The relatively random wandering of such small decorative elements within Famagusta indicates that, unsurprisingly, masons were employed on various sites without regard to their own ethnic identity or the commissioning institution.⁶⁷⁹

Little is known from sources about the ethnic backgrounds of workers on building sites. In 1318, so approximately at the same time when Saint Epifanios was enlarged, works on several domestic structures in the *casal* of Psimolofou had to be executed.⁶⁸⁰ One mason, by name of Constantin, was employed, accompanied by a carpenter. Further carpenters with their apprentices, among whom a certain Janni Barbierau and a Mitranou tou Dimenchiou, were called in from Nicosia. Already Jean Richard has pointed out the fact that, despite the French origin of their last names, both might have rather been members of the Greek indigenous population. A second case is documented in the account of Archbishop Géraud de Veyrines of Pafos, which describes in detail the fabrication of two ships in 1325–1326.⁶⁸¹ The carpenters for the construction of the ships, of whose names a list is included, were apparently recruited among local Greeks as much as among descendants of Levantine families and newly arrived westerners – a “*mélange d'Occidentaux, de Grecs de Chypre, de Syriens et de Francs de Terre Sainte*”, which is identified as typical for 14th century Famagusta already by Jean Richard.⁶⁸² This is hardly surprising, considering that Famagusta was one of the most important harbour cities of the eastern Mediterranean and must have been an attractive aim for craftsmen in search for work. The presence of carpenters from, among others, Barcelona and Albenga, testifies to the mobility of carpenters not only within the island but across the entire Mediterranean. At the same time, the two sources prove that, unsurprisingly, there were workshops on the island, who trained their own apprentices.

A second decorative element of Saint Epifanios, the southern portal and its chevron arch [68.20], might help to relate the role of patrons and masons. The design of the portal archivolt with chevrons is surely distinctive, and, the portal being the main

⁶⁷⁹ See also Kaffenberger forthcoming-d.

⁶⁸⁰ Richard 1947, p 135–136.

⁶⁸¹ Richard 1962.

⁶⁸² Richard 1962, p 39.

entrance to the new nave of the church, of considerable visual impact. The roots of this motif are to be sought, without much doubt, in Crusader architecture.⁶⁸³ What remains to be determined is, if the use of this motif for the Greek church of Saint Epifanios has to be considered an intentional quotation and who was responsible for the choice of the uncommon form. I have previously suggested to connect the motif to the unclear administrative situation of the minor Christian communities arriving from the Levantine territories from the 1260s onwards.⁶⁸⁴ With the reorganisation of the social texture of the city, the inter-denominational relations were re-evaluated as well; the Orthodox Church repeatedly, most notably in 1310, attempted to extend its administrative jurisdiction to the Syrian communities, in this process referring to the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260.⁶⁸⁵ As Saint Epifanios presumably was the most important Orthodox church in Famagusta at the time, it is at least possible that the expansion project was somehow related to this central aspect of the institutional policy. In this context, two options are thinkable (certainly speculative options, it must be underlined). First, this very specific, distinctive archway might have been commissioned by the clergy of the church, assuming that they had been aware of such forms on Levantine buildings. Then it could have been intended as visual reminder of the (perceivably) rightful claim of the Orthodox to function as authority over the newly arriving Christians from the Levant. In this case, the element of decoration would have functioned as a purposeful, politically motivated display of a collective institutional identity. Second, more likely, it could have been commissioned by patrons of Levantine origin (perhaps Melkites or Jacobites). They, regardless of the formal administrative status, are likely to have played a role in the expansion of the church. Were they perhaps attracted by the prestige of the site as the most ancient, venerable church in the city – as a surrogate for the lost, similarly ancient sacred places in their former countries? Or were they rather aiming at a fast assimilation within the Orthodox community through contributions for the church enlargement? If the latter was true, evidently the arch does not need to be understood as a conscious display of identity. Whether this (hypothesized) assimilation would have been motivated by pious or politico-economic

⁶⁸³ Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.

⁶⁸⁴ Kaffenberger forthcoming-b, on the refugee situation Jacoby 2014b.

⁶⁸⁵ Olympios 2014c, p 169–170; Coureas 2001; for the *Bulla Cypria* Richard 1996.

reasons, an insistence on a distinct group identity would not have helped the case. Instead, one might imagine a dynamic process developing between patrons and masons, the one group still reminiscing about the lost territories, the other still able to recreate visual aspects of the lost buildings. Certainly, not even a master mason would have had the authority to decide freely about the design of the main church portal. It has to remain open, if the mason would have suggested the design to the patron, or the patron requested a certain design, which he saw elsewhere or remembered from the past. If we follow this thought, we might see a non-conscious display of largely personal identity, expressed in a specific taste, which in a sum turned into a subconscious or half-conscious survival of the traditional visual culture of the Crusader states.

While this describes possible roles for patrons and masons, it only briefly touched upon the role of the clergy, who, as stated above, surely initiated the enlargement works. Independent from the question, whether the portal is a conscious or subconscious display of identity, or none at all, the architectural frame for the building was presumably negotiated between the clergy and a master mason. The one significant difference between Saint Epifanios and the other churches of the period is the (former) presence of a dome. While this was designed according to the stylistic examples of the Levant, in the environment of Famagusta it would have been considered a distinctive statement of a certain religious identity. Here, solely Greek churches were endowed with domes and thus easily recognizable as such by worshippers. What we must wonder is, whether the majority of worshippers using the church could have recognized its architecture as a retrospective quotation of the lost buildings in the Levant. Were they aware of living in a city, which, aesthetically, turned into a new Crusader capital through the many churches that were embracing the (outdated) building traditions of the Levantine cities? We can only assume that there was a dynamic process, oscillating between the embracing of the 'new' and the recreation of the 'old', even if this was surely not part of a conscious policy. In this process, it seems, personal identities played a more significant role in their multi-layered relations to diverse collective identities, religious as much as ethnic and social.

The role of the (perhaps factually inexistant?) group identities of 'Latins' and 'Greeks' is hard to grasp through the architecture of this period. While the artistic models for Saint Epifanios (as well as for Saint George Exorinos and the Armenian

church, among others) were clearly Latin, the prominent, roughly contemporary Latin churches within Famagusta, the cathedral of Saint Nicholas and Saint George of the Genoese, played only a very subordinate role for all of these buildings.⁶⁸⁶ Around the mid-14th century, however, the situation changes. I have already described in detail the establishment of an Epifanios Memoria at the site of the new cathedral of Saint George of the Greeks. Surely, this process can be seen as a confident display of the tradition of the Orthodox bishopric of Famagusta as an institutional identity.⁶⁸⁷ Nevertheless, it is necessary to discuss further aspects of architectural style, painted decoration and context, in order to avoid a misapprehension of this statement as a mono-dimensional sign of conflicting identities.

A recent brief analysis of Saint George of the Greeks by Justine Andrews refers to some of the essential issues, while making the problematics in contextualizing the style of this most important 14th century Greek church clear:

*“The choices that were made at the Cathedral of St. George show that the Orthodox community wished to display their rising status within the Lusignan kingdom by constructing their prominent church in the architectural vocabulary most laden with power in this society. Their choices thus communicated the explicit message that their community shared equal stature with the Latins.”*⁶⁸⁸

In general, it is surely true that the establishment of a Greek bishop in Famagusta can be seen as a reflection of a tidal wave towards a powerful position of the Greeks within the Cypriot society. This position enabled the clergy of the church to display the tradition of its institution on the island – there is hardly any doubt that the decisions surrounding the maintaining of the old church and the staging of its fabric as *Erinnerungsstück* can be related to the initiators of the new church, be this the bishop himself or the episcopate as institution on a whole. The architectural vocabulary is a more complex matter. Andrews immediately admits that “there is very little in the broad, blank façade, thick piers and heavy buttresses that suggests the thirteenth and fourteenth-century architecture of France or Germany [...]” and that one was rather

⁶⁸⁶ It is therefore that Michalis Olympios (in Olympios 2014d) has suggested a late date around or after 1350 for all the Crusader-inspired buildings, as from this time onwards even the most important Latin churches received additions in the same style. See chapter 4.2.

⁶⁸⁷ See chapter 6.2.

⁶⁸⁸ Andrews 2013, p 437–438.

reminded of earlier Crusader structures or even 13th century Italian buildings.⁶⁸⁹ So, can we maintain the assumption that a direct connection was seen between the style of the Latin cathedral and a display of power? Would not the strong reference to Crusader architecture contradict the effect generated by the use of Gothic window tracery, a Gothic vaulting system and Gothic portals? How would the audience of the period have perceived the general character of the church?

This is, where educated guesswork starts once more. Sadly, we are not informed, how people of the period would have perceived the church. It seems impossible that any visitor would have started comparing the formal elements of the two large cathedrals in a modern, academic sense. Rather, beholders would have seen a cubic building, elaborate in its details but dominated by plain, closed surfaces, all surmounted by the conspicuous dome. Thus, a building with considerable difference to the Latin cathedral. The dome, again, would have been the unmistakable sign for the Greek rite being celebrated in this church and thus served as marker of identity. The 'Crusader' style of the building was less likely to fulfil this task: with Saints Peter and Paul, an almost contemporary church of presumably Nestorian rite, shares the main parameters of the architectural idiom – a further development of the early 14th century churches. The choice of this style was certainly not due to a lack of ability to recreate the richly decorated Latin cathedral. While the amount of stonemasons originally trained in the West probably had decreased by the mid-14th century, the central western portal of Saint George [69.29] as well as the elaborate tracery can serve as proof that the technical know-how was still present. The building technique of Saint George, directly derived from the large Gothic buildings of the city, corroborates this: the walls consist of shell masonry with slightly trapezoidal ashlar, resulting in minimal outer joints, the rib vaults are rather constructed as chamfered groin vaults, in which the ribs fulfil more decorative than structural purposes.⁶⁹⁰ Therefore, if the more austere, plain Crusader style was chosen for Saint George, this was not due to a lack of abilities. Olympios has suggested to connect the surprising success of this outdated architecture (and with it some constitutive decorative elements such as the omnipresent dogtooth moulding)

⁶⁸⁹ Andrews 2013, p 438. This statement is largely congruent with the results of the analysis of the models of style and forms in chapter 4.3.

⁶⁹⁰ The latter can be observed for instance in the choir of the Franciscan church, where most of the ribs are gone, but rests of the vault panels still protrude from the walls.

with the aspiration of Hugh IV to ensure the title of King of Jerusalem – a title not connected to territory but, evidently, to a high prestige.⁶⁹¹ He points out that buildings such as the Bellapais refectory wing [A.47–49], full of references to Crusader architecture as well, might indicate a building policy, which encouraged a ‘Crusader revival’. This visual recreation of the lost territories might have complemented the political aspiration. By strengthening the position of the Greek community during his reign, the king might have intended to win them for the case.⁶⁹² And indeed, a strong political position of the king would have served the merchants of Famagusta as well, be they Latin, Greek or Syrian.

A curious detail of the interior of Saint George are the coats of arms once occupying the keystones of the church [69.57–58].⁶⁹³ Of the four different heraldic symbols preserved, the most easily identifiable is the hatched cross surrounded by four small crosses: the coat of arms of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. These were interpreted as a submission to the Latin king in the past, which would suggest a somehow forceful act occurring against the will or interest of the Orthodox community. Bacci recently chose to emphasize rather the aspect of integration: “The Lusignan and Jerusalem coats-of-arms in the vaults indicate that the community governing the church wanted to manifest its loyalty to the court and felt itself integrated into Cypriot society.”⁶⁹⁴ And indeed, the hardly identifiable coats of arms that accompanied those of the kingdom of Jerusalem in Saint George, surely those of the wealthy Greek patrons, or perhaps bishops, do not suggest a conflict. One of these, a heavily weathered triple chevron blazon, might be tentatively linked with the family of the Gourri, a successful ‘white Genoese’ merchant family.⁶⁹⁵ While their main coat of arms shows a quartered panel with two lion rampant and two suns, this is in two occasions in Nicosia (church of Saint George and a domestic building near the cathedral) accompanied by the triple chevron,

⁶⁹¹ See chapter 4.2 and Olympios 2014d.

⁶⁹² Schabel 2005, p 181–182. On the results of the 1340 provincial council, which solidified the status, Coureas 1998; Paschali 2014b, p 283.

⁶⁹³ Eight of the once 14 keystones are preserved. Six of these have recognizable heraldic symbols, while two are lying face down on the ground, presumably resulting in a loss of the relief carving. For a detailed discussion with further references see Kaffenberger 2010, p 52–54.

⁶⁹⁴ Bacci 2014b, p 231–232.

⁶⁹⁵ On the question of ‘White Genoese’, Arab Christians, who migrated to Cyprus in the wake of the late 13th century Ottoman conquests of the Levantine territories, see Jacoby 1977; Bacci 2014a, p 156. On the Gourri Jacoby 1977, p 168–169.

both the only other occurrences of the triple chevron on Cyprus.⁶⁹⁶ Another of the heraldic symbols in Saint George, a mirrored double “B” with a cross on top, has been wrongly interpreted as the Palaiologan coat of arms in the past.⁶⁹⁷ The structural similarity of this design with the actual Palaiologan coat of arms in use since 1261 (four “B” surrounding a cross) might nevertheless imply a knowledge of the latter emblem.⁶⁹⁸ Perhaps a Greek merchant, in adapting the Latin custom of family blazons, chose this design to insinuate the Byzantine traditions of the island. This contains, in fact, a surprising ambiguity in itself: referencing a Byzantine ruler through a primarily Latin custom of a family coat of arms.

Just like the funerary niches along the lateral walls, the keystones testify to the untroubled appropriation of Latin customs by the wealthy Greek families of Famagusta as early as the 14th century. The assemblage of coats of arms of Greek patrons with those of the Kingdom of Jerusalem – occupying the same position within the church, thus formally on the same honourable level – would have certainly not been perceived as problematic.⁶⁹⁹ Instead, what we see is the initially stated possibility of overlapping identities represented in a single structure, just as each individual could be part of different collective identities. There was no contradiction between the display of a specific religious identity, occasionally an ethnic identity and at the same time an integration into the society organized by the Latin government. Concerning the claim for the crown of Jerusalem, apparently the Orthodox community followed the official policy as part of the Cypriot society. Perhaps one must imagine that in particular in this constellation of an increasing social integration (also through the participation in mercantile endeavours) the maintaining and reinforcing of a religious identity was essential. If Maria Paschali states for the painted programme of the apse walls in Saint George, that it could “manage the difference between the Greek and Latin rite, and ultimately negotiate their own identity”, this verdict implies the possibility of diverging statements concerning identity. This processuality, the constant negotiation of individuals as much as institutions of the own place within a common cultural sphere,

⁶⁹⁶ Jeffery 1920, p 210.

⁶⁹⁷ Haxthausen 1970, p 490.

⁶⁹⁸ De Vaivre 2006c, p 452.

⁶⁹⁹ Remarkably here, unlike in Saints Peter and Paul [A.99–100], no Lusignan coats of arms are preserved. If these occupied any of the destroyed keystones, we do not know.

and multi-layered character was true for the architecture, as well. There is no contradiction between the purposeful staging of the own community's past and at the same time not challenging the general belonging to the Latin kingdom of Cyprus.

Ultimately, it remains highly questionable to which extent elements such as the richly profiled arcades, the rib vaults or the window tracery were perceived as 'Latin'. Already in the urban environment of Famagusta, we could as much think of a use as simple elements of current fashion, perhaps suggested by a master mason to enhance the decorative qualities of the building. Or perhaps, as Nicola Coldstream recently phrased it:

*"Looked at as a whole, the design of Famagusta seems to be rooted in local desires for religious continuity and connection, with details of high fashion grafted on by a canny master mason working for newly rich patrons who could afford expensive surfaces."*⁷⁰⁰

7.3 REMINISCING THE PAST: THOUGHTS ON CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AS A MIRROR OF THE CYPRIOT SOCIETY

In this last part of the study, I want to broaden the hitherto narrowed view in topographical as much as chronological terms, presenting first thoughts on this still little understood field. In rural areas, an identification of stylistic elements as active display of an appropriation of Latin identity is even less probable. The perception of identities of the protagonists through the investigation of such elements proves to be problematic. Here we have to come back to the aspects of 'context' and 'receiver': no formal element or element of style can represent a personal or collective identity *per se*, or reflect them. They require the imagined audience to generate a significance (albeit this audience might well be the patron himself, creating a self-referential meaning). Already in Saint George, the originally Latin customs of funerary niches and coats of arms became detached from an association with 'the Latins', even if they still related to the Latin system of visualizing prestige. The use of coats of arms on a variety of rural churches in the surroundings of Famagusta (Saint Mamas, Sotira [210], Saint

⁷⁰⁰ Coldstream 2014, p 69.

Andronikos, Liopetri [133]) is, I would suggest, solely related to a general system of social prestige, independent from ethnic or religious identities. Any attempt to discuss relations of a patron's personal identity and an intentionality of design in such cases runs the risk of circular reasoning, due to the lack of information about the patron. All we can say is that the patron apparently disposed of sufficient means to fund the erection of a church, perhaps in the vicinity of his own rural residence or his town of origin, and that he was interested in increasing his prestige through employing skilled, well-trained masons from nearby Famagusta.

The best material testimony of this de-contextualization of distinctive formal elements might be the case of profiled nave arches in the surroundings of Famagusta.⁷⁰¹ In small churches such as Saint Nicholas in Sygkrasis [220.11–13] or the Saint John in Lapathos [124.6–7], the 15th–16th century adaptation of a model from Famagusta, originally developed in the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas, is evident. Despite of this origin of the model, the reference is surely derived directly from Saint George of the Greeks. The audience, rural parish communities, would have certainly known this nearby cathedral from their own visits to the shrine. Nevertheless, it is impossible to say, if they would have recognized the architectural quotation on a more than subconscious level. We may assume that the application of the motif was part of a conscious decision made by either the patron or the mason.⁷⁰² This process of an erosion of the original in favour of a new context is described by Maria Georgopoulou, speaking about the case of Crete, who attests that there “after a couple of generations [...] ‘Gothic’ details became part and parcel of the architectural vocabulary available on the island”.⁷⁰³ The same aspect is implicitly addressed by Andrews, stating a “flourishing of a local idiom rather than the adoption of a foreign model.”⁷⁰⁴

Another striking example from an urban context might suffice to demonstrate that this process took place in the urban environment as well: in Saint George Exorinos, the transversal arches of the vault rest on ‘elbow corbels’, a very distinctive decorative

⁷⁰¹ See chapter 5.3.

⁷⁰² See, however, Richard 1947, p 136, who refers to a written source of the period, which speaks of „colonnes françaises“, suggesting a connection of an element of building and a Latin origin. It seems most likely that this was rather used as a neutral descriptive term, detached from any implications of identity.

⁷⁰³ Georgopoulou 2013, p 450.

⁷⁰⁴ Andrews 2013, p 437.

element, recurring frequently in the Crusader Levant [A.68]. While we can hardly claim that this element was employed to convey any sense of group identity of the presumably Syrian community, it certainly testifies to a mason trained in the artistic environment of the Holy Land and for a patron, who was receptive for such artistic decisions. When 'elbow corbels' return on stage in the so-called Tanners' Mosque a century later [75.14], they seem to only indicate a mason trained in the local environment of Famagusta and interested in less frequently used elements of decoration. They neither tell us about the personal identity of the masons nor that of the patrons or the church clergy. At the most, one might hypothesize that the nearby church of Saint George Exorinos was still used by the Syrian community and thus another church for Syrian patrons would have taken it as a local example. In any case, the decorative elements such as this had lost (if ever existing) the symbolic connection with the Crusader territories and became defining elements of a local visual culture.

At the latest by the 15th century, the question of 'Latin' versus 'Greek' architecture, style, must have become obsolete: any thought of an 'opposition of styles' has to be rejected as scholarly imagination. Once more, a thought expressed by Georgopoulou with reference to the rural churches of Crete, is congruent with the situation in Cyprus: "If we accept that [...] 'Gothic' details had become a decorative element devoid of any ideological weight, we can push the argument further to test to what extent the intrusion of such foreign elements [...] might be read as indicative of the attitudes of the rural population and perhaps also of those of the non-ruling elite."⁷⁰⁵ She then correlates the churches in question with the idea of the 'vernacular', a matching but in itself not unproblematic term: "Indeed, the framework of the vernacular allows us to shift our interpretation from one of political ideological meaning to the more neutral idea of fashion."⁷⁰⁶ The use of "ideological" in both quoted statements might be slightly misleading, even if specified by "political" in the second one. One has to remark that ideology outreaches the sphere of political or ethnic / religious conflicts. Furthermore, while it is easy to agree that a majority of artistic decisions were made according to a certain fashion in the widest sense, discussing this fashion is not less important for research than the uncovering of

⁷⁰⁵ Georgopoulou 2013, p 251, see as well p 257.

⁷⁰⁶ Georgopoulou 2013, p 277.

symbolic implications of a conscious 'ideological' policy. A fashion always develops from a sum of choices, all made more or less consciously by patrons (within the frame offered by their financial means and the available expertise of the masons). These choices are equally telling about ideologies and, ultimately, about group identities.

Unfortunately, next-to-nothing is known about the patrons or original function of the 15th century church of Panagia Stazousa [105], as discussed in chapter 5.1 one of the central monuments of the 15th century architecture – presumably the period during which the 'Gothic' elements were entirely absorbed into the local portfolio of forms, used for church buildings of all rites alike. It seems to have been the *katholikon* of a Greek monastery, yet erected with a remarkable amount of Gothic elements derived from the Latin urban structures. Could this really testify to a patron, wishing to underline his allegiance to the Latin court, or even a Latin patron? Indeed, Latin patronage for Greek churches is well known on Cyprus since the 13th century, as has been demonstrated by Gilles Grivaud.⁷⁰⁷ An (indirect) royal patronage through an acquittal of tax payments for the monastery Saint Savvas of Karonos [193] in 1469 further corroborates the fact, that for sure by the mid-15th century, the difference of rite was by no means perceived as an impenetrable border.⁷⁰⁸ Already in 1468, the monastery had received a royal donation through the monk Leontios and in the same year, Giovanni Cornaro, seigneur of Piskopi, orders the payment of bestowals upon the presumably Greek churches of Saint Salvador of Cebas and Saint George of Colocasy, both perhaps in Nicosia but not localizable any more.⁷⁰⁹ Again, it is doubtful, if this precise practice of patronage had any effect on the architecture of the buildings – what is more decisive, the somewhat composite character of the architecture seems to be a veritable mirror of the patronage practice.

By the Venetian period, the church architecture was avidly retrospective in many formal and decorative aspects, as I have shown in chapter 5.2.3. Large churches such as the Greek cathedral of Nicosia [156] and Saint Mamas in Morfou [149], but also smaller churches in all areas of the island were so ostentatiously refraining from including large-scale decorative elements of the new renaissance style, well known for domestic

⁷⁰⁷ In particular discussed in Grivaud 2007.

⁷⁰⁸ Richard 1983, p 55–56.

⁷⁰⁹ Richard 1983, p 11, 110–112, 192–193.

buildings from around 1500 on, that this requires some further explanation. Michalis Olympios has recently argued that the retrospective style applied to the northern façade of the Odigitria in Nicosia, presumably commissioned by the clergy and financed by the leading Greek noble families of the city, did not only serve “to commemorate the honourable history of local ecclesiastical institutions” but furthermore “as a tangible expression of the Cypriot nobility’s collective class identity, the roots of which stretched back to Lusignan times.”⁷¹⁰ This idea is easy to follow and in a way replicates the ideology that led to the creation of Saint George of the Greeks almost two centuries before: the commemoration of the former glory of an institution, staged by the commissioning clergy, the interest in self-representation as important members of a common society on the side of the wealthy patrons. What had changed, though, was the system of reference points. Now, as Olympios rightly points out, the portals of the Latin cathedral of Nicosia, situated right across the street, served as main (but not only) point of reference from an artistic viewpoint [A.39]. The inclusion of Renaissance details, sole evidence indicating the late date of creation of this façade, betrays two further aspects. First, the ‘new’ style was not per se rejected and indeed used to enhance the decorative qualities of the retrospective architecture (as we can also notice in some rural examples such as Saint George in Potami [187]). Second, the masons present on-site had a theoretical knowledge of the new forms and would have certainly been able to create, if not perfect replicas then at least approximations of Renaissance buildings.

This is corroborated by the archival evidence presented by Olympios: even if we do not know of an abundance of Venetian masons on the island – apart from the fortification engineers – a certain number of them was commissioned to execute repair works on the damaged churches of Nicosia, in particular after the earthquake of 1491. Hardly any of these repair works are distinctively recognizable now – a remarkable case of early *Denkmalpflege*. Apart from those builders coming from Venice, there must have still been large workshops with apprentices, locals who were trained in the accustomed as well as the newest building techniques. If we look at the small church of Saint John between Patriki and Gastria [85], built from exceptionally well-cut ashlar

⁷¹⁰ Here and below Olympios forthcoming, n.p.

and applying a simple system of masons' marks, one inevitably has to wonder about who commissioned the building and who was responsible for the erection. The first question cannot be answered, even if one might speculate that it could have belonged to a noble residence. The question of the builders or masons leads to a speculation about rural movement of skilled workers: the church is situated next to the modern road between Famagusta and the Karpas Peninsula. Surely, the ancient road used the same route and was already leading straight to Komo tou Gialou, where one of the largest quarries of the period was situated, presumably used for the construction of the Venetian walls in Famagusta.⁷¹¹ It is not known, if masons travelled to the quarry for retrieving the stones, or if the rough material was brought to Famagusta by untrained workers. Nevertheless, it seems likely that masons, who were trained in Famagusta, would travel this road to the quarry. So it seems logical, that they would, somehow 'passing by' be responsible for the erection of the church of Saint John and bring with them the knowledge how to build plain walls and stable vaults of high quality. The decoration of the church is almost inexistent, but an uncommon rope moulding on the doorway corbels might indicate that the masons had, in addition to their abilities in stone cutting, a basic knowledge of current forms of decorations. All of this means neither that the church was erected by Venetians, nor that it was erected for Venetians. It solely serves to remind us that much of what we see in terms of stylistic decisions in the Venetian period as well can hardly be interpreted as markers of any ostentatious display of identity.

To come back to the implications of the retrospective architecture for the society of Venetian Cyprus. Evidently, as Olympios has explained, the prominent status of the Greek noble families was remembered as reaching back to the 14th century.⁷¹² Thus, in staging an environment reminding of this period, one would automatically allude to this factor. It is certain that not all churches of the Venetian period had noble patrons, intending to display the roots of their status in the architecture of their patronized buildings. While Saint Mamas in Morfou, richly considered in the last will of Zegno Synglitico, might be interpreted as such (possible implications of the style have been

⁷¹¹ Gunnis 1936, p 281, reports a date of 1503 cut into the "face of the quarry". As the quarry is again being used, this date most likely vanished in the past decades.

⁷¹² Olympios forthcoming, n.p.

discussed in the previous chapter), what could one make of, for example, the monastic church of Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161]? Would this church have received pious visitors, thus a possible audience for the architecture of the church just like its larger, more famous counterpart in Morfou? If at all, it seems doubtful that they were of large number, considering the (today reconstructed) small monastic enclosure and the lack of documents, attesting any relics or pilgrimage activity at this site. On the other hand, the prominent display of the lion of Saint Mark above the western portal indicates a general sense for the visualisation of allegiances through the outer appearance of the church. Thus, in cases such as this, aspects of a conscious display of referencing to the island's past are mingling with a negotiation of the own status within the *Serenissima* and impulses lead by a half-consciously established fashion.

Such a coproduction of a vague evocation of the island's past with aesthetic principles might as well be the cause for the patchy, albeit remarkably widespread use of the chevron motif.⁷¹³ While it might have indeed established a visual connection with the lost Crusader territories in early 14th century Famagusta, its use on various churches of the 16th century (Argaki [39], Klepini [107], Potamiou [189], Fini [78]) seems to only serve as a peculiar decorative part in a more or less elaborate pastiche, which celebrates the 14th century. Again, it is easy to follow Olympios, when he suggests that the 14th century was in a way glorified in retrospective and presumably perceived as the period during which, in addition to enormous financial wealth, the status of the Greek families within the community significantly improved.

I want to end these thoughts on relations between the architectural style of the 16th century and aspects of the collective 'Cypriot' identity with another look at the remarkable unfinished church of Agios Sozomenos, which provides a time-cut right before the Ottoman invasion of the island.⁷¹⁴ This church, presumably commissioned and paid for by a member of one of the high-ranking Greek families of Nicosia, recreates the topographical setting of the Neofytos Monastery on the one hand, the architectural characteristics of Saint George of the Greeks on the other hand, as was discussed in chapter 6.3. In consequence, it establishes a place with references to a monastic site as well as a veneration site, both with a longer tradition and an important

⁷¹³ Kaffenberger forthcoming-b

⁷¹⁴ See chapter 6.3 and Kaffenberger forthcoming-a.

role in the island's ecclesiastic topography. This fits the frame suggested by Olympios, even excels it in certain aspects. Here, as well as in urban Nicosia, the architectural reference chosen was an important church of the 14th century. In choosing Saint George of the Greeks, not only was the history of a local ecclesiastical institution honoured – presumably, the local institution was a small parish or a minor monastery, if at all – but instead attempted to add another 'chapter' to the honour of the Orthodox church of the island as a whole. In addition, the fact that Saint George itself displayed a multitude of references to a (staged) past reaching back into the Late Antique period, made it an even more suitable model. In this way, the patron could insinuate that not only did the success of his family go back to the 14th century developments and thus display one layer of his personal identity, but in addition he could refer to the long tradition of the Orthodox Church on the island and thus reveal another collective identity that he was part of. The ornamental Renaissance details were surely added due to a wish of the patron, not at the suggestion of a mason, as is evidenced by the clumsy execution, which indicates the use of a drawn or printed model. One might think of an architectural treatise such as Sebastiano Serlio's *Libri d'architettura*, published in several editions in the 1540s, or the *Extraordinario Libro di Architettura* first published in 1551.⁷¹⁵ This expression of modernity reveals another aspect of the patron's identity. Despite being deeply rooted in (and proud of) his local cultural tradition, he maintained good contacts with Venice and wanted this to be noticed. We must wonder, if the quotations of Saint George could have been recognized by visitors of the church or if the intended audience was the patron himself, in this case. The Renaissance elements would have certainly reminded the visitors of the large urban structures in Famagusta, closely linked to the Serenissima. The patron would not have been perceived as part of the Cypriot nobility but, additionally, as part of the Serenissima's nobility.

Only with some hesitance can one claim that this should be seen as one key to the understanding of the Cypriot society under Venetian rule, as the clash of multiple distinctive references remains unique on the island. The rusticated northern portal of Saint Paraskevi near Kapileio [93] might have served a similar ideological purpose as

⁷¹⁵ Serlio 1540; Serlio 1551 – In fact, the portal variations, which illustrate Serlio's *Extraordinario Libro*, might indeed provide a *comparandum* for the Agios Sozomenos tomb niche pilasters [A.153–154], but also general depiction of antique monuments in the *Libri* might be a possible source [A.155].

the Renaissance tomb niches, but the history of the church is entirely obscure and so is the question of patronage and original function. Seemingly clearer is the situation in Potami [187], where a lion appears among the renaissance ornamentation crowning the otherwise very plain, traditional church – as symbolic reference to the *Serenissima*? However, unlike in Agios Sozomenos, the display of current stylistic trends was not primarily connected with the most personal area of the church – a tomb niche – but rather generically adorns a secondary part of the building. In any case, such statements would have negotiated not only the patron's place within the local society but also in the wider context, in the same process further enhancing his local prestige.

8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The first aim of this study was to disburden the countless smaller and larger churches erected for the Greeks on Cyprus between 1300 and 1571 from the verdict of inferiority and the overly simplified perception within the model of the 'francobyzantine'. Furthermore, their significance for the study of questions of identity, of contacts and interactions between ethnical, religious and social groups on the island, was supposed to be assessed.

Of the over 500 medieval Greek churches in Cyprus, 244 standing or well-documented buildings and 69 others, vanished in the course of the 19th or 20th century, were identified as being built during the 14th to 16th centuries and included in the study. The discussion of their shapes and forms has drawn a clear image of the developments of church architecture in Cyprus. During the 13th century, the Latin and Greek churches had been built according to distinctly separate architectural traditions, those of the Greeks caught up in shapes and forms established already centuries before. The political changes in the late 13th century, with migrants from the Levantine territories lost to the Ottomans arriving on the island, in particular in Famagusta, mark a turning point for the architecture as well. The impact of new patrons, new aesthetic ideals and presumably new masons with a different training background is reflected in an inclusion of a Levantine idiom in a number of buildings in Famagusta – among which the church of Saint Epifanios, expanded in the first half of the 14th century. One might of course wonder, if there was a specific signal or message connected to this choice of a new architectural idiom for the main Greek church in the thriving economical centre of the island – in particular, if it was used to display a religious or ethnic identity. Nevertheless, it is more probable to connect such choices to the aesthetic appeal of specific forms to the patron or the person who decided on the design. In this context, one should also be careful in suggesting a general royal policy as reason for stylistic shifts. While certain political contexts, such as the claim to the crown of Jerusalem of King Hughes IV towards the mid-14th century, created a favourable climate for the erection of buildings in a Levantine style, the latter was rather established a result of individual decisions and preferences. Remarkably, already the German architect Friedrich Seeßelberg had recognized this fact in his 1901 study of Bellapais Abbey: "Namentlich darf man doch

die kirchlichen Verhältnisse auf Cypern, und somit die ganze religiöse Baukunst daselbst, keineswegs allzusehr in der Charakteristik der Königsgestalten kulminiren lassen!”⁷¹⁶

Only towards the mid-14th century, the Gothic forms of the Latin churches – developed in particular since around 1300 as well – found their way into the Greek church architecture. Again, this process is visible at the main Greek church in Famagusta, the new cathedral of Saint George built alongside the older church of Saint Epifanios. As it could be shown, the main concern of this building was neither a general statement of ‘the Greeks’ against ‘the Latins’ nor a visual subordination through an appropriation of architectural forms. Instead, the exceptional building is closely connected to the very specific needs of the Greek bishopric of Famagusta at the moment of the erection of its new cathedral. Not only did it serve as a built frame for the memorial place of Saint Epifanios, previously venerated at the old bishop’s see in Salamis nearby, but also could the building convey the venerable age of the institution itself. It is by no means problematic that diverging formal elements come together in one building, in a way mirroring the actual process of negotiating the individuals’ as well as the institution’s place within the multifaceted society of 14th century Famagusta. In this context, the awareness of different models of identity is essential. Rather than displaying general religious or ethnic identities, the building testifies to the overlapping collective and individual identities of the protagonists involved in the church construction. Thus, in the case of Saint George we see the display of institutional identity, a collective that was composed of individuals belonging to various other collective identities within the complex society of Cyprus.

It is evidently no coincidence that the Greek episcopal complex of Famagusta served as point of reference for later Greek church architecture in particular in the nearer region. Due to the more matching scale, it was the church of Saint Epifanios that was more often used as general model during the later 14th century, which in a way shows that it was not necessarily differentiated between stylistic nuances distinguished in Saint Epifanios and Saint George. By the 15th century, the new formal elements, be they from a Gothic / western origin or from a Levantine / eastern one, had clearly

⁷¹⁶ Seeßelberg 1901, p 6 – transl. ‘Namely, one cannot connect the ecclesiastic circumstances in Cyprus, and with it the church architecture, too much with the characteristics of regents’.

become one among the possible artistic options for new Greek churches. It is almost certain that the forms had become detached from the notion of their origin and were perceived as up-to-date solutions for a more elaborate church architecture (if compared with the nearly undecorated churches that continued to exist throughout the Latin period on Cyprus). Two ways of development become visible during the 15th century, even if only a small number of buildings can be attributed to this period. There are a number of buildings from this period, which received an austere character through the systematic reduction of 14th century forms. In contrast, there are others, where an agglomeration of ornaments around portals and windows as well as the rather free recombination of older elements resulted in a certain mannerism of the architecture.

The Venetian takeover of the island did play an important role for the last stage of the architectural development before the Ottoman conquest in 1571 – now the number of newly erected churches appears to have increased significantly again. However, the impact on the Greek church architecture is not perceivable in the form of a total turnover of established traditional types and forms. Instead, the overall portfolio of forms was enriched with ornamental details derived from a vocabulary rooted in the Venetian Late Gothic and Renaissance. These details were applied in the context of a strongly retrospective architecture. Again, the idea of ‘tradition’ was a central concern in the development of new buildings. In many cases, these were situated at the veneration sites of local saints, whose cults were strongly promoted throughout the 16th century.

Built at the very end of the Venetian rule, the unfinished church of Agios Sozomenos in a way presents a summary of the architectural development since 1300. Its overall idiom is, typically for the period, retrospective and the structure shows strong parallels with the Greek cathedral of Saint George in Famagusta. This attempt of rooting the building in the tradition of an important ecclesiastic institution can equally be connected to the function of Agios Sozomenos as veneration site for a local saint (thus a parallel to the Epifanios Memoria) and a possible Greek patron of the church. The use of Renaissance elements at the most personal place of the architecture, the provisioned tomb niches, indicates that the patron intended to display his position within and as part of the Serenissima – not without staging this in a tradition-bound context evoked by the retrospective architectural frame.

Throughout the approximately 270 years of Cypriot church architecture considered in this study, a large portfolio of forms and shapes was created, which contained elements of all phases of this development remaining constantly available. The stylistic development of the buildings should be regarded as expression and result of preferred choices of the involved protagonists. These could in individual cases convey certain messages to distinct audiences, but were in other instances purely conducted by aesthetic appeal. Ultimately, the idea of layered, overlapping collective identities, to which the protagonists belong, parallels the notions of the architecture: churches as well as protagonists involved in their construction are not part of homogenous or dichotomous entities but can be considered nodes in a multi-mesh dynamic network.

The results reached in this study of buildings provide a number of points of departure for further research, to which also the comprehensive catalogue can serve as an important tool. Questions such as that of liturgical use or demographic changes can in the future be approached with the help of this catalogue. But the material can also be used in a transnational research context. The presented methods of displaying and establishing tradition were approached with a methodology developed for western European case studies, therefore a parallelisation of such developments in an East-West comparison might prove to be fruitful. Furthermore, the study can be placed within an Eastern Mediterranean scope: the reference to Rhodian and Cretan buildings in the stylistic discussion has shown evident points of contact, a more detailed study of which will certainly produce further results.

In summary, it became obvious that the late medieval Greek churches of Cyprus are by no means of 'little importance' as promulgated by the scholars of the early 1900s. Despite their heterogeneous character, or precisely as a result of this, the churches provide an insight into the dynamics of the 'mixed' society of Cyprus during a period of constant cultural contacts and exchanges.

PART II

DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

1 SPÄTMITTELALTERLICHE GRIECHISCHE KIRCHEN AUF ZYPERN: EINE UNTERSUCHUNG 'UNBEDEUTENDER' BAUTEN?

Die Insel Zypern stand seit 1191 unter lateinischer Herrschaft, ab 1193 unter der des Geschlechts der Lusignan. Zugleich blieb ein Großteil der indigenen Bevölkerung dem orthodoxen Glauben angehörig, Erbe der vorherigen byzantinischen Herrschaft auf der Insel. Das Bild der spätmittelalterlichen Kirchenbauten Zyperns ist noch heute durch die frühen Forschungsbeiträge von Camille Enlart (Enlart 1896) und, sich auf dessen Werk beziehend, Georg Dehio bestimmt. Während Enlart, bedingt durch die gewissermaßen kolonialistische Idee eines Transfers ‚reiner‘ Gotik und deren anschließenden Niedergang, die spätmittelalterlichen Kirchen Zyperns für weitgehend bedeutungslos hielt, ist Dehio etwas differenzierter in seiner Beurteilung. Zwar erschien es auch ihm ‚wahllos‘ und ‚verjährt‘, was an stilistischer Durchmischung zu finden war, doch liefert er mit einem Hinweis auf die griechische Kathedrale des Hl. Georg in Famagusta einen wichtigen Ansatzpunkt für das Verständnis der Bauten. Diese Kirche, einzig in Dimension und Anspruch unter den Bauten Zyperns, wurde von Enlart (und in der Forschung bis heute zuweilen) als ‚Kopie‘ der benachbarten lateinischen Kathedralkirche bezeichnet. Dehio erläutert nun, „[...] aus der Abschrift [sei] unversehens eine Uebersetzung geworden“ (Dehio, Bezold 1892–1901, vol 2, p 439). Mit der Einführung dieser linguistischen Terminologie weist er zugleich darauf hin, dass der Prozess der Übertragung eben nicht als Kopie, sondern als bewusste Verarbeitung eines Originals zu verstehen sei. Die Parameter dieser Übertragung können zum weiteren Verständnis der spätmittelalterlichen Bauten beitragen. Der Ausgangspunkt dieser Untersuchung ist folglich die Georgskirche und der anschließende, kleinere Bau Sankt Epiphanius. Demgegenüber werden die jüngst wesentlich besser untersuchten lateinischen Bauten nur als Referenz besprochen.

1.1 Frühe Würdigung, lange Vernachlässigung, neuerliche Wiederentdeckung – die Forschungsgeschichte

Die Forschung zu den Bauten Zyperns begann bereits vor Camille Enlart und Georg Dehio. In den 1880ern brachen die britischen Architekten Sydney Vacher und Edward L’Anson auf zur Erkundung der nun unter britischer Verwaltung stehenden Insel und dokumentierten dabei eine reiche Zahl mittelalterlicher Kirchenbauten (L’Anson, Vacher 1883). Es folgte Enlart, dessen Werk noch heute ein Kompendium für das Studium insbesondere der gotischen Kathedralen und Bettelordenskirchen in den Städten, aber auch einiger kleinerer Kirchen ist. Die allmähliche Einrichtung einer britischen Verwaltungsstruktur, die auch eine Fürsorge für die historischen Bauten

vorsah, brachte nach dem Beginn des 20. Jh.s eine zunehmende Zahl an Publikationen hervor. Insbesondere George Jeffery, Antikenbeauftragter der Insel, verfasste zahlreiche Berichte, Aufsätze und Führer sowie mit *A Description of the Historic Monuments of Cyprus* einen ersten topographischen Überblicksband, der, obwohl teils lückenhaft, zahlreiche neue Bauten in die Forschung einführte (Jeffery 1918). Gleiches lässt sich über das noch detailliertere *Historic Cyprus* von Rupert Gunnis sagen, das aber zuweilen unter der fehlenden Qualifikation des Autors als Kunsthistoriker leidet (Gunnis 1936). Viele Beiträge dieser Zeit fungieren heute als Quellen, da zahlreiche Bauten im 20. Jh.s zerstört wurden.

Unter anderem bedingt durch die politischen Ereignisse in der Mitte des 20. Jh., kulminierend in der Okkupation des Nordteils der Insel, folgt auf das erste Interesse der 1910er bis 1930er Jahre eine lange Phase des weitgehenden Schweigens. Erst in den 1990ern wächst das Interesse an den Bauten der Insel wieder. Dabei rücken auch die griechischen Kirchen in das Blickfeld, wobei der methodische Zugang der Stilgeschichte durch ein Bewusstsein für die Dynamiken von Transferprozessen erweitert wurde. Insbesondere seit 2000 zeugen zahlreiche Konferenzen (mit anschließenden Publikationen), organisiert unter anderem von Christopher Schabel und Michael Walsh, davon, dass die Bedeutung gerade der urbanen Zentren des mittelalterlichen Zypern, Nicosia und Famagusta, wieder in den Fokus rückt. Es folgten zahlreiche Beiträge von weiteren Forschern zu vielen Themenbereichen des mittelalterlichen Zypern, wobei sich insbesondere Tassos Papacostas und Michalis Olympios mit dem architektonischen Erbe der Insel befassen (z.B. Papacostas 2014a; Olympios 2014d). Dabei bleibt den griechischen Kirchen insbesondere der ländlichen Gebiete nach wie vor nur eine Randposition, eine flächendeckende systematische Aufarbeitung fehlt bislang.

1.2 Die Bedeutung der Objekte: Zugang, Methoden und Ziele

Da bislang eine systematische Sammlung der griechischen Kirchenbauten Zyperns zwischen dem 14. und 16. Jh. fehlte, stand am Anfang der Arbeit das Anlegen eines vollständigen Kataloges. Problematisch waren hierbei vor allem zwei Faktoren. Zum einen machte die fehlende Datierung der meisten ländlichen Bauten eine konsequente Untersuchung vor Ort notwendig. Auch nachdem von ca. 500 besuchten Kirchen ca. 250 als relevant für die Studie bestimmt waren, bleiben Unsicherheiten: Allzu oft ist keine genaue Datierung möglich oder spätere Umbauten erschweren das Erkennen originaler Teile. Zum anderen fehlen gerade in ländlichen Gebieten Informationen darüber, ob ein Bau von Lateinern oder Griechen genutzt wurde. Es

wurden letztlich alle Bauten aufgenommen, bei denen nicht eine ausschließliche Nutzung durch die Lateiner durch Quellen belegt ist.

Dieser Bestand wird, nach der methodischen Vorrede und Einleitung sowie einer Übersicht des Bauwesens vor 1300, zunächst diachron und möglichst frei von interpretativen Ansätzen aufgefächert: Grundrisstypologie, Fenster- und Portaltypen, Gewölbeformen, schließlich Methoden der Bautechnik und -erweiterung. Es folgen zwei Kapitel zur stilistischen Entwicklung, die sich hauptsächlich mit dem Wechselspiel aus intransinsularen Entwicklungen und nur in bestimmten Momenten nachweisbaren Einflüssen von außerhalb auseinandersetzen. Der dritte Abschnitt der Arbeit widmet sich exemplarisch ausgewählten Fragen der Kontextualisierung unter den Schirmbegriffen ‚Tradition‘ und ‚Identität‘. Zunächst wird anhand des Komplexes Sankt Georg und Sankt Epiphanius eine Heiligenverehrung rekonstruiert und dann die Konstruktion einer Tradition an weiteren Verehrungsstätten in Ort, Form und Materie aufgeschlüsselt. Schließlich wird die Idee der Traditionssicherung als Aspekt innerhalb der multi-identitären Gesellschaft Zyperns aufgegriffen und insbesondere ein Blick auf Fragen kollektiver und individueller Identität im architektonischen Schaffen geworfen.

1.3 Das ‚Frankobyzantinische‘ – Dekonstruktion einer unhaltbaren Denkfigur

Der Begriff der ‚frankobyzantinischen‘ Architektur wurde für Zypern erstmals 1935 von Georgios Soteriou verwendet, der von seinem eigentlich zweibändig geplanten Kompendium über die Kirchen Zyperns allerdings nur den Bildband vorlegte. Trotz daher fehlender Erläuterung des Begriffs wurde er in der Folge aufgegriffen und bis in jüngste Zeit unkritisch (mit Ausnahme eines Aufsatzes von Papacostas) weiterverwendet. Dabei ist weniger der Begriff selbst problematisch, sondern mehr die damit einhergehenden Konnotationen, die in Kapitel 1.3 widerlegt werden. Zunächst jene eines homogenen Stil-Konstruktes: Tatsächlich versucht der Begriff Bauten zu gruppieren, die unter sehr unterschiedlichen historischen und gestalterischen Gesichtspunkten zu betrachten sind. Zweitens die schon im Begriff selbst angelegte Idee einer west-östlichen Bipolarität: Diese grenzt sowohl die Möglichkeit interner Entwicklungen wie auch den tatsächlich vorhandenen Bezug zu Bauten des Heiligen Landes aus. Auch die Vorstellung einer Inferiorität, wie schon vor der Einführung des Begriffes von Enlart vertreten, wurde später zuweilen mit dem Begriff verbunden, so dass dieser nicht nur als übermäßig vereinfachend, sondern auch als abwertend einzuschätzen ist. Schließlich dienten der Begriff und die darin enthaltene Bipolarität einzelnen Studien dazu, die Idee eines Konfliktes bzw. einer identitären Distinktion oder Appropriation möglichst vage zu fassen.

Gerade der letzte Aspekt zeigt, dass der Begriff, obwohl intuitiv durchaus verständlich, einer differenzierten Betrachtung konkreter Objekte und Zusammenhänge im Wege steht. Da ein Ziel der Arbeit ist, eben solche konkreten Kontexte zu beleuchten, argumentiert der Verfasser für einen Verzicht auf diesen Begriff (und die damit verbundene Idee des ‚Frankobyzantinischen‘).

2 VORBEDINGUNGEN: DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER SAKRALARCHITEKTUR VOR DEM HINTERGRUND ZYPRISCHER GESCHICHTE

Kapitel 2 beleuchtet die Wurzeln der Kirchenarchitektur Zyperns und konfrontiert sie mit den historisch-politischen Brüchen und Kontinuitäten. Die Präsenz älterer Bauten auf der Insel wurde stets auch im späten Mittelalter als Inspirationsquelle empfunden und gehörte zur visuellen Erfahrung der Baumeister der Zeit.

2.1 Das römische Zypern und der Basilikatyp

Trotz der frühen Christianisierung Zyperns sind erst ab dem späten 4. Jh. Kirchenbauten greifbar. Zeitgleich entstehen im Westen, in Pafos, die Chrysopolitissa-Kirche [A.15] und im Osten, in Salamis, die Epiphanius-Basilika [A.16–18]. Beide besaßen sieben Schiffe, getrennt durch Säulenarkaden oder -kolonnaden, und gehörten zu den größten Bauwerken des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes. Insbesondere der Bau in Salamis, dessen Schiffe im Osten jeweils in Apsiden endeten, legte den Standard für weitere Kirchenbauten der Spätantike fest. Diese waren nun meist dreischiffig und mit Apsiden versehen. Besondere Ostlösungen treten noch in der Frühzeit auf, doch die Autokephalie Zyperns ab dem 5. Jh. führt nicht nur zu einem Wandel in der Gestaltung der Baptisterien, sondern kappt auch die im Kirchenbau vorher bestehenden Bezüge zum syrischen Raum weitgehend. Ab ca. 500 erhalten die prominenteren Bauten Ausstattungen aus prokonnesischem Marmor, importiert aus der Reichshauptstadt Konstantinopel. Da Zypern keine eigenen Marmorvorkommen besitzt, ist dies auch als Zeichen einer Hinwendung zum Reich zu verstehen. Dennoch scheint der Wandel des urbanen Kirchenbaus in Justinianischer Zeit keine Auswirkungen auf Zypern gehabt zu haben: Auch nach der Mitte des 6. Jh.s sind die Neubauten ungewölbt, Zentralbauten völlig unbekannt.

2.2 Arabische Bedrohung und die Einführung von Steingewölben

Die allmähliche Vormachtstellung des arabischen Kalifates im Ostmittelmeerraum ab dem 7. Jh. führte zu einer Destabilisierung der politischen Situation. Zypern, an der Schnittstelle der widerstreitenden Mächte gelegen, litt erstmals im Jahr 649 unter Einfällen der arabischen Seeflotte und weitere Male im 8. Jh. Die meisten küstennahen Basiliken wurden gebrandschatzt und zerstört. Doch der architektonische Bestand dieser vermeintlich ‚dunklen Jahrhunderte‘ weist vielmehr auf eine Phase großer Neuerungen hin. Zahlreiche der zerstörten Basiliken, darunter die in Afentrika auf der Karpas-Halbinsel, wurden mit steinernen Tonnengewölben als Stufenhallen wiedererrichtet, wobei die Grundstruktur ebenso erhalten blieb wie die vormaligen Apsiden [A.22]. Während hier der Basilika-Grundriss bestimmend blieb, entwickelte sich wenig später eine Gruppe von (erstmalig) überkuppelten Kirchen an den Begräbnisstätten der Heiligen Epiphanius und Barnabas in Salamis und Lazarus in Larnaka. Diese entwickelten eine zunehmend komplexe innere Struktur, bei der die Kuppeln von ‚ausgehöhlten‘ breiten Pfeilern getragen werden, zwischen denen sich Tonnengewölbe aufspannen. Für den ländlichen Kirchenbau hatte dies kaum Auswirkungen, lediglich in Geroskipou tritt die Reihung von drei Kuppeln über dem Mittelschiff einer Stufenhalle auf – dieser Bau ist durch die anikonische Ausmalung in die Zeit des Ikonoklasmus im 8. Jh. zu datieren [A.24]. Ebenfalls in das 8. Jh. dürfte die tonnengewölbte Saalkirche der Hl. Solomoni in Koma tou Gialou gehören, die die frühe Entstehung dieses später allgegenwärtigen Bautyps belegt.

2.3 Zypern am Rande des Byzantinischen Reiches: Dominanz der Kuppel

Erst im Jahr 965 wird Zypern wieder fester Teil des Byzantinischen Reiches, rückerobert durch Nikeforos Fokas. Tatsächlich ist ab dem späten 10. Jahrhundert eine etwas stärkere Bezugnahme auf andere im Reich gängige Bautypen festzustellen. Die kuppellose Basilika wird ebenso aufgegeben wie die Bauten mit einer Kuppelreihung. Dafür tritt nun die Kreuzkuppelkirche auf, der genuin byzantinische Bautyp mit zentraler Kuppel und darum angeordneten tonnengewölbten Kreuzarmen sowie niedrigeren Eckkompartimenten. Die Kirchen des Hl. Prokopius in Sygkrasis [A.26] und die des Hl. Antonius in Kellia [98] lassen sich, durch eine Inschrift bzw. die älteste Malereischicht, in das späte 10. Jh. datieren. Sie zeigen die vorherrschende lokale Variation der Kreuzkuppelkirche: Der Grundriss ist nicht zentriert, sondern langgestreckt, die Eckkompartimente mit Tonnengewölben überdeckt. Dadurch ähneln die Bauten eher Basiliken (bzw. Stufenhallen) mit Querhaus denn klassischen Kreuzkuppelkirchen.

Als komprimierte Variation der Kreuzkuppelkirche ist der Kuppelsaal zu verstehen, die meist verbreitete Bauform der Periode, ausgezeichnet durch drei (oder mehr) Joche mit seitlichen Blendbögen, die im mittleren Joch aufgeweitet sind und eine Kuppel tragen. Eine Sonderform dieses Typs präsentiert die Georgskirche in Afentrika (10. Jh.), die durch große Kuppel und nahezu quadratischen Grundriss wohl als erster Zentralbau der Insel anzusprechen ist.

Als fest abgegrenzte Gruppe erscheinen schließlich vier Klosterkirchen des überkuppelten Acht-Stützen-Typs, der wohl über das bereits im 19. Jh. zerstörte Katholikon des Chrysostomos Klosters von 1090 Verbreitung fand.

2.4 Nach 1191: Lateinische und griechische Architektur als separate Traditionen

Im Jahr 1191 eroberte Richard Löwenherz mehr oder weniger ‚en passant‘ Zypern im Rahmen des dritten Kreuzzuges. Die langfristigen Auswirkungen dieses historischen Bruches waren gravierend: Zypern wurde Teil der Kreuzfahrer-Levante und war für das Byzantinische Reich endgültig verloren. 1192 etablierte Guy de Lusignan die Königsherrschaft seines Geschlechtes, die weit über das Ende der levantinischen Königreiche hinaus Bestand haben sollte.

Zugleich ist jedoch ein Bruch in der griechischen Kirchenarchitektur kaum nachweisbar. Von den wenigen in das 13. Jh. zu datierenden griechischen Kirchen entsprechen die meisten den bereits zuvor gängigen Typen, insbesondere dem des Kuppelsaaes. Die ersten lateinischen Kirchenbauten dieser Periode sind zumeist nicht erhalten. Die Kathedrale von Nikosia, begonnen 1209, allerdings um 1300 noch weit von einer Vollendung entfernt, mag stellvertretend stehen [A.33–42]. Der dreischiffige Bau mit Chorumgang zeigt im Grundriss eine reduzierte Form des französischen Kathedraltypus, jedoch mit der Besonderheit simulierter Querarme. Der zweigeschossige Wandaufriß, ohne Triforium und Emporen, weist dagegen eher auf Bauten geringeren Anspruchs als mögliches Vorbild hin. Die profilierten Rippengewölbe dürften die ältesten erhaltenen auf Zypern sein; sie werden von Diensten getragen, die auf den Kapitellen der runden Arkadenpfeiler aufruhren – ein später auch für die Bauten Famagustas bestimmendes Prinzip.

Der zweite wichtige lateinische Bau vor 1300, die Klosterkirche von Bellapais [A.43–50], zeigt eine deutliche Bezugnahme auf die levantinische Spätromanik, gemischt mit frühgotischen Formen, und belegt so die Präsenz levantinischer Architekturvorstellungen bereits vor 1300. Möglicherweise kann sie als Spiegel für die verlorenen Bauten dieser ersten Phase lateinischen Kirchenbaus gesehen werden (darunter die erste Kathedrale in Famagusta).

3 DIACHRONE UNTERSUCHUNG DER MATERIELLEN ZEUGNISSE: MORPHOLOGIE DER KIRCHEN NACH 1300

Ziel des dritten Kapitels ist eine Aufschlüsselung von Bauformen und Baudekoration in einem diachronen Vergleich. Auf eine interpretative Aufarbeitung wird hier zunächst verzichtet, um eine möglichst objektive Bestandsaufnahme zu erzielen. Diese kann als Ausgangspunkt für zukünftige Forschungsprojekte dienen.

3.1 Bauformen: Typologie

Eine Gesamtschau der auftretenden Bautypologien ist insbesondere in einem ehemals byzantinischen Gebiet von einigem Interesse. Bis in das 13. Jh. hatten wenige differenziert ausgebildete Bautypen das Bild der zyprischen Architektur bestimmt. Der einfachste unter ihnen, der einschiffige, gewölbte Saal, sollte auch weiterhin bestimmend bleiben. Er konnte, dank des meist verwendeten Tonnengewölbes in der Größe nahezu beliebig skaliert werden, so dass von winzigen Kapellen bis hin zu ansehnlichen Klosterkirchen bemerkenswerter Dimensionen eine große Bandbreite an Interpretationen dieses Bautyps zu finden ist.

Im Gegensatz zur Zeit vor 1300 ist der Typ des Kuppelsaales nicht mehr so verbreitet; im Laufe der Zeit verlieren die Beispiele die strenge Bindung an einen klar definierten Bautyp und werden in zahlreichen Variationen, insbesondere in der Stellung der Kuppelpfeiler/ -bögen und der Verwendung seitlicher Wandnischen, abgeändert. Zum hierarchisierten Typus der vorigen Jahrhunderte, bei dem die Eckkompartimente niedriger als der kreuzförmige Oberbau ausgebildet sind, treten nun auch verstärkt eher längsgerichtete Abwandlungen, bei denen die Eckkompartimente im Äußeren unter das durchlaufende Satteldach oder zumindest auf die Höhe des Mittelschiffs gezogen sind.

Die Tradition der komplex durchgegliederten, zentralisierten Kreuzkuppelkirche endet nach 1300 weitgehend. Zwar wird mit Sankt Nikolaus der Griechen in Famagusta [70] noch ein Bau errichtet, der über Durchgänge in den extrem tiefen westlichen Kuppelpfeilern und Eckkompartimente im Osten die Idee der Kreuzkuppelkirche simuliert, doch bleiben solche kreativen Weiterentwicklungen der Ursprungsidee, abgesehen von der in der Neuzeit verheerend umgebauten Philippus-Kirche in Arsos [42], weitgehend auf Famagusta beschränkt.

Ähnliches lässt sich für kreuzförmige Bauten bzw. die Anlage von ausladenden Querhäusern feststellen. Im Gegensatz zur Kreuzkuppelkirche waren diese Bautypen jedoch nie sehr wichtig gewesen und weitgehend regional auf den Süd-Westen der Insel beschränkt. Letzteres bleibt wenig überraschend auch für das 14.–16. Jh. gültig: Alle

drei nachweisbaren kreuzförmigen Bauten, die mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit nach 1300 errichtet wurden, stehen in oder um Pafos.

Dagegen spielt der dreischiffige, längsgerichtete Bau wieder eine stärkere Rolle als in den letzten Jahrhunderten byzantinischer Herrschaft. Echte Basiliken sind dabei auf Zypern die Ausnahme – in der Tat wurde in der Forschung bislang nur selten zwischen jenen, beschränkt auf die Georgskirche der Griechen [69] und einen kleineren unidentifizierten Bau in Famagusta, und den häufigeren Hallenkirchen unterschieden. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen tragen die dreischiffigen Bauten Kuppeln über dem Mittelschiff, das auch im Falle der Hallenkirchen (z.B. in Morfou [149]) leicht oder sogar stark erhöht ist, also eine Stufenhalle ausformt. Es ist anzunehmen, dass dieses Wiederaufleben des mehrschiffigen Grundrisses mit der Präsenz der lateinischen Kathedralen zusammenhängt und letztlich die Georgskirche in Famagusta, wenn auch nicht als Modell, so doch als Katalysator diente.

3.2 Baudekoration: Gestaltungselemente und Techniken

Die, wie an späterer Stelle der Untersuchung noch mehrfach gezeigt werden wird, freie Wahlmöglichkeit bzw. Verteilung von Dekorationselementen wie Portalen, Fenstern, aber auch strukturellen Elementen wie Apsiden und Strebeböckeln, lässt es sinnvoll erscheinen, diese ebenfalls in die diachrone Betrachtung mit einzubeziehen.

In der Tat kann dieser Abschnitt mit einer Betrachtung von Material und Bautechnik begonnen werden, die ebenfalls unabhängig von Bautypen eingesetzt wurden. Während weiterhin Mauertechniken mit bestenfalls grob behauenen Steinen dominierten, wurde die bereits in den vorherigen Jahrhunderten vereinzelt anzutreffende Quadertechnik unter dem Einfluss der lateinischen Bauten der Zeit um 1300 weiter verfeinert und ist in Ausnahmefällen auch an kleineren Bauten in erstaunlicher Qualität anzutreffen. Gemischte Techniken belegen den sehr gezielten, auch dekorativen Einsatz des Quadermauerwerkes, das häufig nur an Fassaden oder den Baukanten angewendet wurde.

Das Material spielt hierbei auch eine Rolle: Während in vielen Regionen der weiche Kalksandstein gelblicher Färbung, der das Bild der mittelalterlichen Bauten prägt, zu Genüge vorhanden war, wurde gerade in den Ausläufern der höheren Zentralgebirge, des Troodos, auch auf das lokal vorhandene vulkanische Gestein zurückgegriffen. Insbesondere bei Bruchsteinbauten in der Nähe von Flussbetten ist zu beobachten, dass das dort zu findende gemischte Geröll verwendet wurde. Marmor und Backstein sind dagegen fast gänzlich unbekannt. Da es auf Zypern keine natürlichen Marmor-Vorkommen gibt und er nur in einer kurzen Phase der Spätantike importiert wurde, findet man dieses Material im Mittelalter nur in Form von Spolien.

Eng verbunden mit Fragen der Typologie, aber doch von diesen zu trennen sind Apsidenformen und Strebebfeiler. Beides wurde den eigentlichen Baukörpern recht frei angegliedert. Apsiden sind zumeist sehr einfach, gerundet und können in den Proportionen frei variieren. Polygonale Apsiden sind seltener, wobei sich die eckige Brechung fast ausschließlich auf die Außenseite bezieht: Hier finden sich 3/8-Formen, unter anderem in Famagusta und Parekklesia [170], aber auch vielseitigere Polygone. Lediglich zwei Bauten, eine unidentifizierte Kirche in Famagusta [74] und die griechische Kathedrale in Nikosia [156], besitzen echte polygonale Ostabschlüsse, bei denen die Polygonkanten im Inneren durch Wanddienste markiert werden. Aufwendigere dekorative Lösungen für Strebebfeiler sind ebenfalls zum größten Teil in den urbanen Zentren zu finden, während in ländlichen Gebieten dem Strebebfeiler nur selten ästhetische Funktion zukommt. In Ausnahmefällen finden sich gestufte, mit Wasserschlagen versehene Exemplare. Strebebögen bzw. ein offenes Strebewerk existierten im eigentlichen Sinne nur an der Georgskirche in Famagusta, doch wurden vielen Bauten mit statischen Problemen in späterer Zeit schwere, unelegante Strebebögen auf Erdgeschossniveau hinzugefügt.

Wesentlich variiert sind Portal- und Fensterformen, die zumeist auch als bestes Datierungskriterium für die Bauten herangezogen werden können (vgl. Kapitel 4 und 5). Portale hatten zuvor eine eher untergeordnete Bedeutung für die Baugestaltung, doch änderte sich dies ebenfalls um 1300 aus der Appropriation lateinischer Bauvorlieben resultierend. Aus diesem Umfeld fand der Typ des Säulenstufenportals Eingang in das Bauvokabular griechischer Kirchen. Nur in den seltensten Fällen waren die Säulen en-délit gefertigt, sondern meist mit den Gewändestufen aus dem gleichen Block gearbeitet. Die Stufung setzt sich vielfach in den Archivolten fort, die das Tympanon umschließen. Deckbögen mit horizontalen Anläufen stellen die häufigste Form der äußeren Umrandung dar. Auch einfachere Stufenportale ähnlicher Machart sind zu finden, wobei eine Reduktion hin zu einem ungestuften Gewände mit einer einzigen Archivolte keine Seltenheit ist. Als Abwandlung des Deckbogens traten in Ausnahmefällen auch stärker vorspringende Bögen auf Konsolen als Wetterschutz der Portale bzw. der (ehemals bemalten) Tympana darunter auf. Hierin ist schon die Idee einer strukturellen Trennung von Türdurchgang und Bogen angelegt, die dann in der zweiten großen Gruppe voll ausgebildet wird. Hier ist der rechteckige Türdurchgang von einem durchlaufenden, umwinkelnden Profil umgeben, häufig stützen zur Türmitte gewandte Konsolen den Türsturz. Darüber können frei Fenster oder zurückspringende Tympana mit oder ohne gestalteter Rahmung angeordnet sein. Der dritte Portaltyp, nur selten umgesetzt, ist aus den gotischen Portalen der Kathedrale von Famagusta entwickelt: spitzbogige Portale, deren Gewändeprofilierung aus einer Wulst-Kehle-

Sequenz besteht und die ohne Unterbrechung einer Kapitellzone in die Archivolten durchläuft.

Demgegenüber treten die Fenster am Bau häufig zurück. Dennoch, kaum ein anderes Bauglied ist so vielfältig gestaltet worden. Das Spektrum reicht von Blendbögen als Dekoration rechteckiger Fenster bis hin zu rundbogigen und spitzbogigen von rahmenden Profilen umgebenen Beispielen. Die größten und am reichsten profilierten Fenster finden sich abermals an der Georgskirche [69]. Hier enthielten sie ein zweibahniges Maßwerk mit genasten Lanzetten und einem bekrönenden, ein Vierblatt umschließenden Bogenviereck. Ansonsten sind Maßwerke selten, auch wenn einige Fälle von einfach genasten Spitzbögen auftreten. Lediglich die Apsisfenster in Lysos [134] und Kapileio [93] besaßen zweibahniges Maßwerk mit einer Bekrönung durch eine Passform. Etwas häufiger sind gruppierte Fensterformen, sei es als eine Reihung von mehreren Lanzetten, deren Bögen aus einem gemeinsamen monolithischen Block geschlagen sind, sei es als zwei- oder dreibogige Fenster mit eingestellten Säulchen, diese zumeist im westlichen Fassadengiebel (zum Beispiel in Potamiou [189]).

Schließlich muss noch ein Blick auf die Gewölbe geworfen werden. Diese hängen zwar in gewissem Umfang mit der Typologie zusammen, doch lässt eine davon losgelöste Gesamtschau einige weitere Erkenntnisse zu. Tatsächlich ist der Standard für die Wölbung das (oft leicht zugespitzte) Tonnengewölbe über Gurtbögen. Letztere ruhen überwiegend auf Konsolen, eckige Wandpfeiler sind nur noch als seltene Archaismen zu finden. Gerundete Wandpfeiler sind ebenso selten und scheinen eher aus dem urbanen Umfeld zu entstammen. In etwa einem Viertel der Kirchen werden die Tonnengewölbe durch Kuppeln unterbrochen. Diese sind ausnahmslos Pendentifkuppeln, fast immer mit Tambour. Nur an der Trypioteskirche in Nikosia ist ein Scheintambour außen entwickelt, der die untere Zone des Kuppelgewölbes umschließt [153]. Eine Unterscheidung besteht zwischen äußerlich polygonalen und runden Tambourzonen. Erstere scheinen erst ab ca. 1300 auf der Insel vorzukommen, bleiben dann aber immer wieder verwendeter Bestandteil des allgemeinen Portfolios. Zumeist sind sie achteckig, mit einzelnen Ausnahmen bis hin zum zwölfeckigen Tambour in Lakatamia. Auch Gratgewölbe gelangen erst nach 1300 zu einer gewissen Bedeutung, obgleich in wenigen Fällen bereits zuvor eingesetzt. Sie bleiben vorwiegend auf die urbanen Räume von Nikosia und Famagusta beschränkt, wo sie fast immer ohne Gurtbögen und über in die Jochecken eingestellten Wandpfeilern entwickelt sind. Außerhalb der städtischen Einzugsbereiche sind nur einzelne Beispiele von gratgewölbten Vorräumen bekannt. Dagegen fanden aufwendigere Rippengewölbe auch im ländlichen Gebiet Verwendung, obgleich die prominentesten Beispiele die beiden griechischen Kathedralen in Famagusta [69] und Nikosia [156]

sind. Dort noch über einem Vorlagenapparat entwickelt, wird dieser in Dali [59] und Stazousa [105] auf polygonale Konsolen reduziert. Weitere Beispiele bleiben vereinzelte Sonderlösungen sehr variierten Charakters, bis hin zu den überaus vereinfachten, wenig eleganten Bandrippen der Kapelle des Andreasklosters [203] auf der Karpashalbinsel, die direkt aus der Mauer und dem einzelnen Mittelpfeiler erwachsen.

3.3 Umbauten: eine Typologie der Erweiterungsprojekte

In der vorherigen Beschreibung typologischer Grundformen wurden die Umbauten älterer Kirchen ausgeklammert. Diese folgen zwar in sich meist auch den Grundformen, führen jedoch zu variierten Kombinationen, an denen insbesondere der technische und ästhetische Prozess der Erweiterung selbst von Interesse ist. Es lässt sich auf Zypern eine dezidierte Typologie der Umbauten bestimmen, unterteilt nach formalen Aspekten, welche allerdings in zukünftigen Studien ggf. auch Hinweise auf Fragen der Nutzung geben können (dieser Punkt ist in der vorliegenden Studie ausgeklammert).

Erweiterungstypologien können auch in mehreren aufeinanderfolgenden Phasen an einem einzelnen Bau feststellbar sein, so an Sankt Epiphanius in Famagusta [68]. Hier lässt sich die Wiederherstellung von einem erhaltenen Kern aus nachvollziehen, also der Erhalt von beispielsweise zentralen Kuppelbögen, während die umliegenden Schiffe oder Querarme neu errichtet wurden. Von diesem gewissermaßen expansiven Konzept ist die additive Erweiterung durch Anfügen zusätzlicher Raumkörper zu unterscheiden, wie beispielsweise Vorhallen oder separate Seitenkapellen. Hierbei bleibt der Ursprungsbau weitgehend unangetastet, so dass sich keine typologischen Verschiebungen ergeben.

Technisch anspruchsvoller ist die häufig anzutreffende ‚Verdopplung‘ eines ursprünglich einschiffigen Baus durch Hinzufügen eines zweiten Schiffes. Hierbei bestimmen insbesondere die Gewölbe von Ursprungsbau und hinzugefügtem Schiff über den technischen Vorgang. Gewölbeformen wie Rippen- und Gratgewölbe oder Kuppeln, die statisch auf einem Baldachinprinzip beruhen, sind untereinander mit dem Anspruch der Integration des neuen Raumteiles kompatibel. Es wird lediglich die vormalige Seitenmauer entfernt und das vorherige Gewölbe gespiegelt bzw. durch ein kompatibles ergänzt. Zu sehen ist dies beispielsweise in Tochni [227], oder an der dritten/vierten Bauphase von Sankt Epiphanius. Das Zusammenfügen von tonnengewölbten Bauteilen mit überkuppelten führt allerdings zu einer Reihe von Problemen. Zunächst ist durch die gleichmäßige Lastverteilung in einem Tonnengewölbe und das Fehlen von seitlichen Bogenfeldern keine Öffnung hoher

Arkaden möglich, es sei denn durch die Einbringung von Stichkappen. Will man die Arkadenhöhe durch eine größere Arkadenspannweite substituieren, so steht dem die enger rhythmisierte Jocheinteilung von zum Beispiel älteren Kuppelsaal-Anlagen entgegen. Eine vielfach anzutreffende Lösung bestand nun darin, in einem en-sous-oeuvre-Vorgang die Seitenmauer des älteren Baues über Jochgrenzen hinweg auf die neue Arkade abzustellen, so wie dies etwa in Trikomo zu sehen ist. Das Resultat ist zwar weder statisch noch ästhetisch sonderlich befriedigend, zeigt aber gewisse technische Fertigkeiten auch bei in ländlichen Gegenden tätigen Bautrupps.

In einzelnen Fällen führen mehrfach aufeinander folgende Vergrößerungen zu einer unübersichtlichen Anlage von bis zu fünf Schiffen (Chrysaliniotissa in Nikosia [155]), die in Beispielen wie der Kirche von Agios Sergios [13] gewissermaßen als Agglomeration von Raumteilen bezeichnet werden können und kaum noch typologische Grundmodelle erkennen lassen.

4 STILANALYSE I: DAS 14. JH. UND DIE ENTWICKLUNG NEUER ARCHITEKTURSPRACHEN

Das 4. und 5. Kapitel wenden sich einer Analyse von Bau- und Dekorationsformen unter Einbeziehung der chronologischen Entwicklung zu. Hierbei wird nicht von der überholten und für Zypern tatsächlich unzutreffenden Vorstellung einer konstanten, linearen Weiterentwicklung ‚des Stils‘ aus sich heraus, sondern von einem dichten Netzwerk aus variablen Faktoren ausgegangen, die die Monumente selbst, historische Ereignisse und Akteure beinhalten. Diese Betrachtung des Stils als eine Summe künstlerischer und gesellschaftlicher Vorstellungen erlaubt es, einerseits ein Bild von tatsächlich stattfindenden Veränderungen in der Architektursprache über die Jahrhunderte des Spätmittelalters auf Zypern nachzuzeichnen und zugleich deren weitergehende Interpretation vorzubereiten.

4.1 Lateinische Kirchenbauten des 14. Jh.: Die Rolle Famagustas

Als Ausgangspunkt einer Untersuchung stilistischer Entwicklungen nach 1300 bietet sich die Stadt Famagusta an. Sie besitzt nicht nur den dichtest erhaltenen Bestand an Denkmälern, sondern kann auch als Ursprung oder zumindest Wegbereiter einer neuen Architektursprache im griechischen Kirchenbau der Insel gelten. Spätestens mit dem Fall von Akkon, dem letzten Territorium des levantinischen Kreuzfahrerkingreiches, im Jahr 1291 erreichte Famagusta eine Welle von Flüchtlingen unterschiedlichster Konfessionen und sozialer Schichten. Zuvor eine Stadt von eher sekundärer Bedeutung, sollte Famagusta im 14. Jh. zur wichtigsten

Hafenstadt und damit zum wirtschaftlichen Zentrum der Insel aufsteigen. Der Reichtum der Bewohner drückte sich letztlich in der Errichtung unzähliger aufwendig gestalteter Kirchenbauten innerhalb nur weniger Jahrzehnte aus.

Vor der Untersuchung der kleineren griechischen Kirchen steht in diesem Kapitel die summarische Betrachtung der Bauaktivitäten, die mit dem lateinischen Herrscherhaus oder mit den sich ansiedelnden Ordensgemeinschaften in Zusammenhang stehen. Michalis Olympios hat diese Bauten in den letzten Jahren intensiv untersucht und ist zu dem Schluss gekommen, dass der Neubau der lateinischen Kathedrale in Famagusta ab ca. 1300 eine Art Gegenpol zur älteren Kathedrale in Nikosia darstellt. War jene sicherlich von in Frankreich ausgebildeten Bauleuten entworfen, so spielt für den jüngeren Bau auch das Rheinland eine entscheidende Rolle. Die Übertragung dieses Formenkanons hatte jedoch nur auf wenige Bauten innerhalb Famagustas Auswirkung, wo sich vielmehr auch in den späteren Ordenskirchen (die Franziskanerkirche, errichtet vor 1300, ist noch ganz der Kathedrale von Nikosia verpflichtet) eine lokale Architektur ausformt, geprägt etwa durch den Verzicht auf durchlaufende Dienste und profilierte Schildbögen.

Letztlich sind Fragen der Verbreitung von größerer Relevanz für die vorliegende Studie als die der Formursprünge, denn es erweist sich, dass gerade westliche Formelemente nach ihrer Etablierung auf der Insel durch die lateinischen Bauten von den späteren griechischen Kirchen lediglich lokal referenziert werden.

4.2 Zwischen ‚Crusader Survival‘ und ‚Crusader Revival‘: Kirchen für nicht-lateinische Religionsgemeinschaften in Famagusta vor 1350

Bereits im 13. Jh. wurde die Kirche des Hl. Epiphanius [68], später erweitert als Kathedrale des Hl. Georg der Griechen, grundlegend erneuert, weiterhin als typologisch konventionelle Kreuzkuppelkirche, ausgeführt allerdings in weitgehend regelmäßigem Quadermauerwerk und mit dekorativen Elementen, die möglicherweise bereits eine Kenntnis zeitgenössischer Levantinischer Architektur verraten.

Erst in den letzten Dekaden des 13. Jh.s werden solcherlei Bezüge dann intensiviert und im Zuge des ‚Baubooms‘ des 14. Jh.s zu einem Charakteristikum des lokalen Architekturschaffens. Im Fokus der Betrachtung dieser Entwicklung stehen insbesondere drei Kirchenbauten: Die Kirche des Hl. Georg Exorinos, Kirche einer Syrischen Gemeinschaft, die Armenische Kirche (vermutlich der Mater Dolorosa geweiht) und die Erweiterungsphasen der griechischen Kirche des Hl. Epiphanius, allesamt mit umstrittenem Baudatum.

Insbesondere erstere liefert ein anschauliches Beispiel für die Übertragung levantinischer Architekturformen nach Zypern [A.59–68]. Das Mittelschiff des Baus, dessen Seitenschiffe erst in einer zweiten Phase angefügt wurden, zeigt rechtwinklig in die Wand hinein abknickende Dienste unter den Gurtbögen des Kreuzgratgewölbes, ein etwa aus Bauten des 12. Jh.s im Heiligen Land bekanntes Prinzip (z.B. Abu Gosh). Ähnlich deutlich ist der Bezug im Falle der spiralförmig eingerollten Enden der Archivolte einer im Westteil zu findenden Grabnische, die als ‚Syrian Cornice‘ bezeichnet wird. Abgesehen von solchen Einzelformen ist auch der Gesamteindruck deutlich von den gotischen Bauten der Lateiner unterschieden: zwar kommt das gleiche hochwertige Quadermauerwerk zum Einsatz, doch ist vor allem eine monumentalisierte Glattflächigkeit des Außenbaus, unterstützt durch die Halbzylinder der gerundeten Apsiden, kombiniert mit eher kleinen Fensterformaten und flachen Dreiecksgiebeln bestimmend. Maßwerk wird nur in Fensterrosen eingesetzt.

Wie der Bau von Georg Exorinos verwendet die kleine Armenische Kirche [A.73–80], ein Saalbau von nur einem Joch Länge, glatte Mauerflächen, eine zylindrische Apsis, im Inneren Kreuzgratgewölbe. Letztere zeigen einen in der Levante schon vorgeprägten Typus, bei dem Wandpfeiler in die Jochecken eingestellt sind und so einen kreuzförmigen Gewölbegrundriss erzeugen. Als Folge gehen die Gewölbekappen ohne Unterbrechung in kurze Tonnengewölbe über. Eine Vielzahl kleinerer Elemente, so in der Portaldekoration, verbindet diesen Bau mit den Seitenschiffen von Georg Exorinos. Wie die Armenische Kirche, besitzt das nördliche Seitenschiff von der Ecke abgerückte Strebepfeiler mit Wasserschlagen, die jedoch beim südlichen Seitenschiff ebenso fehlen wie die Dreiecksgiebel: Anzeichen eines Präferenzwechsels innerhalb des auf die Kreuzfahrerarchitektur bezogenen Formenkanons. Jener wird an besagtem südlichem Seitenschiff besonders manifest in einem Zackenbogen, eine aus dem normannischen Raum stammende Form, deren Übertragung nach Zypern sicherlich der Vermittlung von Beispielen der Levante zu verdanken ist – dorthin war das Motiv während der Kreuzzüge wohl des 12. Jh.s gelangt.

Die gleiche Bogenform findet man auch am südlichen Portal von Sankt Epiphanius [68], bis in kleine Details eng verwandt mit dem Bogen der Exorinoskirche. Auch weitere der bereits genannten Elemente begegnen uns hier: die als Tonnengewölbe erweiterten Kreuzgratgewölbe, der blockhafte Körper des Quaderbaus, der von flachen Dreiecksgiebeln überragt wird. Auf äußere Strebepfeiler wurde jedoch völlig verzichtet, womit ein weiterer Bezug zum südlichen Schiff von Georg Exorinos besteht. Neu ist an Sankt Epiphanius die Verbindung des traditionellen Konzeptes des Kuppelsaales mit den Formen der Kreuzfahrerarchitektur – zunächst eine, später zwei Kuppeln mit achteckigem Tambour überragten das südliche Schiff.

Alle drei Bauten belegen einen künstlerischen Paradigmenwechsel; mangels fester Datierung der Bauten wurde jener in der bisherigen Forschung mal gegen Ende des 13. Jh.s, mal auf die Mitte des 14. Jh.s (als, so Olympios jüngst, programmatisches durch König Hugo IV initiiertes ‚crusader revival‘) datiert. Letzteres erscheint unwahrscheinlich, denn dann würde jegliche nicht-latinische Bauaktivität für die erste Jahrhunderthälfte fehlen. Die Bezüge der drei Bauten aufeinander ermöglichen nun einen präziseren Datierungsvorschlag für die Zeit um/ nach 1300. Bereits Michele Bacci hatte für die Kirche des Georg Exorinos einen Ursprung in den 1290er Jahren als direkte Reaktion auf die Ankunft syrischer Flüchtlinge vorgeschlagen. Angesichts einiger später nicht mehr aufgegriffener Formen ist diese Frühdatierung durchaus glaubwürdig. Für die Armenische Kirche wurde eine Datierung vor 1317 vorgeschlagen: in diesem Jahr erwähnen Quellen eine armenische Klosterkirche der Muttergottes, wobei die Identifizierung mit dem bestehenden Bau nicht völlig gesichert ist. Dennoch spricht wenig gegen eine Datierung der Kirche in die 1310er Jahre. Auch das nördliche Seitenschiff von Georg Exorinos wäre dann etwa in dieses Jahrzehnt zu datieren, während das südliche mit seinem Verzicht auf Strebepfeiler möglicherweise bereits den nächsten Entwicklungsschritt abbildet. Für Sankt Epiphanius besteht lediglich durch den Baubeginn der benachbarten Kathedrale des Hl. Georg um 1350 ein *terminus ante quem* für die Fertigstellung der zwei Bauphasen des 14. Jh.s. Die deutlichen Parallelen zum südlichen Schiff von St. Georg Exorinos erlauben jedoch eine Einschränkung der Bauzeit auf die 1320er oder 1330er Jahre.

Es scheint, als markiere Sankt Epiphanius den Moment einer Festigung eines architektonischen Vokabulars, das aus dem Kanon der Kreuzfahrerarchitektur abgeleitet wurde, die in den Jahren vor 1300 mit levantinischen Flüchtlingen in die Stadt gekommen war. Statt eines ‚crusader revival‘ müssen wir also vielmehr von einem ‚crusader survival‘ sprechen, einer Tradierung statt eines Wiederbelebens von eigentlich ‚veralteten‘ Bauformen. Werden diese in den älteren Bauten noch mit dezenten Einsprengseln der zeitgenössischen Gotik versehen, so verzichteten insbesondere kleinere Bauten ab den 1320er–1330er Jahren fast völlig auf solche.

4.3. Eine Synthese gegensätzlicher Elemente: Sankt Peter und Paul und Sankt Georg der Griechen in Famagusta

Der nächste Schritt in der Entwicklung des architektonischen Formenkanons ist um die Mitte des 14. Jh.s anzusetzen, vertreten von den beiden Großbauten Sankt Peter und Paul (die Kathedrale der nestorianischen Gemeinde) [A.85–100] und Sankt Georg der Griechen [69]. Letztere wurde errichtet anlässlich der formalen Einrichtung eines urbanen griechischen Bistums in der Stadt (zuvor residierte der Bischof zumindest

nominell auf der abgelegenen Karpashalbinsel), gefördert wohl von Zuwendungen in der Folge der Pestepidemie 1347–1349. Erstmals erwähnt in einem Testament von 1363, ist von einer Bauzeit von nicht mehr als 2 Dekaden auszugehen, in denen mit über 40 m Länge und 20 m Höhe der bedeutendste späte griechische Kirchenbau des Ostmittelmeerraumes entstand. Sankt Peter und Paul dagegen weist eine fragmentarische Inschrift auf Syrisch auf, die eine Fertigstellung 1351–1352 erwähnt. Leider fehlt die Bezeichnung des fertiggestellten Objekts, doch ist davon auszugehen, dass es sich dabei um den Kirchenbau handelt – dann wäre es das frühere der beiden Bauwerke.

Beide Bauten sind dreischiffige Basiliken von fünf Jochen Länge, die in einer Gruppe aus drei halbrunden Apsiden im Osten enden. In der Georgskirche ist das dritte, also zentrale Joch erweitert und war ursprünglich von einer Kuppel bekrönt. Weiterhin sind die Apsiden in Sankt Peter und Paul niedriger ausgebildet und erreichen nicht die Höhe der Schiffsgewölbe. Der äußere Eindruck beider Bauten wird bestimmt von einer monumentalen Glattflächigkeit, die bereits bei den kleineren, früheren Bauten der Stadt dominierte, hier aber durch die Dimensionssteigerung fast noch stärker an die über ein Jahrhundert alten Bauten des Königreichs Jerusalem erinnert. In beiden Fällen tragen (leicht variierte) offene Strebewerke und eine Vielzahl von reich gestalteten Portalen, im Inneren Kreuzrippengewölbe über einem Dienstsysteem, zu einem insgesamt aktualisierten Erscheinungsbild bei.

Die Quellen der architektonischen Elemente sind dabei vielgestaltig. Insbesondere für das offensichtlich verbindende Element des Inneren, die gruppierten Drillingsdienste, die auf den einfach gekehlten Kapitellen der schlanken Rundpfeiler aufsitzen, muss als dritter Bau noch die Lateinische Kathedrale des Heiligen Nikolaus hinzugezogen werden [A.3–13]. Begonnen um 1300, war sie sicherlich schon in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jh.s vollendet. Charakteristische Elemente des hier eingeführten Systems, so etwa die achteckigen Sockel von Pfeilern und Diensten und Kapitell- und Rippenprofile, sind in den beiden späteren Bauten marginal variiert. Hierbei ist eine Entwicklung von scharf geschnittenen Formen über eine Abmilderung in Sankt Peter und Paul hin zu weicher geschwungenen Formen in der Georgskirche zu beobachten.

Für die spätere Entwicklung im ländlichen griechischen Kirchenbau von einiger Bedeutung ist die Weiterentwicklung der wandseitigen Arkadenabschlüsse. In der lateinischen Kathedrale unterscheiden sie sich im Westen und Osten, die ersteren spiegeln als halbrunde Wandpfeiler die Arkadenpfeiler, sind aber begleitet von den zurückgesetzten Diensten des Schildbogens. Im Osten dagegen wird das Profil der Arkadenbögen in leicht gewandelter Form aufgegriffen, woraus sich eine Art gestaffeltes Dienstbündel ergibt. Diese Ideen werden daraufhin kombiniert, so dass im Westen und Osten der Arkaden die Dienste der Diagonalrippen des angrenzenden

Joches nicht auf dem Kapitell abgestellt werden, sondern neben der zentralen Halbrund-Vorlage zum Boden hinuntergeführt werden. Ergänzt um die Dienste für die Schildbögen (die es nur an Ost- und Westwand gibt) ergibt sich jeweils eine Gruppe aus fünf gestuften Vorlagen.

Bei den Maßwerken ergibt sich ein etwas differenzierteres Bild: hier bezieht sich die Georgskirche im Langhaus direkt auf die lateinische Kathedrale, während Sankt Peter und Paul nur ein reiches Maßwerk im Westfenster besitzt. Jenes wiederum, mit gestapelten Vierpässen, ist eher von der lokalen Mendikantenarchitektur entlehnt und findet seinerseits eine Übernahme in der Georgskirche.

Während also das Vorlagen- und Gewölbesystem sowie zum Teil die Maßwerke der griechischen Kathedrale über Vermittlung von Sankt Peter und Paul direkt aus der lateinischen Kathedrale bzw. den Mendikantenkirchen abgeleitet sind, widerspricht die in der Kreuzfahrerarchitektur wurzelnde Außengestalt jeglicher Deutung als ‚Kopie‘ oder ‚gotischer‘ Bau. Auch in den Portalen wird dies deutlich. In beiden Fällen überwiegen Säulenstufenportale, die in der Georgskirche noch zusätzlich mit dem zuvor kaum anzutreffenden Hunds Zahn-Ornament versehen werden, welches ebenfalls in der Levante verbreitet war. Dass dies keinesfalls als antiquiert empfunden wurde oder Zeichen fehlender künstlerischer Mittel ist, zeigt das zentrale Westportal der Georgskirche, das als Ausnahme eben doch direkt auf die reich profilierten gotischen Portale der lateinischen Kathedrale ohne Kapitellzone zurückgeht.

Es handelt sich also zunächst um eine Amalgamierung von Elementen zweier vermeintlich gegensätzlicher stilistischer Pole, der vor allem romanisch geprägten Kreuzfahrerarchitektur und der aktuellen (französischen oder rheinischen) Gotik. Lokale Faktoren dürften aber sehr wohl für die Georgskirche ebenfalls eine Rolle gespielt haben. So ist eine zentrale Kuppel über dem Langhausmittelschiff weder aus der Levante noch aus französischen Vorbildern erklärbar. Dagegen steht mit der Panagia Kanakaria auf der Karpashalbinsel [135] ein lokaler Bau als mögliches Vorbild zur Verfügung. Eine völlige Neuerung dagegen ist die stringente Schichtung der Wandzonen in der Georgskirche, wo alle Geschossgesimse mit den Deckplatten der Dienstkapitelle zusammentreffen. Dies mag aus (anders proportionierten) levantinischen Bauten oder aber auch von der anderen Seite des Mittelmeeres, aus dem aragonischen Gebiet, inspiriert gewesen sein.

In jedem Fall zeigt die Georgskirche, in welcher kunstvoller Art die Bauleute Mitte des 14. Jh.s in Famagusta eben nicht eine Kopie bzw. Abschrift erschaffen, sondern tatsächlich eine synthetisierende Übertragung von Formen aus eigentlich divergierenden Kontexten zu einem neuen Ganzen zusammensetzen.

4.4 Die Auswirkung: Folgen des Stilwandels in Famagusta

Für Famagusta selbst sind die Auswirkungen des nunmehr monumentalisierten Komplexes aus Georgskirche und Epiphaniuskirche unmittelbar spürbar. Lateinische Kathedrale und Franziskanerkirche erhalten beide Seitenkapellen, die in Profilformen und Außengestaltung deutlich näher an der Georgskirche sind als an dem jeweiligen Ursprungsbau. Südlich der Georgskirche entsteht die unter dem Namen Sankt Nikolaus der Griechen bekannte Kirche, die sich nun recht explizit eben nicht auf die Georgskirche, sondern auf Sankt Epiphanius bezieht [70]. Zwar ist der Bau ein Solitär in seiner kreativen Weiterentwicklung des Bautyps der Kreuzkuppelkirche, doch ist die Übertragung von Elementen wie Kreuzgratgewölbe, achteckiger Kuppeltambour, blockhafte Glattflächigkeit auch für andere Bauten symptomatisch. Hier erschien die Epiphaniuskirche sicher als ein in Dimension und Anspruch wesentlich geeigneteres Vorbild und erweist sich bis hin zur Portalgestaltung als formgebend. Weitere griechische Kirchen des 14. Jh.s sind nur fragmentarisch überkommen: ein von Theophilus Mogabgab ergrabener Bau zeigte den Grundriss einer klassischen Kreuzkuppelkirche [73], jedoch wohl mit um die Kuppel herumgelegten Gratgewölben, während die ‚Unidentifizierte Kirche No 18‘ ein extrem kurzes dreischiffiges Langhaus mit basilikalem Obergaden und bekrönender Kuppel besaß [76]. Dies ist typologisch singulär und durchaus aufwendig – auch mit dem an der Georgskirche ausgerichteten Hauptportal drückte sich ein nicht allzu bescheidener Anspruch aus. In der Schmuckarmut des Inneren und dem Verzicht auf profilierte Arkaden zeigte sich dann aber letztlich doch das Modell der Epiphaniuskirche.

4.5 Langsame Verbreitung? Die Gegend von Famagusta und anderenorts

Die Epiphaniuskirche wird wohl auch als Referenz für einige Bauten des Umlandes anzunehmen sein, darunter der kleine Kuppelsaal von Sankt Mamas in Sotira [210]. Allgemeine Merkmale wie das saubere Quadermauerwerk und die (hier nur im Äußeren) achteckige Kuppel sowie Konsolen der Portale belegen den Austausch mit dem nahen Famagusta und legen die Präsenz von urbanen Auftraggebern und Bauleuten auch in den umgebenden ländlichen Gebieten nahe. Gleiches gilt für die Kirche der Hl. Barbara in Agia Napa [5], die als tonnengewölbte Saalkirche ohne Kuppel den einfachsten Bautyp vertritt, jedoch in ihrem kastenförmigen Äußeren mit westlichem, eingezogenem Dreiecksgiebel und der Portalskulptur auf die nahe Metropole verweist.

Außerhalb der Region von Famagusta sind nur wenige griechische Bauten sicher dem 14. Jh. zuzuschreiben. In Nikosia könnten Teile der Chrysalinotissa-Kirche [155] und der griechischen Kathedrale [156] in diese Zeit zurückreichen, doch stammt die heutige Form vorwiegend aus den folgenden Jahrhunderten. Im Nikolauskloster auf der

Akrotiri-Halbinsel [28] stecken im Mauerwerk der Kirche des 16. Jh.s noch Gewölbeanfänger einer Vorhalle der Zeit um 1400 und zeigen, dass durchaus in Einzelfällen auch aufwendigere Lösungen übernommen wurden. Die große Menge von Bauten blieb jedoch zunächst den Traditionen verhaftet, so dass gerade bei den kleinen ländlichen Saalkirchen mangels distinktiver Bauplastik oft kaum zwischen Bauten des 13. bis 16. Jh. zu unterscheiden ist.

5 STILANALYSE II: DAS 15. UND 16. JH. ALS PERIODE ZWISCHEN FORTLAUFENDEN TRADITIONEN UND NEUEN STILISTISCHEN EINWIRKUNGEN

5.1 Die städtische Architektur des 14. Jh.s als typologisches und stilistisches Vorbild für das 15. Jh.: Zwischen Nüchternheit und Manieriertheit

Das 15. Jh. war bislang im ohnehin wenig untersuchten mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau Zyperns ein weitgehend blinder Fleck. Entsprechend der schwierigen politischen Situation ging man zumeist stillschweigend von einem Jahrhundert ohne größere Bauaktivität aus: die genuesische Eroberung Famagustas im Jahr 1363, ein gescheiterter Kreuzzugsversuch 1365 und anhaltende mamlukische Überfälle, zuletzt um 1425 in der Region südlich von Nikosia sorgten für ein grundsätzlich anderes Klima als im erfolgreichen 14. Jh.

Bisher sicher dem 15. Jh.s zugewiesene Bauten beschränkten sich vorwiegend auf Nicosia, wo jüngst Michalis Olympios an einer nur aus Fotos bekannten Kirchenruine, möglicherweise die Templerkirche, und den Seitenschiffen der griechischen Kathedrale [156] Charakteristika der Architekturentwicklung des frühen 15. Jh. festmachte. Insgesamt kommt es zu einer Formvereinfachung, einer gewissen strengen Nüchternheit. Runde Vorlagen und Rippenprofile werden meist von polygonal gebrochenen verdrängt, wie einer der wenigen fest datierten Bauten außerhalb der Städte, die lateinische Königskapelle in Pyrga (vor 1432) zeigt [A.51]. Ebenfalls südlich von Nikosia entstanden, vermutlich im Anschluss an die mamlukischen Zerstörungen, die kleine Kirche von Dali [59] und das Panagia Stazousa Kloster [105]. Obgleich von unterschiedlicher Raumaufteilung ist beiden Bauten der Umgang mit im 14. Jh. entwickelten Stilelementen gemeinsam. In der Tat ist auch hier eine Wahl eher einfacher Rahmenformen z.B. für die doppelt abgefasten Fenster der Stazousa-Kirche zu bemerken. Die Rippengewölbe (in Dali im 19. Jh. ersetzt) ruhen auf prismatischen Konsolen. Im Bereich der Portale zeigen beide Bauten Anfänge einer neuen Tendenz auf, bei der das Portal rechteckig eingefasst und damit visuell vom Tympanon getrennt wird. In Dali kommt ein angedeuteter Kielbogen hinzu, ein auf Zypern erst ab dem 15.

Jh. an griechischen Kirchen zu findendes Motiv. Das gleiche Portal besitzt eine idiosynkratische Zusammenstellung ornamentaler Details, die auf eine zweite Strömung der Architektur des 15. Jh.s hinweist.

Diese wird hauptsächlich von der sog. Moschee der Gerber [75] in Famagusta vertreten, die in einigen Punkten (wie dem Aufgreifen von Eckdiensten am Außenbau) Verwandtschaft mit Dali zeigt. An diesem Bau kommt es zu einem gewissen ‚Manierismus‘ der aus dem 14. Jh. bekannten Stilformen. Ornamente ballen sich insbesondere an den Portalen in gänzlich unkonventioneller Zusammenstellung. Hinzu kommt eine Bezugnahme auf Dekorationsformen des späten 14./frühen 15. Jh.s aus Rhodos, die als Solitär in der Architekturlandschaft Famagustas überraschen. Insbesondere in der Portalplastik weiterer Kirchen (Galinoporni, Spathariko) lassen sich Parallelen zu diesem urbanen Manierismus finden.

Charakteristisch ist nunmehr die stetige Verfügbarkeit eines Portfolios an Formen aus unterschiedlichen Ursprungskontexten, Kreuzfahrerarchitektur, westliche Gotik. Abgesehen von wenigen rhodischen Einsprengseln bleibt der griechische Kirchenbau der Zeit jedoch frei von externen Inspirationen.

5.2 Venedig und die Renaissance: Bereicherung oder Fremdkörper?

Ende des 15. Jh.s erfolgt die Machtübernahme Venedigs auf der Insel, ein allmählicher Prozess, der in der Abdankung Catarina Cornaros, Witwe des letzten Lusignan-Königs, im Jahr 1489 kulminierte. Die Frage, inwiefern (oder ob überhaupt) diese politische Ruptur auch Ausdruck in der Entwicklung der Architektur fand, ist nur schwer zu beantworten. In der Tat besitzen wir kein sicher datiertes Bauwerk aus den Jahrzehnten vor und nach 1500.

Eine Inschrift am Kloster des Heiligen Savvas von Karonos [193] verweist auf eine Errichtung der ursprünglichen Kirche 1501 oder 1533, je nach Lesart der beschädigten Jahreszahl. Eben dieses Kloster war im Jahr 1468 abgebrannt und erhielt Steuererleichterungen, um einen Wiederaufbau zu ermöglichen. Dies grenzt die Errichtung der Kirche jedoch lediglich auf eine Periode von über einem halben Jahrhundert ein. Zudem wurde der Bau im 18. Jh. tiefgreifend erneuert. Es bleiben jedoch die Portale vom Ursprungsbau: eines zeigt einen entwickelten Typ des im 15. Jh. eingeführten Portales mit rechteckiger Rahmung und separatem Tympanon, während die spitzbogigen Seitenportale den gotischen Typus mit durchlaufender Profilierung vertreten. Ersteres markiert nun in der Tat eine der wichtigsten Neuerungen für die Architektur des gesamten 16. Jh.s, währenddessen sich dieser Portaltypus über die gesamte Insel verbreitet.

Tatsächlich finden sich ähnliche Portale im gesamten Mittelmeerraum: auf Sardinien, auf Rhodos, vor allem aber (häufig mit prominenter ausgeprägtem Gesims unterhalb des Tympanons) auf Kreta [A.120–122]. Hier ist allerdings ein anderer Portaltyp, der einen rechteckig gerahmten Türrdurchgang und ein Tympanon mit einem äußeren, reich ornamentierten Bogen umfasst, häufiger vertreten. Eine solch direkte Bezugnahme auf venezianische Modelle, die auch im einfacheren Typus abgebildet sind, findet sich auf Zypern nicht. Das für Venedig typische und auf Kreta um 1500 vielfach zu findende Tau-Ornament tritt nur in wenigen, isolierten Beispielen auf Zypern auf. Folglich ist es ein nahezu aussichtsloses Unterfangen, mehr Kirchen der ‚Übergangszeit‘ um 1500 zuweisen zu wollen, auch wenn Bauten wie Sankt Nikolaus in Trachoni, mit ihrem idiosynkratischen Reichtum der Dekoration sowie gleichzeitiger Aufnahme von ‚späten‘ ornamentalen Details durchaus in diese Phase gehören könnten.

Die Machtübernahme Venedigs auf Zypern fällt in eine Zeit, in der sich auch in der Metropole selbst allmählich der ‚neue‘ Renaissancestil neben der Venezianischen Gotik etablieren konnte. So wundert es kaum, dass bereits einzelne frühe ‚Staatsbauten‘, wie das See-Tor von Famagusta (1496) Vorbilder aus Venedig (Porta dell’Arsenale) aufgriffen [A.129]. Solch reine Renaissance-Schöpfungen sollten jedoch die absolute Ausnahme bleiben, erst in den 1550ern entstand mit der Loggia-Fassade des Palastes im Zentrum von Famagusta ein weiteres Werk der Renaissance. Bezeichnenderweise sind im Bereich der Sakralarchitektur Renaissanceformen meist auf die Baudekoration von angrenzenden Klosterbauten beschränkt, betreffen jedoch nur selten den Kirchenbau selbst und in keinem Fall dessen strukturelle Anlage. Wenn im Kloster von Agia Napa [4] die Fenster des Torhauses Renaissancerahmen erhalten, so sind diese im lokalen Kontext zwar klar als Zeugnisse der Einwirkung venezianischer Vorbilder zu erkennen, doch bei genauer Betrachtung bereits in Details in ein lokales Idiom abgewandelt. Erst am Ende der venezianischen Phase, in der durch die osmanische Eroberung 1571 im Bau unterbrochenen Kirche von Agios Sozomenos [16], treten an den Grabnischen in den Seitenschiffen, dekoriert mit Pilastern und flachen ionischen Kapitellen, wieder eindeutige Hinweise auf eine Rezeption venezianischer Modelle auf – hier vermutlich vermittelt über Zeichnungen.

Es überrascht nun nicht, dass vor allem in urbanem Umfeld (Famagusta, Nikosia und das jeweilige Umland) neue dekorative Ideen innerhalb des ansonsten beständigen, konservativen Formgerüsts entstehen konnten. Instrukтив für die Erfassung des Charakters der Architektur im 16. Jh. ist ein tiefgreifender Umbau der griechischen Kathedrale in Nikosia [156]. Hier erhielt die Nordfassade, der lateinischen Kathedrale zugewandt, ein neues Dekorationssystem, gebildet aus einigen Versatzstücken höheren Alters, aber vorwiegend aus neu geschaffenen Stücken. Drei

Portale unterschiedlicher Form und Gestaltung wurden in die Mauer eingesetzt, deren größtes eine Kopie der Westportale der lateinischen Kathedrale [A.33–42] gegenüber darstellt. Dieses Modell des 14. Jh.s wird verbunden mit Maßwerkformen des 15. Jh.s, während das späte Entstehungsdatum vor allem im oberen Fassadenabschluss mit zuvor unbekannten Ornamentformen abzulesen ist.

Das ebenfalls umgebaute Hauptschiff verzichtet auf eine derart getreue Kopie älterer Modelle, weist allerdings auch keine Bezugnahme auf Renaissanceformen auf. Strukturell behält man Wölbesysteme des 14. Jh.s bei, bereichert sie aber durch ‚neue‘, letztlich noch vor das 14. Jh. zurückreichende Ornamentformen, wie etwa die gezackten Gurtbögen.

Die Vielzahl von noch bestehenden, weitgehend intakten Kirchen in Famagusta machten große Bauprojekte hier überflüssig. Lediglich Reparaturarbeiten an den größeren Kirchen und zwei kleine Neubauten sind zu verzeichnen. Von Interesse ist insbesondere die heutige Mustafa Pascha Moschee [74], ein Saalbau mit polygonaler Apsis, die im Inneren das sonst nur an der Kathedrale in Nikosia zu findende Element von Vertikaldiensten zwischen den Polygonseiten aufweist. In den Portalen, verwandt mit den älteren Portalen der Moschee der Gerber, finden sich direkte Übernahmen von einzelnen Dekorationselementen des Agia Napa Klosters, die für den Bau in Famagusta das 16. Jh. als Entstehungszeit sichern.

Generell lässt sich an einer Vielzahl von Bauten, sowohl in den Städten wie auch auf dem Land, feststellen, dass sich gewisse Renaissancemotive wie Zahnschnitt, karniesartig geschwungene Gesimse oder auch Volutenbänder und Eierstab-Dekoration gewissermaßen innerhalb des weitergenutzten, traditionellen Formportfolios festsetzen. Einzelne Bauten, so die Kreuzkirche in Nikosia [154], verwenden diese ‚neuartigen‘ Elemente reichlich, während an anderen Bauten lediglich ein Zahnschnitt die Portalkonsolen umgibt oder die geschwungene Profilierung des Kranzgesimses das späte Datum verrät.

Diese generelle Feststellung gilt auch für eine der wenigen fest umrissenen Bautengruppen des 16. Jh.s, vertreten vor allem von der Kirche des Hl. Mamas in Morfou [149] und dem Katholikon des Neophytos-Klosters [222]. Diese – dreischiffige Stufenhallen mit einer nach Osten hin verschobenen Kuppel über dem Mittelschiff und zentraler, zylinderförmiger Apsis – sind nun strukturell durchaus als Neuerungen anzusehen. Die Tonnengewölbe erwachsen direkt aus den glatten Mauerflächen, die Schiffe werden von säulenartigen Rundpfeilern bzw. Säulen getrennt. Eine Jocheinteilung ist nur durch die Kuppel gegeben, die jedoch keine Unterbrechung der darunter durchlaufenden Arkaden bewirkt. Es kommt hier also zu einem endgültigen Abwenden von Wölbemodellen des 14. Jh.s (also solchen, die einen Vertikalbezug der Gliederungselemente fördern) und tatsächlich zu einem Verschneiden von spätantiker

und byzantinischer Typologie. In der Baudekoration ist in Morfou, datiert auf die 1530er Jahre, allerdings kaum anderes als an der griechischen Kathedrale in Nikosia zu finden: schweres, lebhaftes Blattwerk an Kapitellen und Bögen, Säulenstufenportale mit achteckigen, konsolenbesetzten Basen. Das Neophytos-Katholikon dagegen zeigt antikisierende Kapitelle, wie auch in Morfou sind außerdem die Tambourgesimse der Kuppel mit feinem Akanthusdekor besetzt. Eine derart qualitativ hochwertige Antikenrezeption findet sich ansonsten nur an Werkstücken der Agia Moni sowie am Portal der großen überkuppelten Hallenkirche in Potamiou [189].

Letztere gehört zu einer Gruppe von Bauten, die über eingemeißelte Jahreszahlen datiert werden können. Diese sind meist auf dem Türsturz des Hauptportales angebracht, in griechischen Zahlzeichen geschrieben und von eher ungelinker Ausführung. Die Panagia tou Sindi [173] zeigt das Jahr 1542, Potamiou 1551, die Panagia Eleousa bei Rizokarpaso [204] 1532 oder 1552, je nach Lesart. Eine längere, orthographisch stark fehlerhafte Inschrift datiert die Fertigstellung der Kirche in Trapeza [231] auf 1567 – auch sie ist von eher spontanem Charakter. Die betroffenen Bauten fallen stilistisch keineswegs aus dem zu erwartenden Gesamtbild, mit den typischen rechteckig gerahmten Portalen bei der Panagia tou Sindi und in Potamiou (hier ergänzt um einen Deckbogen mit Akanthusornament) und, in Rizokarpaso, einem Arkadenprofil, das anderen späten Bauten stark ähnelt.

Trapeza ist eine von mehreren Kirchen, die im Angesicht der osmanischen Eroberung 1570–1571 unvollendet blieben. Hier war es nur eine westliche Erweiterung, die unfertig liegen blieb; in Trimithi [234] und Agios Sozomenos [16] wurde der Baufortgang unterbrochen, als gerade einmal das Niveau der Gewölbeanfänger erreicht war. Der starke Rückbezug der letztgenannten Bauten auf architektonische Modelle des 14. Jh.s ist von einigem Interesse, belegt er doch, dass, während durchaus Renaissance-Formen ab spätestens um 1500 auf der Insel präsent waren, die Übernahme solcher in den griechischen Kirchenbau keineswegs linear zunahm. Sie blieb auf Einzelfälle beschränkt, die nach der Aufnahme der neuen Formelemente in das allgemein verfügbare Portfolio während der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte bis 1571 auftraten.

5.3 Innerinsulare Varianz: Gedanken zum Einfluss der geographischen Position auf Stil und Typologie.

Bis jetzt klangen regionale Faktoren in der Betrachtung der Architektur des 15.–16. Jh.s nur beiläufig an. Anhand eines Vergleiches besonders distinktiver Entwicklungen im Bereich Famagusta (im Osten der Insel) und Pafos (im Westen) lässt

sich deutlich zeigen, dass innerhalb der inselübergreifenden Tendenzen durchaus Raum für stark regional beschränkte Entwicklungen bestand.

Für die Region von Famagusta ist insbesondere das zahlreiche Auftreten von durch Erweiterungen zweischiffig gewordenen Kirchen charakteristisch. Eine Vielzahl dieser Kirchen besitzt reiche Arkadenprofile, die sich in den Fällen von z.B. Triкомо [232], Sygkrasis [220] und Lapathos [124] direkt auf diejenigen der Georgskirche in Famagusta zurückbeziehen lassen. Alle drei Orte liegen unweit voneinander, lediglich 15 km nördlich von Famagusta, so dass eine Inspiration durch das urbane Modell sehr gut vorstellbar ist. Dass dies jedoch keineswegs als allgemeingültige Vorgabe zu verstehen ist, zeigte das Beispiel der (abgebrochenen) Kirche des Avgasida-Klosters [208]. Hier waren die Pfeiler kleeblattförmig, die Arkadenbögen gestuft und somit, obwohl in unmittelbarer Nähe von Famagusta gelegen, ein direkter Abkömmling der griechischen Kathedrale von Nikosia.

Im Westen ist diese Form der Doppelschiffigkeit nur sehr vereinzelt nachweisbar, auf reiche Arkadenprofile wie im Osten der Insel wird verzichtet. Dafür tritt ausschließlich in diesem Gebiet der Typus der kreuzförmigen Kirche, bereits in byzantinischer Zeit eher selten, bis in das 16. Jh. auf. Glatthäufig und weitestgehend undekoriert zeigen zwei Bauten der Gruppe, in Chlorakas [52] und in Emba [64], auffällige Kielbogen-Portale. Diese sind auf Rhodos weit verbreitet, auf Zypern abgesehen von einem Beispiel im Avgasida-Kloster jedoch auf das Umland von Pafos beschränkt. Weitere rhodische Einwirkungen auf die lokale Architektur lassen sich wiederum im Süd-Westen, ausgehend von der Johanniterfestung Kolossi finden. Deren Ornamentformen, darunter das rhodische Kettenornament, wurde an einer kleinen Gruppe Bauten im Bergland zwischen Kolossi und Pafos von sichtlich ungeübter Steinmetzen-Hand imitiert.

5.4 Abschließende Bemerkungen zur Stilentwicklung

Ziel der Stiluntersuchung war, die Bauten von der Idee eines sich linear, teleologisch entwickelnden Stilbegriffes ebenso wie von dem bipolaren gotisch-byzantinischen Kontrastmodell zu befreien. Tatsächlich erweist sich die stilistische Entwicklung des griechischen Kirchenbaues auf Zypern als ein dynamischer Prozess, in Gang gesetzt von den gesellschaftlichen und historischen Umschwüngen der Zeit um 1300, insbesondere in Famagusta. Über die Kirchen von Sankt Epiphanius und die Kathedrale des Hl. Georg fanden Elemente der gotischen Architektur, insbesondere aber Architekturformen mit Wurzeln in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten ihren Weg in die lokale Architektursprache.

Das 15. Jh. brachte keine neuen Einwirkungen von außerhalb, sondern ein kreatives Weiterarbeiten mit den bereits im Portfolio vorhandenen Elementen. Diese wurden zunehmend Teil der ‚eigenen‘ Architektur und einerseits reduziert, in einer gegenläufigen Tendenz geradezu manieristisch übertrieben. Die venezianische Herrschaft ab dem Ende des 16. Jh.s brachte nicht nur allmählich stabilisierte politische Verhältnisse, sondern auch einen Anstieg der Bautätigkeiten mit sich. Während die Auswirkung der Präsenz von wenigen Renaissancebauten in den Städten gering blieb, so kamen doch mit einer neuen Portalform und eher subtilen Änderungen in der Bauornamentik neue Faktoren innerhalb der weiter retrospektiven Architektursprache zum Tragen. Eben jener retrospektive Charakter, gezielt über das gesamte 14.–16. Jh. weiterentwickelt, liefert nun einen sinnvollen Anknüpfungspunkt für einen Versuch, Architekturform und Praxis des kulturellen Kontaktes auf der Insel näher zu beleuchten.

6 STRATEGIEN DER VISUALISIERUNG UND ETABLIERUNG VON TRADITION IN DER (NEU)GESTALTUNG VON VEREHRUNGORTEN

Die vorherigen Kapitel haben gezeigt, dass in der Entwicklung des stilistischen Repertoires häufig retrospektive Tendenzen festzuhalten sind. Diese werden in Kapitel 6 mit weiteren Aspekten rückbezüglichen Bauens verbunden und auf mögliche Hinweise hinsichtlich einer gezielten Traditionsinszenierung überprüft.

6.1 Methodische Bemerkungen: Die Tradition des Ortes, des Materials und der Form

Spätestens seit Richard Krautheimer Mitte des 20. Jh.s wurde in der Kunstgeschichte die Möglichkeit eines ‚ikonographisch‘ lesbaren Zeichensystems in der mittelalterlichen Architektur diskutiert, insbesondere dabei Bezüge zwischen Tradition, Ort und Materie hergestellt. Doch erst in den letzten Dekaden erfuhr dieses Untersuchungsfeld ein tatsächlich intensivierte Interesse und es wurde der Begriff der Tradition mit jenem der Memorialkultur gemeinsam diskutiert. Arbeiten wie diejenige von Stephan Albrecht zu Saint Denis stellten Modelle vor, die auch für die Untersuchung der zyprischen Bauten von einigem Nutzen sind. Von Albrechts drei Kategorien der Traditionsinszenierung im Baukontext – Erinnerungsstücke, Kopien und Memorialbilder – sind insbesondere die ersten beiden relevant. Erinnerungsstücke umfassen vor allem den Aspekt des Materiellen, zum Beispiel der Erhalt älterer Bauteile oder die Verwendung von Spolien – nach Albrecht bedürfen sie einer ‚Aktivierung‘, sprich eines zusätzlichen Kontextes, um als sinnstiftendes Element wahrgenommen

werden zu können. Kopien dagegen beziehen sich auf im weitesten Sinne formale Aspekte, wobei der Begriff der Kopie im mittelalterlichen Verständnis nicht mit dem heutigen gleichzusetzen ist.

Bei jedem Bau, der formal durch Übernahme materieller Hinterlassenschaften früherer Bauten oder Aufgreifen einer älteren Stilstufe einen Aspekt von ‚Tradition‘ enthält, muss individuell der Kontext überprüft werden. Handelt es sich um rein ökonomische Entscheidungen, dekorativ-ästhetische, oder tatsächlich um den Versuch einer Inszenierung von Tradition, von Erinnerung?

Es muss festgehalten werden, dass eine Kenntnis von theoretischen Überlegungen bzw. entsprechender Baupolitik im Westen auf Zypern nicht vorauszusetzen ist. Die Anwendung solcher im Kontext westeuropäischer Bauten entwickelten Modelle auf die Kirchen Zyperns ist allerdings, wie Kapitel 6 zeigt, durchaus gewinnbringend.

6.2 Die Einrichtung des orthodoxen Bistums Famagusta und der Kult des heiligen Epiphanius: Erinnerungsstücke und Reliquien

Eine der bemerkenswertesten Besonderheiten des griechischen Kathedralkomplexes in Famagusta ist, dass während des Neubaus von Sankt Georg [69] nicht nur der alte Bau von Sankt Epiphanius [68] bewahrt, sondern auch mit erheblichem technischem Aufwand in die Südmauer der neuen Kirche integriert wurde. Dass dabei die alte Nordmauer regelrecht in Art einer Reliquie unter einem rahmenden Bogen im Südseitenschiff der Georgskirche präsentiert wurde, hat die frühere Forschung bereits mehrfach angesprochen, allerdings nicht weiter kontextualisiert. Während eine solche Integration zweifelsohne nicht aus ökonomischen oder ästhetischen Gesichtspunkten zu erklären ist, bleibt doch die konkrete Bedeutung, die damit ausgedrückt werden sollte, unklar. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass die Mauer alleine kaum genügt hätte, um den Betrachtern einen bestimmten Sachverhalt zu demonstrieren, sondern dass sie vielmehr Teil einer den gesamten Bau betreffenden Strategie war.

Hierbei ist auf den erstmals von Enlart geäußerten Aspekt einer Verehrung des Hl. Epiphanius in der alten Kirche näher einzugehen. Diese ist tatsächlich der Forschung lange als Kirche des Hl. Symeon bekannt gewesen, doch geben verschiedene testamentarische Notizen des 14. Jh. Hinweise darauf, dass eher von einem Epiphanius-Patrozinium zumindest in dieser Periode auszugehen ist. Zentral ist hierbei das Testament von Fetus Semitecolo, der, 1363 verstorben, einen großen Geldbetrag für den Bau der Georgskathedrale hinterlässt und zugleich eine Kirche des Hl. Epiphanius als Begräbnisort bestimmt, diese jedoch nicht mit einer eigenen Stiftung bedenkt.

Dies belegt allerdings noch nicht die Verehrung des Heiligen an diesem Ort. Tatsächlich erwähnen erst deutsche Pilgerberichte des 16. Jh.s (Ludwig Tschudi 1519 und Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf 1566) die Begräbnisstätte des Epiphanius in Famagusta bzw. dessen Epitaph in der Georgskirche. Dem stehen Erwähnungen einer Epiphanius-Reliquie am Ort seines ursprünglichen Begräbnisses in den Ruinen von Salamis in den Jahren 1349 und 1355 gegenüber. Es ist bekannt, dass in dieser Zeit Teile der Reliquie an andere Orte verbracht wurden – bereits 1334 wird der Kopf des Heiligen zum Reliquienschatz der lateinischen Kathedrale gezählt. Dies widerspricht nun dem Bericht Tschudis, der den Körper des Heiligen 1519 als ‚unversehrt‘ bezeichnet.

In der Tat deutet diese offensichtliche Zirkulation von Epiphanius-Reliquien an, dass auch widersprüchliche Traditionen zunächst nicht unbedingt gegen eine Verehrung am neuen Ort bereits Mitte des 14. Jh.s sprechen müssen. Dies wird durch den historischen Kontext unterstützt. Seit dem 13. Jh. waren nach und nach die griechischen Bistümer auf vier reduziert worden, die den lateinischen untergeordnet, aber formal in abgelegene Gebiete verlegt wurden. Der Sitz des griechischen Bistums von Famagusta beispielsweise lag, so berichten die Schriftquellen, auf der Karpashalbinsel. Die Errichtung der Georgskathedrale markiert nun die Etablierung des griechischen Bistums in Famagusta selbst. Es ist unklar, ob bereits die alte Kirche in der Praxis als Bischofskirche gedient hatte, doch formal konnte die nunmehr ins Zentrum zurückgekehrte Institution nicht auf ortsbezogene Traditionen zurückgreifen – vor dem 13. Jh. war das Bistum im nahen, inzwischen aufgegebenen Salamis angesiedelt. Es liegt also nahe, eine unmittelbare Übertragung des Verehrungsortes von Epiphanius aus den Ruinen von Salamis an den Ort der neuen Bischofskirche anzunehmen, der mit einer Translation der Reliquie nach deren letzter Erwähnung in Salamis 1355 einherging. Die alte Kirche, in der Tat das älteste Bauwerk im Zentrum von Famagusta, konnte nun als visuelle Legitimation der Verehrung dienen. Sie glich als ‚authentisch altes‘ Material das Fehlen einer ortsbezogenen Tradition aus bzw. konnte in der Inszenierung durchaus auch mit jener aufgeladen werden (natürlich fehlen hierüber zeitgenössische schriftliche Aussagen völlig).

In diesem Kontext ist auch auf das Synthronon der Georgskirche hinzuweisen. Dieses Element der spätantiken Architektur hatte im 14. Jh. keine liturgische Funktion mehr, diente also lediglich repräsentativen Zwecken – der Visualisierung einer weit zurückreichenden Tradition des Bistums. Im Gegensatz zur ‚alten Mauer‘ war hier wohl eher der Klerus Adressat des Motivs, das im Bema-Bereich hinter der Abschränkung kaum sichtbar gewesen sein dürfte. Auch ist fraglich, ob der gewöhnliche Kirchenbesucher die damit verbundene Anspielung als solche verstanden hätte.

Eine bislang kaum beachtete und schwer zu untersuchende Frage ist die nach der räumlichen Aufteilung innerhalb des Kirchenbaus. Erhalten hat sich eine Art leicht

erhöhte Plattform im Westen vor der (späteren) steinernen Ikonostase. Ob diese mit einer Schrankenanlage verbunden war, ist unklar. Jedenfalls wurde sie in der Vergangenheit als Standort des Epiphanius-Sarkophages vorgeschlagen – überzeugender scheint allerdings die Vermutung, dass dieser in der alten Kirche, unterhalb der in Sankt Georg inszenierten Mauer aufgestellt war. Über die Bewegung von Besuchern innerhalb der beiden Kirchen ist nichts bekannt. Eine Vielzahl von Ein- und Durchgängen ermöglichte sicher ein organisiertes Begehen durch die Gläubigen, doch der oft nur vage Bezug zwischen gebautem Raum und tatsächlicher Nutzung verweist weitergehende Überlegungen in den Bereich der Spekulation.

Auch wenn die im Kapitel vorgestellten Hypothesen zur konkreten Nutzung des Baukomplexes abseits der allgemeinen Epiphanius-Memoria fragmentarisch sind, so ist doch noch auf einen letzten Aspekt hinzuweisen: die Arkosol-artigen Grabnischen in den Seitenschiffmauern. Die Praxis solcher Nischen, nach Michele Bacci aus dem westlichen Brauch von *Pro-Anima* Kapellen entwickelt, tritt hier erstmals auf Zypern an einem griechischen Bau auf. Es ist wahrscheinlich, dass hierin eine Art *ad sanctum* Bestattung vorliegt, dass also ein architektonischer Rahmen für Bestattungen hochrangiger Geldgeber des Kirchenbaues in räumlicher Nähe des verehrten Heiligen geschaffen wurde. Die formale Parallele zur ‚Epiphanius-Mauer‘, der profilierte Rahmen, konnte hierbei durchaus als zusätzliche Würdeformel aufgefasst werden.

Insgesamt scheint also weitgehend gesichert, dass mit der Errichtung der neuen Kathedrale auch eine Verlegung des Epiphanius-Grabes einherging. Dieses wurde mittels verschiedener Strategien als Erinnerungsort inszeniert und zugleich mit dem Brauch privaten Gedenkens verbunden.

6.3 ‚Kopien‘ und ‚Imitationen‘ bei Pilgerorten und Pfarrkirchen

Das Thema der Kopie und Imitation im Mittelalter wurde jüngst unter anderem von Christian Freigang beleuchtet – wenn dieser warnend hinterfragt, inwiefern eine formale Bezugnahme überhaupt ‚interpretiert‘ werden kann, so gilt diese Warnung sicher auch (oder aufgrund des oft obskuren Kontextes in besonderem Maß) für die Bauten Zyperns. Dennoch erscheinen angesichts der Ergebnisse des vorherigen Kapitels, also der vorgeschlagenen Epiphanius-Memoria in Famagusta, einige spätere Bezugnahmen anderer Bauten an Verehrungsorten auf den städtischen Kathedralkomplex in neuem Licht.

Das Irakleidios-Kloster bei Tamassos [185] zeigt deutlich, dass formale Bezugnahme nicht unbedingt nur den Baustil beinhalten muss, sondern auch topographische Aspekte einschließen kann. Ähnlich wie in Famagusta wurde hier im 14. Jh. die Verehrung des Heiligen Irakleidios baulich neu gefasst, allerdings durch

Errichtung eines überkuppelten Baus süd-östlich der eigentlichen Kirche, über der ursprünglichen Grabhöhle. Dadurch ergab sich eine vergleichbare räumliche Disposition (die allerdings auch von anderen Verehrungsorten, darunter die alte Epiphanius-Memoria in Salamis, geteilt wird). Die Positionierung des verehrten Sarkophages innerhalb einer flachen Blendnische in der Nordmauer des Kuppelraumes ist eine weitere Parallele. Zwar sind die Bezüge recht allgemeiner Natur, doch die Tatsache, dass etwa zeitgleich beide Orte eine Erneuerung einer Verehrung erfahren, ist zumindest bemerkenswert.

Die Platzierung eines Sarkophages in einer Blendnische findet sich auch in der Kirche des Heiligen Mamas in Morfou [149] wieder. Hier ist der Sarkophag ähnlich wie die alte Mauer in der Georgskirche in das Mauerwerk einbezogen und wird so von beiden Seiten sichtbar. Hier allerdings befindet sich heute auf der Nordseite der Mauer kein weiterer Raum, so dass die eine Hälfte des Sarkophages im Außenbereich liegt. Möglicherweise diente ein im 18. Jh. noch vorhandener Annex hier als zusätzlicher Raum im Kontext der Verehrung. Von Interesse ist weiterhin das Testament des Eugenio Synglitico von 1538, der für den Bau der Kirche eine bemerkenswert hohe Summe hinterlässt und wünscht, dass er, falls er außerhalb von Nikosia versterbe, ‚vor dem Bild des heiligen Mamas‘, also direkt neben dem Sarkophag beigesetzt werden wolle. Auch hier bestand also eine enge Verbindung von Stifterwesen und Beisetzung im Umfeld des Verehrungsortes. Ergänzt werden diese eher formalen Aspekte im Fall von Sankt Mamas durch die Baugestaltung selbst. Zwar handelt es sich um eine Hallenkirche mit Kuppel, nicht um eine Basilika wie der Bau in Famagusta. Doch dürfte der stark retrospektive Stil, Glattflächigkeit der Mauern, sowie die alles überragende Kuppel durchaus als allgemeine Würdeformel für den Betrachter zu verstehen gewesen sein. Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass das Anliegen beim Bau der Kirche wie auch der Inszenierung des Heiligengrabes eine Imitation der Epiphanius-Memoria war.

Man muss sich allerdings einschränkend fragen, ob Gleiches auch für das Katholikon des Neophytos-Klosters [222] gelten kann, das bereits vor Morfou errichtet wurde, und wo lediglich der Eremit und Klostergründer des 12. Jh.s lokale Verehrung erfuhr. Während in Famagusta und Morfou eine alte Mauer bzw. ein Sarkophag die Idee von Alterswerten vermittelten, fehlen solche Referenzen beim Neophytos-Katholikon, das dafür dezidiert antike Baudekoration wieder aufgreift. In Morfou werden diese durch mittelalterliche, dadurch noch stärker retrospektiv wirkende Formen ersetzt, doch mag dies auch im Bereich ästhetischer Entscheidungen anzusiedeln sein.

Schließlich muss noch auf die Kirche in Agios Sozomenos [16] hingewiesen werden. Diese kopiert tatsächlich die Topographie des Neophytos-Klosters, indem ein Neubau im Tal unterhalb der Einsiedelei errichtet wird, die zugleich Begräbnisort des verehrten Heiligen ist. Obgleich der Bau unvollendet blieb, lässt sich nachweisen, dass

er in gewissen Details des Arkaden- und Vorlagensystems stärker an der Georgskirche in Famagusta orientiert werden sollte als die anderen genannten Bauten. Diese Referenz kann kaum zufällig sein, dennoch muss auch hier der Begriff einer Imitation vorsichtig gebraucht werden, da der historische Kontext weitgehend im Dunkeln liegt (dazu nochmals in Kapitel 7.2).

6.4 Spolien: Zwischen ästhetischem Schaustück und Vermittler einer entfernten Vergangenheit

Ein bis hierhin kaum angesprochener Aspekt der Vergangenheitsinszenierung sind Spolien. Diese sind schon lange als mögliche Bedeutungsträger erkannt worden, jedoch ebenso als rein dekorative Weiterverwendung wertvollen Baumaterials, als ‚Schaustücke‘. Die bereits thematisierte Verwendung von Sarkophagen als Ziel oft lokaler Heiligenverehrung ist naheliegend und kann als Sonderform des Gebrauchs von Spolien betrachtet werden. Abgesehen davon spielen Spolien im 13. und 14. Jh. vorwiegend aufgrund des dekorativen Wertes eine Rolle: Marmor wurde auf Zypern weder abgebaut noch zu dieser Zeit importiert, so dass die zerstörten Bauten der Spätantike als Materiallieferanten genutzt wurden. Dabei ist selbst an der Georgskirche als Bau mit dezidierter Traditionsinszenierung zweifelhaft, ob die wenigen im Kontext des Nordportals verwendeten Marmorspolien mehr als rein dekorativen Wert besaßen.

Einen Wandel in der Rolle von Spolien brachte offenbar erst die venezianische Periode mit sich. Nicht nur spielten Spolien eine zentrale Rolle in der Selbstinszenierung der Serenissima (so auf dem Hauptplatz von Famagusta, wo zwei Säulen aus Salamis jene der Piazzetta von San Marco evozieren sollten), sondern auch im griechischen Kirchenbau nimmt der Einsatz von Spolien zu. Dies ist jedoch keineswegs eine allgemeine Strategie, die auf eine Bedeutungserzeugung abzielt, sondern bleibt auf ortsspezifische Einzelfälle beschränkt. In Morfou wird die Mittelachse der Kirche, begonnen mit dem Westportal bis hin zum Altartisch von antiken Säulchen eingefasst, in Lapithos sind die Säulen des spätantiken Vorgängerbaus in die Wandgestaltung von Sankt Eulaios [127] mit einbezogen. Der vorwiegend dekorativ oder im Rahmen eines allgemeinen ‚Alterswertes‘ verstandene Charakter von Spolien zeigt sich deutlich an der Trypiotes-Kirche in Nikosia [153]. Hier sind recht zufällig besonders prunkvolle Stücke im Kontext der meisten Portale angebracht, möglicherweise aus dem Abbruchschutt der zahlreichen, in den 1550ern für die neue Befestigungsanlage abgebrochenen Kirchenbauten.

Häufig ist auch die Bewahrung von antiken Kapitellen oder Säulen in Kirchhöfen, erstaunlicherweise auch an Orten ohne soweit zurückreichende Bautradition. Auch hier stellt sich die Frage nach der Bedeutung – der Transportaufwand war nicht gering,

dennoch wurden die Stücke nicht verbaut. Handelt es sich hierbei um Objekte lokalen Aberglaubens? Wetzspuren an einigen Säulenstücken in Tersefanou könnten dies bestätigen.

7 ZUR IDENTITÄT: DIE ROLLE VON 'TRADITION'

„Identität“ ist eines der zentralen Themen der jüngeren Zypernforschung. Dies ist nicht überraschend angesichts der multikulturellen und multireligiösen Gesellschaftsstruktur im mittelalterlichen Zypern. Wie eingangs geschildert, ist auch die Frage nach dem Ausdruck kulturellen Kontaktes innerhalb der architektonischen Entwicklung gerade für den griechischen Kirchenbau bereits seit dem Beginn der Forschung implizit angesprochen worden. Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung soll nur exemplarisch der Aspekt der Tradition, welcher sich in allen Facetten als eine Konstante der lokalen Architektur erwiesen hat, für den größeren Komplex der Identitätsforschung fruchtbar gemacht werden.

7.1 Mehr methodische Bemerkungen: Identität, Appropriation, Architektur

Im Rahmen dieser Untersuchung ist es nicht der Ort, um den aktuellen Stand der weit verzweigten Identitätsforschung zu referieren. Vielmehr wird dargelegt, dass den folgenden Überlegungen im Allgemeinen der einflussreiche Identitätsbegriff von Jan Assmann zu Grunde liegt; insbesondere dessen Unterscheidung zwischen individueller / persönlicher und kollektiver Identität. Letztere bildet sich aus einer Identifikation von Individuen mit einem übergeordneten Konzept heraus. Eben diese Unterscheidung ist für die Betrachtung des zyprischen Kontextes von Belang.

Bislang wurde, mit Bezug auf die materielle Kultur, aber auch auf historische Zusammenhänge meistens die Betrachtung der Kollektive der „Lateiner“ und der „Griechen“ in den Fokus gestellt. Dabei wurden in der Vergangenheit verschiedene Untersuchungsansätze gewählt, die in jüngerer Zeit insbesondere den Vorgang der Akkulturation betont haben. Schryver hat zur näheren Bestimmung dieses Vorganges das Modell von „Kontaktsphären“ und „Ereignissen der Interaktion“ aufgestellt.

Akkulturation wird in der Architektur der Insel, einfach gesprochen, überall dort sichtbar, wo „westliche“, „gotische“ oder allgemeiner „externe“ Bauformen und Dekorationselemente den Weg in die lokale Architektur finden. Die jeweilige Interpretation ist problematischer, wie die Diskussion des Begriffes „franko-byzantinisch“ in Kapitel 1.3 gezeigt hat. Einbezogen werden müssen bei der Untersuchung Aspekte wie der zeitliche Rahmen, aber auch, zentral für Kapitel 7, die

einzelnen an einem Bau beteiligten Protagonisten. Kurz, wer bestimmte über die bauliche Gestalt, wer waren mögliche Adressaten und, in einem zweiten Schritt, was sagt dies über beide Gruppen aus? Zwangsläufig erfordert ein solches Vorgehen eine Abkehr von generalisierenden Aussagen und eine Betrachtung konkreter, mit einzelnen Objekten verbundener Zusammenhänge. Dabei ist es weiterhin wichtig, zwischen Phänomenen der bewussten Identitätsinszenierung im Mittelalter und solchen, die uns lediglich heute Aufschluss über die Identität einzelner Protagonisten ermöglichen, zu unterscheiden.

7.2 Famagusta im 14. Jh.: Bestimmung der Akteure (Stifter–Bauleute–Kleriker–Gläubige)

Es ist naheliegend, für den ersten Teil einer Betrachtung unter Gesichtspunkten der Identität abermals auf den Komplex von Sankt Georg [69] und Sankt Epiphanius [68] in Famagusta zurückzukommen, die beide auf ähnliche Weise lokale und externe Bauformen zu einem neuen Ganzen fügen. Die Aussagekraft über die jeweils am Bau beteiligten Protagonisten unterscheidet sich jedoch.

Zunächst ist zu überlegen, wer über die Gestaltung eines Baus im Famagusta des 14. Jh.s tatsächlich entschieden hat. Schriftliche Quellen beziehen sich meistens auf testamentarische Stiftungen. Doch wie wahrscheinlich ist es, dass Stifter im Angesicht des nahenden Todes ein Interesse an der Diskussion von weitreichenden Baudetails hatten. Es ist davon auszugehen, dass zumindest der Impuls zum Start eines Bauprojektes und dessen Rahmenbedingungen meist zunächst einmal von der damit verbundenen kirchlichen Institution ausging und vor allem jene, nicht in Quellen überlieferte Stifter eine Möglichkeit zur Mitsprache hatten, die bereits vor einer testamentarischen Stiftung an der Baufinanzierung beteiligt waren. Dies sagt jedoch nichts über konkrete Entscheidungsvorgänge. Im Fall von Sankt Epiphanius ist insbesondere das Südportal mit seinem aus der levantinischen Architektur abgeleiteten Zackenbogen – ebenso distinktiv wie im damaligen Stadtbild visuell präsent – von Interesse. Wurde dieser tatsächlich als Inszenierung einer Identität verwendet? Und warum ausgerechnet ein ‚östliches‘ Formelement an der griechischen Hauptkirche? Zu denken wäre an den Streit zwischen Lateinern und Griechen um die formale Verwaltungsstruktur, insbesondere die Verantwortung für die syrischen Kirchengemeinschaften. Könnte der Bogen Ausdruck einer wie auch immer gearteten Bezugnahme auf diesen historischen Kontext sein? Oder spiegelt er lediglich die Beteiligung von Levantinern am Bau wieder? In letzterem Falle wäre weiterhin unklar, wie weitreichend die Kompetenzen eines Steinmetzes waren, ob er über die Auswahl eines so prominenten Motives entscheiden und damit seinen erlernten

Erfahrungsschatz zum Ausdruck bringen konnte oder ob nicht doch die Auswahl der Gestaltung dem Auftraggeber (Stifter oder zugehöriger Klerus) obliegt.

Letztlich kann nicht genau entschieden werden, was in diesem Fall zum Tragen kam, doch spiegelt beides den noch von der Architektur der Levante geprägten Erfahrungshorizont der Bewohner Famagustas um 1300 wider, seien sie Bauleute oder Stifter. Es ist weiter bemerkenswert, dass sicher verschiedenen religiösen Gruppen zugehörige Bauten der Zeit die gleichen Architekturformen teilen. Dabei überlagern sich zwangsläufig verschiedene Identitätsschichten. Zu dieser Zeit spielt jedoch die Präsenz der lateinischen Architektur in Famagusta noch keine weitergehende Rolle und erlaubt gewissermaßen eine Aussage *ex negativo* – je nach Auslegung über eine noch nicht erfolgte Akkulturation im generellen oder, recht spekulativ, über die noch nicht vollzogene Durchmischung von ästhetischen Vorstellungen von Auftraggebern und Steinmetzen.

In jedem Fall ist die Ausgangslage um 1350 mit dem Bau der neuen Georgskathedrale deutlich verändert. Hier belegt die oben geschilderte Einrichtung der Epiphanius-Memoria ein Interesse an der Etablierung des orthodoxen Bistums in der Stadt. Damit wird der Neubau zu einem visuellen Ausdruck einer kollektiven, in diesem Fall institutionellen Identität. Darüber hinausgehende Interpretationen sind abermals verlockend, aber nicht sicher zu belegen. So ist es durchaus denkbar, dass der stark an Bauten der Kreuzfahrerarchitektur orientierte Gesamteindruck mit den Bestrebungen König Hugos IV. zusammenhängt, den Titel des Königs von Jerusalem zu sichern, wie jüngst Olympios argumentiert hat. Eben jener König hatte erst für das politische Klima gesorgt, in dem die orthodoxen Bistümer in die Städte zurückkehren und sich sogar prominent im Stadtbild präsentieren konnten. Letztlich war eine starke Position des Königs auch für die griechische Gemeinde von Vorteil, denn sie garantierte den kommerziellen Erfolg der gesamten Gesellschaft. Wenn also scheinbar widersprüchliche Züge der Appropriation wie auch der Abgrenzung in der Architektur der Kathedrale aufscheinen, so ist dies durchaus als eine Parallele zur gesellschaftlichen Situation zu sehen: einer wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Durchmischung steht der Wunsch nach einer klaren Positionierung der religiösen Identität gegenüber. Letzten Endes bildet sich hierin ebenfalls die zuvor angesprochene Möglichkeit zu sich überlagernden individuellen Identitäten ab, die durchaus inkongruenten kollektiven Identitäten zugehörig sein konnten. Dennoch sollte bei allem Versuch einer Interpretation von gewählten Bauformen nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass, wie von Nicola Coldstream (für die lateinischen Bauten) pointiert formuliert, sich in Bauten wie der Georgskirche ein allgemeiner Wunsch nach Kontinuität vermischt mit ‚Details der hohen Kunst, gefertigt von fähigen Steinmetzen für neureiche Stifter, die sich kostspielige Dekorationen leisten konnten‘.

7.3 Erinnerung an die Vergangenheit: Gedanken zur Kirchenarchitektur als Spiegel der zyprischen Gesellschaft

Im letzten Kapitel wird als Gesamtschau der Blick auf die Bedeutung von späteren Rezeptionszusammenhängen für die Betrachtung von Identität gerichtet. Es wird an zahlreichen kleineren Beispielen, so etwa der Verwendung von Wappenschilden an kleineren griechischen Kirchen des Umlandes von Famagusta, deutlich, dass schon bald, spätestens im 15. Jh. die Frage nach ‚lateinischer‘ oder ‚griechischer‘ Identität in der Architektur obsolet ist. Importierte Bauformen, gleich aus welchem geographischen Zusammenhang, waren Teil des allgemeinen Portfolios geworden. Wie Georgopoulou für Kreta zeigen konnte, sind Entscheidungen für oder gegen eine Form nun vielmehr an eine Mode oder den persönlichen Geschmack des Auftraggebers sowie die Fähigkeiten der Steinmetze gebunden.

In der venezianischen Periode entwickelte sich nun allerdings, wie zuvor geschildert, eine dezidiert retrospektive Architektur, innerhalb derer zwar sicher die vorherrschende Mode eine Rolle spielte, in Einzelfällen jedoch auch politische bzw. sozialhistorische Faktoren nachweisbar sind. Wenn zum Beispiel die griechische Kathedrale in Nikosia [156] im 16. Jh. eine Kopie der zwei Jahrhunderte alten Westportale der lateinischen Kathedrale vis-a-vis erhält, so ist dies kaum alleine auf Fragen des Zeitgeschmacks zurückzuführen. Man kann Olympios leicht folgen, wenn er hierin vielmehr einen weiteren Fall sieht, in dem ein Identitätskollektiv, hier der als Geldgeber anzunehmende griechische (Geld-)Adel, die eigene Position in der Gesellschaft inszeniert. Die Wurzeln des sozialen Aufstieges der bedeutendsten griechischen Familien lagen im 14. Jh., unter den Venezianern hatten sie sich in den wichtigsten Gesellschaftsschichten etabliert – mit einer visuellen Bezugnahme auf das 14. Jh. wurde nun also zugleich eine erprobte Würdeformel wieder aufgegriffen und ein Wiederaufleben dieser insgesamt so erfolgreichen Periode der Insel evoziert.

In anderen Fällen wird eine retrospektive Architektur mit gezielten Referenzen auf die neuen Herrscher, die Serenissima, verschnitten. In Orounda [161] beispielsweise thront ein Markuslöwe über dem Westportal, zugleich fehlt jegliche Spur von Renaissanceelementen, die wiederum an anderen ebenfalls retrospektiv ausgerichteten Bauprojekten (zugegebenermaßen zurückhaltend) integriert sind. Ähnlich wie im 14. Jh. ist also die Einwirkung der neuen Elemente nur in den seltensten Fällen als bewusste Aussage zu deuten, bestenfalls als Versuch, den eigenen Platz innerhalb der Serenissima zu finden, vermischt mit halb-bewusst etablierten modischen Erscheinungen.

Ein letzter Zeitschnitt vor der osmanischen Eroberung lässt sich an der Kirche von Agios Sozomenos [16] zeigen, bereits zuvor als möglicher Verehrungsort des gleichnamigen Eremitenheiligen besprochen. Auch dieser Bau wurde aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von einem Mitglied der einflussreichen griechischen Familien aus Nikosia, möglicherweise als eigene Grablege in Auftrag gegeben. Referenz für die Baugestalt war hier mit der Georgskirche in Famagusta der wohl bedeutendste griechische Kirchenbau der Insel – ein durchaus ambitioniertes Statement auch für den lokalen Klerus, vermutlich ein kleines Kloster oder die Pfarrgemeinde des Ortes. Durch die Wahl des Vorbildes wurde nicht nur der Bogen zurück in das ökonomisch so erfolgreiche 14. Jh. geschlagen, sondern auch auf die spezifisch orthodoxe Tradition hingewiesen. Dem gegenüber stehen die Renaissanceeinfassungen der Grabnischen. Hier kann als gesichert gelten, dass diese über Zeichnungen aus Venedig den Weg nach Zypern fanden: sämtliche Ungeschicktheiten in der Ausführung der Formen sind auf die Übertragung zweidimensionaler Vorlagen auf ein plastisches Objekt zurückzuführen. Aufgrund der engen Kontakte vieler hochrangiger Griechen nach Venedig in dieser Phase ist durchaus an einen persönlichen Wunsch des Stifters zu denken. Letztlich wäre der Besucher der Kirche bei der Betrachtung des Baues und der Grabnischen einerseits an die lange Tradition griechischen Kirchenbaues auf der Insel im Generellen, die Würde des Ortes im Speziellen erinnert worden, hätte aber zugleich die Zugehörigkeit des Stifters (und damit in zweiter Linie auch der Insel an sich) zur Serenissima vor Augen geführt bekommen.

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Mainz, den

ERKLÄRUNG

(gemäß § 6 Abs. 2 h) und i) der Promotionsordnung der Fachbereiche 02, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10 vom 26. Juli 2000; in der Fassung vom 21. Juni 2012)

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TRADITION AND IDENTITY

THE ARCHITECTURE OF GREEK CHURCHES IN CYPRUS
(14TH TO 16TH CENTURIES)

VOLUME II

THOMAS KAFFENBERGER

MAINZ 2016

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VOLUME II – CATALOGUE

Thomas Kaffenberger

VOLUME I TEXT AND LIST OF REFERENCES

VOLUME II CATALOGUE

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PART I CATALOGUE OF PRESERVED OR WELL-DOCUMENTED CHURCHES3

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VOLUME III ILLUSTRATIONS

CATALOGUE: INTRODUCTION

This catalogue presents a comprehensive account of non-Latin churches built in Cyprus between ca. 1300 and the Ottoman conquest in 1571. It consists of a first section, describing in more detail the preserved buildings or building parts. This section includes few destroyed buildings, such as the Avgasida monastery church [208], where the pictorial and descriptive documentary evidence is detailed enough to create a more or less complete image. The second section lists destroyed churches, which with some probability date to the period in question but cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Herein are included two churches, of which we possess a good pictorial documentation but, due to their complete destruction and a lack of description, do not exactly know the original location.

The restriction of the catalogue to churches built in the treated period and used for the Greek rite caused a certain methodological problem, as the original context of many especially urban structures is still debated. As example for this, the excavated ruin on the Panagia Chrysopolitissa site in Pafos might suffice. Traditionally said to be the Franciscan church, its formal similarity to Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta might already have created some doubt. More recently, Olympios suggested this building to be the Latin cathedral of Pafos, as the close proximity of the Latin and the Greek cathedrals (here Saint Kyriaki) is quite common in Cyprus (as the example of Nicosia underlines). Thus, even if an identification is far from ascertained, this building was not included in the study. Other buildings, certainly Greek, where a date in the Latin period has been considered, but which are more likely to be of post-1571 origin, have also been left out. These are churches such as Saint Dometios in Agios Dometios (17th century) or the church of the Holy Cross in Chrytida (17th or 18th century), among many others.¹ Finally, a number of churches which were dated in the period in question by previous scholars, predominantly Rupert Gunnis, but which certainly existed before 1300, have been omitted without further discussion of the reasons. Examples are Saint Napa in Kantou (10th instead of 16th century), the church of the Barnabas monastery (9th instead of 15th century) or Saint George in Choulou (the inscription with the date 1480 certainly does not refer to the church).²

Each catalogue entry consist of a summarized overview in table form, containing the most important information about the monument, and a descriptive text, which further explains aspects of the topography, building chronology and, if known, historical context.

¹ Chrytida: Gunnis 1936, p 270: “door of medieval design”.

² Kantou: Gunnis 1936, p 251; Prokopiou 2006, p 219–235; Barnabas-Monastery: Stewart 2008; Choulou: Gunnis 1936, p 270; Papacostas 1999, II, p 33.

The header of each entry contains the name of the associated settlement, the district and the dedication of the church. Entries are organized according to alphabetical order of the villages. The toponyms were, if possible, transcribed according to the *Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus*.³ Church dedications were translated into English, with the exception of churches of the Panagia and descriptive name affixes (i.e. 'Chrysopolitissa' instead of 'of the Golden City', but also 'tou potamou' instead of 'of the river').

Below the village name, numeric geo-data are given. These were acquired during on-site visits, for which Ordnance Survey Maps of 1:25000 and 1:50000 as well as cadastral maps were used.⁴ With the help of these coordinates and Google Earth, a facilitated access for future scholars will be possible.

The second section contains a standardized description of each monument according to the aspects 'environment' (i.e. the location and character of the surroundings), 'typology', 'windows', 'portals' (as decisive criteria for dating), 'vault' and 'miscellaneous'.

This is followed by an account of sources available for the church. Under 'historical sources' all those references were listed, which are directly relevant for a discussion of the architecture of the church. References to pictorial sources include all those, which date to before ca. 1930 or are kept in archives reviewed for the research process. Images published in the ARDAC, often showing valuable comparisons of the state before and after the restoration, are listed in the 'bibliography' section.

The section 'building chronology' presents a summary of the most important building phases as well as notable restorations, thus the result of the more detailed elaboration in the adjoining text.

As the painted decoration of many churches is the main key to a dating of the architecture, a short description of this follows. The amount of information to be generated on this topic varies profoundly depending, evidently, on the amount of preserved paintings. Thus, in case the latter have been published, only a reference to these publications is provided. In case of unpublished monuments or smaller fragmentary remains, these are described in more detail.

The bibliographical references given below refer to previous works of rather diverse character. Apart from the references from the early studies of Camille Enlart, George Jeffery

³ Christodoulou, Konstantinidis 1987.

⁴ The maps were borrowed from the University library of Bonn. I have to thank the *Arbeitsbereich Digitale Dokumentation*, University of Mainz, for digitizing the maps so that they could be used on a tablet during the on-site research in 2012 and 2013. The cadastral maps are thankfully supplied under <http://parcel.dls.moi.gov.cy> [last visit: 17.03.2016]. Even with the support of detailed maps, the help of various locals was oftentimes necessary and invaluable.

and Rupert Gunnis, the catalogue entries evidently include recent scholarly works. Due to the frequent lack of those as well as of a previous catalogue of monuments, also a number of selected publications of non-scholarly, local nature were included (even if this was not pursued systematically). A special case among these is the large volume of the *Basilicas of Northern Cyprus* by Yapıcıoğlu 2007, which attempts to combine an exhaustive catalogue/collection of pictures with scholarly information. This study is only relevant for its rich corpus of images of often-inaccessible churches, while the adjoining texts are closely based on Rupert Gunnis' *Historic Cyprus* or only give the name of the church. Publications, which only mention a building in question in a list, without giving further information or discussing it, were omitted. The Annual Reports of the Department of Antiquities figure under "ARDAC". Entries from the *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* are not listed under authors' names but under "MKE".

A separate list of available plan material (published and unpublished) is given in addition to the bibliography. The table is concluded with the dates of the author's visits to the object; here it is also specified if a monument was not accessible for on-site research and could only be studied with help of photographs.

I LIST OF CHURCHES

	Town/City	Church Name	District
1	Acheleia	Saint George	Pafos
2	Afentrika	Panagia Chrysiotissa	Famagusta
3	Agia Marina	Prophet Elijah	Nicosia
4	Agia Napa	Saint Napa	Famagusta
5	Agia Napa	Saint Barbara	Famagusta
6	Agios Amvrosios	Christ Antifonitis	Kyrenia
7	Agios Amvrosios	Panagia Melandrina	Kyrenia
8	Agios Amvrosios	Panagia Ypati	Kyrenia
9	Agios Amvrosios	Saint Elizabeth	Limassol
10	Agios Andronikos	Panagia	Famagusta
11	Agios Nikolaos	Archangel Michael	Pafos
12	Agios Sergios	Saint Paraskevi	Famagusta
13	Agios Sergios	Saint Sergios and Bacchos	Famagusta
14	Agios Sergios	Saint Sozomenos	Famagusta
15	Agios Sozomenos	Panagia	Nicosia
16	Agios Sozomenos	Saint Sozomenos	Nicosia
17	Agios Theodoros	Panagia Astathkion	Larnaca
18	Agios Theodoros	Saint Theodore	Famagusta
19	Agios Thyrsos	Saint Thyrsos	Famagusta
20	Agrokipia	Panagia Pantanassa	Nicosia
21	Akanthou	Panagia Melissa	Famagusta
22	Akanthou	Saint Michael (Agios Mikallou)	Famagusta
23	Akhna	Panagia of Trasha	Famagusta
24	Akhna	Saint Theodora	Famagusta
25	Akourdaleia	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
26	Akourdaleia	Saint Paraskevi	Pafos
27	Akrotiri	Saint George	Limassol
28	Akrotiri	Saint Nicholas of the Cats	Limassol
29	Akrounta	Saint Luke	Limassol
30	Alaminos	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
31	Alektora	Saint George	Limassol
32	Anogyra	Holy Cross	Limassol
33	Apsiou	Panagia Amirou	Limassol
34	Aradippou	Panagia Aimatousa	Larnaca
35	Arakapas	Panagia Iamatiki	Limassol
36	Archimandrita	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos
37	Archimandrita	Saint George Oreites	Pafos
38	Arediou	Panagia Odigitria / Chryseleousa	Nicosia
39	Argaki	Saint John the Baptist	Nicosia
40	Armenochori	Saint Marina	Limassol
41	Arnadi	Saint Luke	Famagusta
42	Arsos	Saint Philipp	Limassol

43	Askeia	Panagia	Famagusta
44	Askeia	Saint John	Famagusta
45	Avdimou	Panagia	Limassol
46	Avgorou	Saint George	Famagusta
47	Avgorou	Saint George Terratsiotis	Famagusta
48	Avgorou	Saint Kendeas	Famagusta
49	Avlona	Saint George	Nicosia
50	Avlona	Saint Marina	Nicosia
51	Charkeia	Saint George of Attalou	Kyrenia
52	Chlorakas	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
53	Chlorakas	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
54	Choletria	Saint Irene	Pafos
55	Choli	Archangel Michael	Pafos
56	Choli	Panagia	Pafos
57	Choulou	Panagia Pantanassa	Pafos
58	Chrysochou	Saint Nicholas (?)	Pafos
59	Dali	Saint Mamas	Nicosia
60	Davlos	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
61	Deryneia	Saint George	Famagusta
62	Deryneia	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
63	Elea	Saint George	Nicosia
64	Emba	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
65	Episkopi	Saint George (?)	Limassol
66	Episkopi	Panagia	Limassol
67	Erimi	Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint John	Limassol
68	Famagusta	Saint Epifanios	Famagusta
69	Famagusta	Saint George of the Greeks	Famagusta
70	Famagusta	Saint Nicholas of the Greeks	Famagusta
71	Famagusta	Saint Zoni (Holy Girdle)	Famagusta
72	Famagusta	Unknown ('Bishops' Chapel')	Famagusta
73	Famagusta	Unknown ('Mogabgab Church')	Famagusta
74	Famagusta	Unknown ('Mustafa Paşa Mosque')	Famagusta
75	Famagusta	Unknown ('Tanners' Mosque')	Famagusta
76	Famagusta	Unknown ('Unidentified Ch. No 18')	Famagusta
77	Fasoula	Panagia Chryseleousa	Limassol
78	Fini	Saints Cosmas and Damian	Limassol
79	Flamoudi	Saint John	Famagusta
80	Frenaros	Archangel Michael	Famagusta
81	Frenaros	Panagia Asprovouniotissa	Famagusta
82	Frenaros	Saint Marina	Famagusta
83	Galataria	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
84	Galateia	Saint Sozomenos	Famagusta
85	Gastria	Saint John Prodromos	Famagusta
86	Genagra	Saint George	Famagusta
87	Geri	Panagia Chrysogeriotissa	Nicosia
88	Kalo Chorio Kapouti	Saint George	Kyrenia

89	Kalo Chorio	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
90	Kalopsida	Saint John Prodromos	Famagusta
91	Kalopsida	Saint Andronikos (?)	Famagusta
92	Kampyli	Panagia	Famagusta
93	Kapileio	Panagia Ambelikiotissa	Limassol
94	Kapsalos	Saint Paraskevi	Kyrenia
95	Kato Drys	Panagia	Larnaca
96	Katokopia	Panagia	Nicosia
97	Kazafani	Panagia tou Potamou	Kyrenia
98	Kellia	Saint Anthony	Larnaca
99	Kissousa	Saints Sergios and Bacchos	Limassol
100	Kiti	Saint Thomas	Larnaca
101	Kivides	Holy Cross	Limassol
102	Kivides	Panagia Perachoritissa	Limassol
103	Kivides	Saints Akindynoi	Limassol
104	Kivisili	Panagia	Larnaca
105	Klavdia	Panagia Stazousa	Larnaca
106	Klavdia	Saint Catherine (?)	Larnaca
107	Klepini	Saint Luke	Kyrenia
108	Kokkinotrimithia	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
109	Kolossi	Saint Eustace	Limassol
110	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Anne	Famagusta
111	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
112	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Nicholas ('Nikoloudi')	Famagusta
113	Komi Kebir	Saint Afxentios	Famagusta
114	Komi Kebir	Saint Onoufrios	Famagusta
115	Koroveia	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
116	Kouka	Holy Cross	Limassol
117	Kouklia	Panagia Katholiki	Pafos
118	Kyra	Panagia	Kyrenia
119	Kyra	Saint George Rigates	Kyrenia
120	Kyrenia	Panagia Chryseleousa	Kyrenia
121	Kyrenia	Panagia Glykiotissa	Kyrenia
122	Kyrenia	Church of Chrysocava	Kyrenia
123	Lakatamia	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
124	Lapathos	Saint John the Baptist	Famagusta
125	Lapathos	Saint Marina	Famagusta
126	Lapithos / Lambousa	Panagia Acheiropoietos	Kyrenia
127	Lapithos / Lambousa	Saint Eulalios	Kyrenia
128	Lefkara	Saint George Kontos	Larnaca
129	Lefkara	Saint Marina	Larnaca
130	Lefkara	Saint Timothy	Larnaca
131	Lefkoniko	Archangel Michael	Larnaca
132	Liopetri	Panagia Eleousa	Famagusta
133	Liopetri	Saint Andronicus	Famagusta
134	Lysos	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos

135	Lythragkomi	Panagia Kanakaria	Famagusta
136	Makhairas	Saint Onoufrios	Nicosia
137	Makrasyka	Panagia	Famagusta
138	Makrasyka	Saint George	Famagusta
139	Mandres	Panagia tou Tochniou	Famagusta
140	Margo	Saint Thekla	Nicosia
141	Mari	Saint Marina	Larnaca
142	Maroni	Saint George	Larnaca
143	Masari	Saint Anthony	Nicosia
144	Mathiatis	Saint Eftychios	Nicosia
145	Melandra	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
146	Mesana	Saint George Komanon	Pafos
147	Miliou	Saint Fotios	Pafos
148	Monagri	Saint George	Limassol
149	Morfou	Saint Mamas	Nicosia
150	Moronero	Saint Gennadios	Pafos
151	Nata	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos
152	Neo Chorio	Saint John Prodromos	Nicosia
153	Nicosia	Archangel Trypiotes	Nicosia
154	Nicosia	Holy Cross of Missiricou	Nicosia
155	Nicosia	Panagia Chrysaliniotissa	Nicosia
156	Nicosia	Panagia Odigitria (Bedesten)	Nicosia
157	Nicosia	Saint George	Nicosia
158	Nicosia	Saint James	Nicosia
159	Ormideia	Saint George Angonas	Nicosia
160	Ornithi	Saint Artemon	Famagusta
161	Orounda	Saint Nicholas	Nicosia
162	Pachna	Saint Stephen	Limassol
163	Pafos	Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint Kyriaki	Pafos
164	Pafos	Saint Anthony	Pafos
165	Pafos	Saint George	Pafos
166	Pafos	Saint Marina	Pafos
167	Pafos	Saint Sofia (Mosque)	Pafos
168	Paralimni	Saint Anne	Famagusta
169	Paramali	Panagia	Famagusta
170	Parekklesia	Holy Cross	Limassol
171	Parekklesia	Panagia Neophorousa	Limassol
172	Pelathousa	Saint Catherine (Mosque)	Pafos
173	Pentalia	Panagia tou Sindi	Pafos
174	Pera Oreinis	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
175	Pergamos	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
176	Peristerona	Saint Barbara	Nicosia
177	Peristerona	Saint Anthony	Nicosia
178	Perivolia	Saint Leontios	Larnaca
179	Perivolia tou Trikomou	Saint Epifanios	Famagusta
180	Pigi (Peristeronopigi)	Archangel Michael	Famagusta
181	Pissouri	Saint George	Limassol
182	Polemídia (Kato)	Saint George	Limassol

183	Polis	Saint Andronikos	Pafos
184	Polis	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
185	Politiko	Saint Irakleidios	Nicosia
186	Pomos	Panagia Chrysopateritissa	Pafos
187	Potami	Saint George	Nicosia
188	Potamia	Saint Marina	Nicosia
189	Potamiou	Saint Marina	Limassol
190	Prastio Avdimou	Panagia Diakonousa	Limassol
191	Prastio Avdimou	Archangel Michael	Limassol
192	Prastio	Archangel Michael	Pafos
193	Prastio	Saint Savvas tis Karonos	Pafos
194	Psematismenos	Saint Andronikos	Larnaca
195	Psematismenos	Saint Marina	Larnaca
196	Pyla	Archangel Michael	Larnaca
197	Pyrga	Saint Barbara	Larnaca
198	Pyrga	Saint Marina	Larnaca
199	Pyrgos	Panagia	Limassol
200	Pyrgos	Saint Marina	Limassol
201	Pyroi	Panagia Pallouriotissa	Nicosia
202	Pyroi	Saint Antipas	Nicosia
203	Rizokarpaso	Saint Andrew (old church)	Famagusta
204	Rizokarpaso	Panagia Eleousa	Famagusta
205	Rizokarpaso	Saint Filon ad Agridia	Famagusta
206	Salamiou	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos
207	Salamiou	Saint Paraskevi	Pafos
208	Santalaris	Panagia Avgasida	Famagusta
209	Skarinou	Saint Luke	Larnaca
210	Sotira	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
211	Sotira	Transfiguration Church	Famagusta
212	Souskio	Saints Constantine and Helena	Pafos
213	Spathariko	Panagia Paradisiotissa	Famagusta
214	Spathariko	Saint George	Famagusta
215	Spathariko	Saint Luke	Famagusta
216	Statos	Saint Nicholas of Agia Moni	Pafos
217	Steni	Panagia Chrysolakourna	Pafos
218	Sygkrasis	Holy 'Children' (Agioi Paides)	Famagusta
219	Sygkrasis	Panagia Afentrika	Famagusta
220	Sygkrasis	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
221	Tala	Saint Catherine	Pafos
222	Tala	Katholikon, Neofytos Monastery	Pafos
223	Tera	Saint Catherine	Pafos
224	Tersefanou	Saint Andronikos	Larnaca
225	Tersefanou	Saint Marina	Larnaca
226	Thermeia	Panagia Thermeiotissa	Kyrenia
227	Tochni	Holy Cross	Larnaca
228	Trachoni	Panagia Katoklisiotissa	Limassol
229	Trachoni	Panagia	Nicosia
230	Trachoni	Saint Nicholas	Nicosia

231	Trapeza	Panagia Chrysopolitissa	Famagusta
232	Trikomo	Panagia	Famagusta
233	Trikomo	Saint James	Famagusta
234	Trimithi	Saint Charalambos	Kyrenia
235	Troulloi	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
236	Vasa	Saint George	Limassol
237	Vathylakas	Saint George	Famagusta
238	Vatili	Saint George	Famagusta
239	Vitsada	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
240	Vouno	Saint Romanos	Kyrenia
241	Vrysoulles	Saint George	Famagusta
242	Xylofagou	Saint George	Larnaca
243	Xylofagou	Saint George Potamou	Larnaca
244	Xylotymvou	Saint Marina	Larnaca

II LIST OF CHURCHES: TYPOLOGICAL GROUPS

Single nave type, barrel-vaulted: 134 churches

1	Acheleia	Saint George	Pafos
2	Afentrika	Panagia Chrysiotissa	Famagusta
3	Agia Marina	Prophet Elijah	Nicosia
5	Agia Napa	Saint Barbara	Famagusta
7	Agios Amvrosios	Panagia Melandrina	Kyrenia
9	Agios Amvrosios	Saint Elizabeth	Limassol
10	Agios Andronikos	Panagia	Famagusta
12	Agios Sergios	Saint Paraskevi	Famagusta
14	Agios Sergios	Saint Sozomenos	Famagusta
15	Agios Sozomenos	Panagia	Nicosia
17	Agios Theodoros	Panagia Astathkion	Larnaca
18	Agios Theodoros	Saint Theodore	Famagusta
20	Agrokippia	Panagia Pantanassa	Nicosia
21	Akanthou	Panagia Melissa	Famagusta
22	Akanthou	Saint Michael (Agios Mikallou)	Famagusta
23	Akhna	Panagia of Trasha	Famagusta
24	Akhna	Saint Theodora	Famagusta
25	Akourdaleia	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
27	Akrotiri	Saint George	Limassol
28	Akrotiri	Saint Nicholas of the Cats	Limassol
29	Akrounta	Saint Luke	Limassol
31	Alektora	Saint George	Limassol
33	Apsiou	Panagia Amirou	Limassol
34	Aradippou	Panagia Aimatousa	Larnaca
36	Archimandrita	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos
37	Archimandrita	Saint George Oreites	Pafos
39	Argaki	Saint John the Baptist	Nicosia
40	Armenochori	Saint Marina	Limassol
41	Arnadi	Saint Luke	Famagusta
43	Askeia	Panagia	Famagusta
44	Askeia	Saint John	Famagusta
45	Avdimou	Panagia	Limassol
46	Avgorou	Saint George	Famagusta
48	Avgorou	Saint Kendeas	Famagusta
54	Choletria	Saint Irene	Pafos
55	Choli	Archangel Michael	Pafos
56	Choli	Panagia	Pafos
57	Choulou	Panagia Pantanassa	Pafos
58	Chrysochou	Saint Nicholas (?)	Pafos
62	Deryneia	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
63	Elea	Saint George	Nicosia
65	Episkopi	Saint George (?)	Limassol

66	Episkopi	Panagia	Limassol
72	Famagusta	Unknown ('Bishops' Chapel')	Famagusta
74	Famagusta	Unknown ('Mustafa Paşa Mosque')	Famagusta
77	Fasoula	Panagia Chryseleousa	Limassol
79	Flamoudi	Saint John	Famagusta
81	Frenaros	Panagia Asprovouniotissa	Famagusta
82	Frenaros	Saint Marina	Famagusta
83	Galataria	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
84	Galatea	Saint Sozomenos	Famagusta
85	Gastria	Saint John Prodromos	Famagusta
87	Geri	Panagia Chrysogeriotissa	Nicosia
88	Kalo Chorio Kapouti	Saint George	Kyrenia
89	Kalo Chorio	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
91	Kalopsida	Saint Andronikos (?)	Famagusta
93	Kapileio	Panagia Ambelikiotissa	Limassol
94	Kapsalos	Saint Paraskevi	Kyrenia
95	Kato Drys	Panagia	Larnaca
96	Katokopia	Panagia	Nicosia
97	Kazafani	Panagia tou Potamou	Kyrenia
99	Kissousa	Saints Sergios and Bacchos	Limassol
100	Kiti	Saint Thomas	Larnaca
101	Kivides	Holy Cross	Limassol
102	Kivides	Panagia Perachoritissa / Fotolambousa	Limassol
103	Kivides	Saints Akindynoi	Limassol
106	Klavdia	Saint Catherine (?)	Larnaca
107	Klepini	Saint Luke	Kyrenia
108	Kokkinotrimithia	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
110	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Anne	Famagusta
111	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
112	Koma tou Gialou	Saint Nicholas ('Nikoloudi')	Famagusta
113	Komi Kebir	Saint Afxentios	Famagusta
115	Koroveia	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
118	Kyra	Panagia	Kyrenia
121	Kyrenia	Panagia Glykiotissa	Kyrenia
122	Kyrenia	Church of Chrysocava	Kyrenia
125	Lapathos	Saint Marina	Famagusta
129	Lefkara	Saint Marina	Larnaca
140	Margo	Saint Thekla	Nicosia
142	Maroni	Saint George	Larnaca
143	Masari	Saint Anthony	Nicosia
145	Melandra	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
146	Mesana	Saint George Komanon	Pafos
147	Miliou	Saint Fotios	Pafos
148	Monagri	Saint George	Limassol
150	Moronero	Saint Gennadios	Pafos
151	Nata	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos

152	Neo Chorio	Saint John Prodromos	Nicosia
157	Nicosia	Saint George	Nicosia
159	Ormideia	Saint George Angonas	Nicosia
162	Pachna	Saint Stephen	Limassol
165	Pafos	Saint George	Pafos
166	Pafos	Saint Marina	Pafos
169	Paramali	Panagia	Famagusta
172	Pelathousa	Saint Catherine (Mosque)	Pafos
175	Pergamos	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
176	Peristerona	Saint Barbara	Nicosia
177	Peristerona	Saint Anthony	Nicosia
178	Perivolia	Saint Leontios	Larnaca
179	Perivolia tou Trikomou	Saint Epifanios	Famagusta
181	Pissouri	Saint George	Limassol
182	Polemida (Kato)	Saint George	Limassol
183	Polis	Saint Andronikos	Pafos
184	Polis	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
186	Pomos	Panagia Chrysopateritissa	Pafos
187	Potami	Saint George	Nicosia
188	Potamia	Saint Marina	Nicosia
190	Prastio Avdimou	Panagia Diakonousa	Limassol
191	Prastio Avdimou	Archangel Michael	Limassol
192	Prastio	Archangel Michael	Pafos
194	Psematismenos	Saint Andronikos	Larnaca
196	Pyla	Archangel Michael	Larnaca
197	Pyrga	Saint Barbara	Larnaca
199	Pyrgos	Panagia	Limassol
201	Pyroi	Panagia Pallouriotissa	Nicosia
206	Salamiou	Panagia Eleousa	Pafos
207	Salamiou	Saint Paraskevi	Pafos
209	Skarinou	Saint Luke	Larnaca
212	Souskio	Saints Constantine and Helena	Pafos
213	Spathariko	Panagia Paradisiotissa	Famagusta
214	Spathariko	Saint George	Famagusta
215	Spathariko	Saint Luke	Famagusta
218	Sygkrasis	Holy 'Children' (Agioi Paides)	Famagusta
219	Sygkrasis	Panagia Afentrika	Famagusta
224	Tersefanou	Saint Andronikos	Larnaca
225	Tersefanou	Saint Marina	Larnaca
228	Trachoni	Panagia Katoklisiotissa	Limassol
230	Trachoni	Saint Nicholas	Nicosia
235	Troulloi	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
240	Vouno	Saint Romanos	Kyrenia
242	Xylofagou	Saint George	Larnaca
243	Xylofagou	Saint George Potamou	Larnaca
244	Xylotymvou	Saint Marina	Larnaca

Single nave type, rib- or groin-vaulted: 4 churches

59	Dali	Saint Mamas	Nicosia
75	Famagusta	Unknown ('Tanners' Mosque')	Famagusta
105	Klavdia	Panagia Stazousa	Larnaca
141	Mari	Saint Marina	Larnaca

Dome-hall type: 38 churches

26	Akourdaleia	Saint Paraskevi	Pafos
30	Alaminos	Saint Mamas	Larnaca
32	Anogyra	Holy Cross	Limassol
38	Arediou	Panagia Odigitria / Chryseleousa	Nicosia
47	Avgorou	Saint George Terratsiotis	Famagusta
49	Avlona	Saint George	Nicosia
51	Charkeia	Saint George of Attalou	Kyrenia
61	Deryneia	Saint George	Famagusta
67	Erimi	Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint John	Limassol
71	Famagusta	Saint Zoni (Holy Girdle)	Famagusta
127	Lapithos / Lambousa	Saint Eulalios	Kyrenia
128	Lefkara	Saint George Kontos	Larnaca
130	Lefkara	Saint Timothy	Larnaca
132	Liopetri	Panagia Eleousa	Famagusta
133	Liopetri	Saint Andronicus	Famagusta
134	Lysos	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
136	Makhairas	Saint Onoufrios	Nicosia
139	Mandres	Panagia tou Tochniou	Famagusta
144	Mathiatis	Saint Eftychios	Nicosia
158	Nicosia	Saint James	Nicosia
161	Orounda	Saint Nicholas	Nicosia
164	Pafos	Saint Anthony	Pafos
168	Paralimni	Saint Anne	Famagusta
170	Parekkklisia	Holy Cross	Limassol
173	Pentalia	Panagia tou Sindi	Pafos
174	Pera Oreinis	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
195	Psematismenos	Saint Marina	Larnaca
198	Pyrga	Saint Marina	Larnaca
200	Pyrgos	Saint Marina	Limassol
210	Sotira	Saint Mamas	Famagusta
211	Sotira	Transfiguration Church	Famagusta
221	Tala	Saint Catherine	Pafos
226	Thermeia	Panagia Thermeiotissa	Kyrenia
229	Trachoni	Panagia	Nicosia
233	Trikomo	Saint James	Famagusta
236	Vasa	Saint George	Limassol
237	Vathylakas	Saint George	Famagusta
241	Vrysoulles	Saint George	Famagusta

Double nave type (expansions): 18 churches

11	Agios Nikolaos	Archangel Michael	Pafos
13	Agios Sergios	Saint Sergios and Bacchos	Famagusta
68	Famagusta	Saint Epifanios	Famagusta
90	Kalopsida	Saint John Prodromos	Famagusta
92	Kampyli	Panagia	Famagusta
119	Kyra	Saint George Rigates	Kyrenia
123	Lakatamia	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
124	Lapathos	Saint John the Baptist	Famagusta
137	Makrasyka	Panagia	Famagusta
138	Makrasyka	Saint George	Famagusta
160	Ornithi	Saint Artemon	Famagusta
180	Pigi (Peristeronopigi)	Archangel Michael	Famagusta
204	Rizokarpaso	Panagia Eleousa	Famagusta
208	Santalaris	Panagia Avgasida	Famagusta
220	Sygkrasis	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
227	Tochni	Holy Cross	Larnaca
232	Trikomo	Panagia	Famagusta
239	Vitsada	Saint Mamas	Famagusta

Hall type with aisles (domed): 14 churches

16	Agios Sozomenos	Saint Sozomenos	Nicosia
109	Kolossi	Saint Eustace	Limassol (only nave)
149	Morfou	Saint Mamas	Nicosia
153	Nicosia	Archangel Trypiotes	Nicosia
154	Nicosia	Holy Cross of Missiricou	Nicosia
156	Nicosia	Panagia Odigitria (Bedesten)	Nicosia
189	Potamiou	Saint Marina	Limassol
202	Pyroi	Saint Antipas	Nicosia (only nave)
216	Statos	Saint Nicholas of Agia Moni	Pafos
217	Steni	Panagia Chrysolakourna	Pafos
222	Tala	Neofytos Katholikon	Pafos
223	Tera	Saint Catherine	Pafos
231	Trapeza	Panagia Chrysopolitissa	Famagusta
234	Trimithi	Saint Charalambos	Kyrenia (not certain)

Basilica type (domed): 2 churches

69	Famagusta	Saint George of the Greeks	Famagusta
76	Famagusta	Unknown ('Unidentified Church No 18')	Famagusta

Cruciform and Cross-in-Square type: 6 churches

42	Arsos	Saint Philipp	Limassol
52	Chlorakas	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
70	Famagusta	Saint Nicholas of the Greeks	Famagusta
73	Famagusta	Unknown ('Mogabgab Church')	Famagusta
163	Pafos	Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint Kyriaki	Pafos
167	Pafos	Saint Sofia (Mosque)	Pafos

Irregular structures: 3 churches

131	Lefkoniko	Archangel Michael	Larnaca
155	Nicosia	Panagia Chrysaliniotissa	Nicosia
203	Rizokarpaso	Saint Andrew (old church)	Famagusta

Irregular structures above caves: 3 churches

5	Agia Napa	Saint Napa	Famagusta
19	Agios Thyrsos	Saint Thyrsos	Famagusta
86	Genagra	Saint George	Famagusta

Added narthexes and porches: 7 churches

6	Agios Amvrosios	Christ Antifonitis	Kyrenia
60	Davlos	Saint Nicholas	Famagusta
64	Emba	Panagia Chryseleousa	Pafos
80	Frenaros	Archangel Michael	Famagusta
114	Komi Kebir	Saint Onoufrios	Famagusta
126	Lapithos / Lambousa	Panagia Acheiropoietos	Kyrenia
205	Rizokarpaso	Saint Filon ad Agridia	Famagusta

Separate Centralized Chapels: 3 churches

185	Politiko	Saint Irakleidios	Nicosia
190	Prastio Avdimou	Panagia Diakonousa	Limassol
216	Statos	Saint Nicholas of Agia Moni	Pafos

The churches not mentioned in these typological categories were only partly rebuilt (without decision for a specific type), moderately enlarged or redecorated in the 14th to 16th centuries.

CATALOGUE OF VANISHED CHURCHES: INTRODUCTION

This part of the catalogue lists lost and vanished churches, of which we have sufficient account to gather more information than the name or dedication. Those, of which there is ample pictorial documentation (for example the church of the Avgasida Monastery [208]) or considerable remains are incorporated into a later building, are included in the regular catalogue. Of most of the churches in this catalogue of vanished buildings, we know the location and/or certain features of the design that indicate a medieval, often late medieval date. The sources of information are either accounts in the early scholarly texts and guidebooks, such as those of George Jeffery and Rupert Gunnis, or excavations. Few churches are included, of which we do not know the original location but have a good pictorial documentation, for example through drawings of Edmond Duthoit (around 1862) or Sydney Vacher (before 1887).

The churches in this part of the catalogue occasionally bear additional information for certain architectural tendencies, while others are listed for purely statistical reasons or as a reference for future research. This catalogue can, evidently, not be comprehensive, as many medieval churches were replaced, taken down or simply fell into ruin without having been described or documented during the Ottoman and British periods.⁵ In particular, the accounts of Gunnis and Jeffery, as comprehensive as they may seem, often omit buildings, so they cannot be seen as comprehensive topographic collections. Furthermore, as the dating of churches in such early scholarly literature should be treated with some care, only those buildings, of which pictorial evidence was found, can be re-dated with relative certainty.

⁵ For example, in the Mesaoria plain alone, on around 30 church sites, which are known from early 20th century maps or through local memory, no trace or description of the former building remains.

I LIST OF VANISHED CHURCHES

	Town/City	Church Name	District
I	Agioi Trimithias	Saints Sergios and Bacchos	Nicosia
II	Agios Isidoros	Saint George	Pafos
III	Akrotiri	Holy Cross	Limassol
IV	Anageia	Saints Vichinos and Nomon (?)	Nicosia
V	Androlikou	Saint Andronikos (?)	Pafos
VI	Arediou	Saint George	Nicosia
VII	Avdimou	?	Limassol
VIII	Dora	Saint Marina	Limassol
IX	Dora	Panagia Pantanasa	Limassol
X	Elia	Archangel Michael	Kyrenia
XI	Elia	Saint Nicholas	Kyrenia
XII	Episkopi	Saint Mamas	Limassol
XIII	Episkopi	Panagia Chrysanayiotissa	Limassol
XIV	Episkopi	Saint Anthony	Limassol
XV	Eptagonia	Saint Photios	Limassol
XVI	Erimi	Saint George	Limassol
XVII	Galateia	Saint Marina	Famagusta
XVIII	Galinoporni	Saint Anne	Famagusta
XIX	Galinoporni	Saint George	Famagusta
XX	Gypsou	Saint George	Famagusta
XXI	Ineia	Archangel Michael	Pafos
XXII	Ineia	Saint James	Pafos
XXIII	Kallepia	Saint George	Pafos
XXIV	Kalogenata	Saint George	Limassol
XXV	Kalopsida	Panagia	Famagusta
XXVI	Kantou	Panagia Chrysopolitissa	Limassol
XXVII	Kiados	Saint Therapon (?)	Famagusta
XXVIII	Kofinou	Saint Marina (?)	Larnaca
XXIX	Koutrafas	Panagia	Nicosia
XXX	Kyra	Saint Stephen	Nicosia
XXXI	Kythrea	Panagia Khardakiotissa	Nicosia
XXXII	Kythrea	Saint Anna	Nicosia
XXXIII	Lefkara	Saint George Exorinos	Nicosia
XXXIV	Louroukina	Panagia	Nicosia
XXXV	Louroukina	Panagia Philidiotissa	Nicosia
XXXVI	Louroukina	Saint Epifanios	Nicosia
XXXVII	Makrasyka	Saint Efstathios	Famagusta
XXXVIII	Meniko	Saint Kyprianos	Nicosia
XXXIX	Milia	Saint George	Famagusta
XL	Nata	Saint Nicholas	Pafos
XLI	Nicosia	Saint Paraskevi	Nicosia

XLII	Oroklini	Saint Thomas	Larnaca
XLIII	Palaikythro	Saint Catherine	Nicosia
XLIV	Pafos	Panagia Theoskepaste	Pafos
XLV	Pafos	Saint George	Pafos
XLVI	Pafos	Saint Kendeas	Pafos
XLVII	Pafos	Saint John Prodromos	Pafos
XLVIII	Parekklesia	Archangel Michael	Limassol
XLIX	Pentageia	Saint George	Nicosia
L	Pileri (Plechias)	Unknown	Kyrenia
LI	Polis	Panagia Venetiotissa	Pafos
LII	Potamia	Saint Catherine	Nicosia
LIII	Potamia	Archangel Michael	Nicosia
LIV	Prastio Avdimou	Saint Helena	Nicosia
LV	Psimolofou	Panagia	Nicosia
LVI	Pyla	Saint George	Larnaca
LVII	Silikou	Panagia Syrka	Limassol
LVIII	Skilloura	Panagia Eleousa	Nicosia
LIX	Tala	Saint George	Limassol
LX	Tera	Saint George	Pafos
LXI	Tera	Saint John the Baptist	Pafos
LXII	Tersefanou	Saint Demetrianos	Larnaca
LXIII	Trachonas	Panagia	Nicosia
LXIV	Trapeza	Saint Paraskevi	Famagusta
LXV	Tsada	Holy Cross	Famagusta
LXVI	Vasileia	Saint Paraskevi	Kyrenia
LXVII	Vatili	Panagia	Famagusta
LXVIII	Vatili	Archangel (Michael ?)	Famagusta
LXIX	Unknown	Unknown ("Chapel E")	Unknown

PART I

CATALOGUE OF PRESERVED OR WELL-DOCUMENTED CHURCHES

LOCALITY: Acheleia	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.738464, 32.485987	CAT. NO: 1	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: near the main road Pafos – Limassol, surrounded by few modern houses

TYPOLOGY: single nave with regular buttresses; apse polygonal on the outside – compressed 5/8 type

WINDOWS: lateral windows: rectangular with chamfered frame and corner corbels (attic profile); apse window: rectangular and profiled with corner corbels (roll and hollow-profile); western window: rectangular, chamfered; oculi in the west (remains of simple tracery) and east

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with elaborate profile and volute corbels, above a recessed tympanum with profiled, pointed archivolt; southern portal: vertically profiled jambs, horizontally profiled impost and pointed, profiled archivolt with cone-and-sphere motif at the bottom of the profile, above a profiled rectangular recess

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three profiled transversal arches on incised quarter-circle corbels; one corbel richer with floral decoration; pyramidal corbel without context

MISCELLANEOUS: profiled cornice; figural gargoyles; relief above apse window with three crosses

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Photographs of the interior by R. Elsey Smith (around 1880), in: Hogarth 1889, p 43, 45; DOA C.9454–9455 (undated); B.54.237 (1980); J.84.892–896 (1997).

OTHER: date "1745" carved above western door

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?) : erection of the original church, what remains are the western wall and parts of the lateral walls
- 18th century (1745?): renovated or rebuilt with a western porch
- 19th–early 20th century: destruction of the porch
- 1997: erection of a bell tower

PAINTED DECORATION:

Modern.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Hogarth 1889, p 43–46; Jeffery 1918, p 387; Gunnis 1936, p 152.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2012

Today, the rather large church of Saint George in Acheleia presents itself as a typical 18th century single nave church with regular buttressing and a polygonal apse. This impression is matched by the date 1745, which is incised on the main entrance lintel and caused George Jeffery to date the building entirely to the 18th century, while Gunnis dated it to the early 16th century.⁶ This opinion can be supported, as the main portal, with a continuous roll profile and volute corbels, shows striking similarities to a series of other portals that can be dated to the early/mid-16th century (see chapter 5.2.3) and proves the existence of an earlier building on site. Other decorative elements of today's building might also stem from this previous building (the corbels and perhaps the window frames; less likely the side portal and vault ribs that rather match the 18th century style). Especially two pyramidal corbels, juxtaposed in the lateral walls near the western end of the church, which carry nothing today, could indicate that the western end of the original building was kept during the 18th century remodelling (rather than a "restoration", as claimed by Gunnis ?). At the same time, an open porch was added, of which the eastern arch jambs remain – as they hardly interlock with the building corner above, this part of the wall might well be older than the porch itself. The porch has been taken down at an unknown later stage, perhaps when the small tower was added in the north-western corner.

Nothing remains of the interior decoration. The church possessed rich woodwork, considered to be of 16th century origin by Hogarth (who claimed, that it was the finest on the island). Iconostasis, ciborium and pulpit were already sold in auction in the 19th century. The paintings were executed in 2004.

⁶ Gunnis 1936, p 152, misread the "1745" as "1743".

LOCALITY: Afentrika	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysiotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.647981, 34.441156		CAT. NO: 2

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: one of the five ecclesiastical sites in the deserted locality of Afentrika/Urania, which lies on the northern coast of the Karpas peninsula, approx. 5 km east of the ancient site of Karpasia; the church is built within the ruins of its larger predecessor

TPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: rectangular with simple quarter circle-corbels, discharging trench above the lintel of west door

VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches. chamfered, steep quarter circle corbels in the west, chamfered, double quarter circle corbels in the east

MISCELLANEOUS: masons' marks on the vault stones

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 10.

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 6th century: late antique basilica
- 7th–8th (Stewart) or 9th–10th century (Papacostas): basilica rebuilt with a barrel vault, using old walls and apse
- 16th century: erection of the present day building within the three western bays of the main nave of the ruined older church

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 397–398 [Enlart 1987, p 305–306]; Jeffery 1918, p 258; Gunnis 1936, p 167; Megaw 1946, p 51–52; Papacostas 1999, II, p 10; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 208–210; Stewart 2008, p 43–45 (predecessor); Papageorghiou 2010, p 371; Langdale 2012, p 124.
On the settlement history of Afentrika: Stewart 2010.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Enlart 1899, fig 261; Soteriou 1935, fig 4; Megaw 1946, fig 7 (republished in Papageorghiou 2010).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 16.04.2009; 09.04.2010; 22.04.2012; 26.02.2013

Important settlement activities in the area of Afentrika reach back to prehistoric times. Here was presumably the location of the pre-Hellenian city kingdom of Urania, in later centuries the city remained an urban and maritime centre until Late Antiquity or even Middle Byzantine time. The remains of the settlement, three churches, are situated on the flat plateau between the northern slope of the Karpas hills and the seashore, just north of a single hill with remains of an ancient fortification. The largest of the three ruins is the Panagia Chrysotissa church, which has the longest and most complicated building history. According to recent research by Stewart, the church started off as a Late Antique basilica with three naves and a wooden roof. This basilica was rebuilt with one of the earliest stone vaults in Cyprus after it probably suffered heavy damages in the Arab raids of the 7th century. When this rebuilding happened is not known, but most likely a date in the Middle Byzantine period can be asserted.⁷

In any case, this church fell into disrepair again and was rebuilt on a much smaller scale. The new church, a simple single nave building with a barrel vault, occupies only the three western bays of the old nave and incorporates significant parts of the previous building, just as its predecessor had done it. Of the previous building, the nave arcades were walled up and are clearly visible on the outer walls of the church. While in the north only the second and third arch were incorporated, which indicates that the west end of the aisle was already missing at the time of the rebuilding, the southern aisle remained more or less intact. There is a large connecting arch between the new nave and the old aisle and the last vaults of the aisle only collapsed after 1935. The western façade and the apse were built completely new, the latter some 10 m further west than the old apse.

The church is not only remarkable for the long succession of rebuilding phases but also for the architectural features of the last, late medieval phase. This last church on the same site is of a common type and indeed very simple in terms of sculptural decoration – which lacks completely. However, the extremely well cut ashlar and details of building technique, such as the discharging trench above the western lintel are testimony to the apparently well-trained builders. Masons' marks on the inside of the vault ashlar show the use of up-to-date methods of building organisation, which link the building, modest as it may be, with the urban environment of Famagusta.

By the time this small church was built, the northern shore of the Karpas peninsula was hardly populated anymore and church building activity from after ca. 1300 is extremely rare in this region. Nevertheless, the building as it stands today shows that it was deemed

⁷ At the same period, the churches of Asomatos and Saint George nearby were also built/rebuilt. For the complex discussion of the date see Stewart 2010.

necessary to create an ecclesiastic space within the ruins of the old church. This underlines the importance of the tradition of this space: not the side aisle was used as chapel, but a new church was built. Probably this was not done with the sole aim of representation, thus the lack of decoration, but certainly on behalf of somebody who could afford to pay for well-trained builders from Famagusta.

As the building is neither decorated sculpturally nor mentioned in any sources, the exact date of rebuilding is unknown – only the technique leaves no doubt that this happened after 1300. Gunnis proposed a 14th century, Jeffery a 15th century date, while Stewart and Papageorghiou favour the 16th century. The excessive use of simple Roman numerals as masons' marks in the vault – each single stone is marked – supports this latest suggestion, as this type of masons' marks was very common throughout the Venetian period but rarely to be found in earlier structures.

LOCALITY: Agia Marina	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Prophet Elijah
GEO-DATA: 35.238900, 33.116308		CAT. NO: 3
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: the church is situated on the corner of a remote monastic precinct, overlooking a cliff		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window pointed with profiled hood mould; oculus with quatrefoil tracery in the western façade		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, chamfered with profiled corbels, lintel with a spiral relief and two corbels, archivolt surrounding the recessed tympanum with a chevron/zigzag moulding, hood mould on two separate, profiled corbels carrying a unique stacked floral finial ending in a cross with superimposed 'canopy'		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: the façade ends in an horizontal string course, with four corbels		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.6174–6177 (1955); DOA J.16.279–287 (1969).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- late 15 th – 16 th century: erection of the church		
- 19 th century: renovation, addition of a façade tower and buttress / arch, rebuilding of monastic buildings		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Unknown.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Yapicioğlu 2007, p 646–650.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [inaccessible]		

The monastery of the Prophet Elijah is situated north of the village of Agia Marina, currently (2014) a military zone and thus inaccessible. Perhaps it is here, where Gunnis located the Byzantine settlement of Floudi and saw “remains of three” churches.⁸ Before its dissolution and subsequent partial destruction, it was a Maronite monastery from at least the 18th century on. However, the original function of the (older) church is unclear. The building consists of a ruined, domestic building of the 19th century and, in the south-western corner, a rather large single nave church with a semicircular apse.

The available photographs indicate that the church is an overall, plain building with remarkable western portal and apse window. The latter is pointed with a profiled frame and hood mould. The portal is a unique *pasticcio* of idiosyncratically arranged elements of decoration. The rectangular, chamfered doorway had two corbels with double roll profile carrying the lintel. The lintel is decorated with a spiral relief a central coat of arms and lateral corbels, which carry the archivolt of the pointed tympanum. The archivolt shows a roll and hollow moulding, superimposed by a chevron pattern. The outer hood mould rests on two separate, pyramidal corbels and carries a unique ‘stacked’ finial ending in a cross. The arrangement is concluded with a small, superimposed ‘canopy’. The roots of this design remain obscure, as the majority of decorative elements are alien to the local building traditions, even if singled out. The most distinctive element, the chevron pattern, appears around twenty times on churches of the island, but always in the shape of a chevron profile (see for example the nearby church of Argaki [39]). The Chevron consisting of superimposed triangles is known from the Crusader states, for example adorning the 13th century porch of Saint John in Giblest. In Cyprus only an undated, lost house entrance, known from a photograph of Camille Enlart, shows the same type of decoration.⁹ The canopy above the cross is of visibly ‘urban Gothic’ inspiration. The lintel, in contrast, recalls patterns of Renaissance decoration. Above the portal, an oculus with chamfered frame occupies the gable, which ends in a horizontal cornice. Four corbels placed on top of the gable might indicate the original presence of a belfry, similar to those found in Famagusta, which became redundant with the erection of the bell tower beside the façade (see below). The interior of the church cannot be discussed in depth here, as no photographs exist. Presumably, it is barrel-vaulted. The church has been dated to 1508 by Yapıcıoğlu 2007; however, he does not reveal the sources from which he draws this date. While it should consequently not be taken at face value, it does fit the stylistic aspects of the building rather well – a date in the late 15th or early 16th century is quite probable.

The original church seems to be largely unchanged. The 19th century renovation resulted in an addition of two buttresses in the western corners of the church, the southern one continued as a wall towards the east, to encase the older wall, the northern one used as foundation for a bell tower.

⁸ Gunnis 1936, p 189.

⁹ For the chevrons see Kaffenberger forthcoming-b; the house entrance in De Vaivre 2012, p 68.

LOCALITY: Agia Napa	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Napa
GEO-DATA: 34.989323, 33.999381		CAT. NO: 4
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: monastic enclosure in the centre of the modern village of Agia Napa, the church on the western side of a courtyard formed by cloister wings and residential buildings		
TYPOLOGY: irregular plan with narthex, lower rock chapel and separate nave		
WINDOWS: oculus with tracery above the portal, rectangular window with framing profile in eastern wall of nave		
PORTALS: rectangular doorway with framing profile and plain corbels, above a lintel with framing profile and a coat of arms with a double cross, tympanum decorated with oculus and framed spandrels, all filled with simple tracery, tympanum and lintel surmounted by protruding hood mould on two book-corbels; doorway later filled with lower pointed archway		
VAULTING: northern nave: barrel vault, transversal arches on engaged semicolumns with flat capitals		
MISCELLANEOUS: corner of the chapel decorated with an engaged shaft that ends in octagonal capital and base; the residential buildings richly decorated with similar engaged shafts (with cone-and-sphere motif) and two types of round arched windows in the second story: most windows framed by two colonettes on high profiled imposts, carrying a horizontal architrave-like frieze, the window arch itself also decorated with varying motifs; above main entrance one window with diamond ashlars		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: the monastery is mentioned in numerous chronicles and pilgrim's reports since the 16 th century. Most prominently in the account of Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova, 1546–1547 (in: Bočková 2007, p 337–338) and the chronicle of Étienne de Lusignan (Lusignan 1580, f 64r).		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 141; DOA A. 1291, 1293–1295, 1331–1332, 2224; B. 219–222, 226, 784, 2216–2221 (1936–39); A. 1290–1292, 1296, 2425–2426, 2351; B 211, 1229–1240, 1280–86, 1312–1319; 2288–2292, 2350–2353 (1942–1944); J.3997–4009, 4036, 4043–4047, 4088–89, B. 10.345–10.350 (1961); B.12.637–644; J.4381–4183 (1962); J.7528–7549, 8059–8070, 8300–8302, 9076–9080, 9792–9794, 10.879–887; B.17.889–913, 19.671–672, 20.740–742, 769; 21.398–401(1965–66); I.11472–475, 11.797–801 (1967); B.36.649–653 (1974); B.75.050–058 (1986).		
OTHER: Alexander Drummond shows a today lost (Latin) inscription, bearing the date 1530 (Drummond 1754, p 275).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- medieval period: installation of a veneration site in a natural cave- 14th–early 16th century (?): erection of the original church to the east- ca. 1530: erection (on the site of an older structure (?)) of the southern nave, northern nave enlarged- 1942–43: repair works on the gatehouse (walls, staircase)- 1960s, 1990s: repair works on the Gatehouse and west wing (roof), later to the entire structure- since 1998: ongoing restoration works on all parts of the structure		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In north aisle a panel with three female saints. Bacci 2009a suggests a late 14 th century date, a 15 th century date proposed in the ARDAC 1998.		

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 414–416 [Enlart 1987, p 317–318]; Jeffery 1918, p 227–229; Gunnis 1936, p 189–192; Der Parthog 2006, p 323–324; Bacci 2009a, p 443–444.

On the monastic buildings and fountain: Carøe 1932, p 53; Calvelli 2009, p 41–45; Papacostas 2010b, p 150–159.

ARDAC 1966, p 8 & fig 11–12; 1967, p 11 & fig 22–23; 1968, p 10; 1990, p 30; 1995, p 21; 1996, p 22; 1998, p 27; 1999, p 24; 2000, p 29; 2006, p 31, fig 31–32; 2008, p 34, fig 37–39; 2009, p 27–28, fig 44–45.

MKE, X, p 188–190.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 20.04.2009

The monastery of Agia Napa, mentioned in numerous pilgrim's reports and travelogues of the late medieval and early modern period, is a place of highest historic interest. Through various sources, among which the pilgrim's report of Oldřich Prefát z Vlkanova of 1546, it is known that the monastery, marking the finding place of a miraculous icon as well as a holy spring, was used by Greeks and Latins alike. The layout of the church described by Prefát (an upper chapel, used by Augustinian monks and a lower rock-cut chapel used by the Greeks) is still perceivable. The main church space is still installed in the large natural cave, several stairs below the build church. This stands east of the cave, consisting of two naves, one of which (the northern?) was presumably the one used by the Augustinians.

Currently, two ongoing research projects deal with the monastery and its history, respectively its mention in pilgrims' reports. In expecting further results concerning the historic context from these projects, here some preliminary remarks on the structure and style of the church have to suffice. The plan of the church is highly irregular, as it incorporates the cave not as an undercroft but as western part of the church nave. In this the Agia Napa church is only comparable with Saint George in Genagra [86], which is evidently less complex in its spatial arrangement. In Agia Napa, the approximately circular cave, in which a bema area is separated in the north-eastern corner, is followed to the east by two parallel naves. The southern one is opened to the cave, while the northern one only connects with the southern nave. Both naves are result of a process of expansions, as already the exterior reveals.

The eastern façade, as the rest of the building from regular ashlar masonry, is highly irregular; in its southern half a portal is placed, while the northern half, corresponding to the northern nave, only possesses a window. The main entrance shows a strange blend of hardly reconcilable elements. The rectangular doorway originally possessed a continuous frame with horizontal returns on the bottom, similar to the window in the northern façade half. The upper part of the portal was later replaced with clumsy corbels and subsequently the whole portal filled with a smaller pointed arch. Above the doorway, the rectangular lintel possesses a framing profile and displays a blazon with a double cross. The tympanum is divided in three, with a clumsy rose window in the centre and lateral triangles, all covered in small flower ornaments and surrounded by heavy dentil ornament. The hood mould, with a combined rectangular and quarter roll profile, rests on frontal book corbels. Above, a string course with dentil moulding is placed in a wide semicircle with horizontal lateral parts, presumably following the original roofline of the southern nave.

The northern corner of the façade is occupied by an engaged shaft ending in polygonal capital and base. The northern part ends in a semicircular gable as well; the southern half of it is surmounted by an apparently later wall, which also surmounts the

semicircular gable of the southern nave. A horizontal string course with a roll and hollow moulding concludes this wall part, which is again surmounted by masonry of two different building phases. In the southern half, there is a slightly pointed arch, part of the original belfry (a new one is constructed on the southern corner). The northern part of this upper wall contains an unusual blind oculus of unknown function. Behind this part of the façade, a small room was created through the placement of three more walls on top of the nave vaults, accessible through a door in the west. Presumably, this was intended to be a bell tower, as there are openings for ropes in the vault of the northern nave.

One enters the church through the only portal in the façade, leading into the southern nave. This nave is barrel-vaulted and almost entirely plain. Solely the pyramidal corbels of the transversal arch shows flat geometric carving and a dentil ornament. From here, two pointed archways in the western wall lead into the main cave. Two further archways in the northern wall, one of which seems to be a late addition, lead into the northern nave. This nave is covered with two barrel vaults, the eastern of which is significantly higher and completely plain. The arch connecting the eastern and western part of the northern nave is supported by pyramidal corbels, while the transversal arch of the western barrel vault rests on engaged semicolumns with flat moulded capitals (the southern one removed). In the western wall of this nave, a small window, originally secured with an iron grid, opens up towards the bema area in the main cave. A walled up doorway is placed in the northern wall. This corresponds to Prefát's description, who claims to have entered the church through a portal in the north. If this was indeed the 'Latin' nave, the window towards the bema of the cave would have enabled the direct access to the 'holy site' by both rites, Latins and Greeks alike, during their services.

The relative chronology of the building poses some problems. The lowest 2–3 ashlar layers of the façade do not show any vertical joints, while above a clear joint separates southern and northern half. Furthermore, it seems likely that the northern nave was built in two phases. If the current eastern bay of the nave replaced an older bay in the same spot, using the lower perimeter walls, or if we just see an interruption in the building process, has to remain open.

For the question of the absolute dating of the church, it is worth to consider the monastic buildings as well, which show the most conspicuous impact of Renaissance forms on Cyprus in the window frames of the gatehouse.¹⁰ In the past, the erection of this gatehouse has been connected with an inscription recorded by Alexander Drummond in the 18th century, which mentions the year 1530. Indeed, this date, during the heyday of the Venetian rule on the island, would be matching the style of the architecture, albeit the

¹⁰ See chapter 5.2.2 for a more detailed discussion of the gatehouse .

Renaissance must have arrived on the island in single instances already before 1500. But what does this mean for the date of the church? The discrepancy between the Renaissance windows of the gatehouse and the rather 'traditional' portal with hood mould of the church is striking. Nevertheless, there are elements such as the frames lintel, which are clearly developed in the context of the gatehouse. A closer examination of the latter furthermore reveals that the impression of a 'pure' Renaissance is far from justified by the evidence. Rather, there are elements present in the local architecture since the 14th century: engaged shafts on the corners, cone-and-sphere motifs on the octagonal capitals and bases of some of these shafts. The engaged shaft of the church façade looks different but goes back to the same array of decorative ideas. This shows that despite the differences, gatehouse and parts of the church might indeed be contemporaneous.

This assumption is further corroborated by the few elements of sculpture on the inside: the pyramidal corbels and the dentil mouldings of in particular the façade string course fit comfortably in the first half or mid-16th century. Furthermore, the vault ashlar of the southern nave show carved mason's marks of the type, which can be found on other 16th century churches of the island, narrowing down the date for at least the southern nave to this period.

The northern nave is more problematic. Its eastern part seems to be later, considering that there is no vertical joint in the lowest ashlar layers. In the western part, there is – beside the northern semicolumn – a painting depicting three female saints.¹¹ This fragmentary painting has been dated to the late 14th century by Bacci, which would evidently define a *terminus ante quem* for the western part of the northern nave. In this context, the semicolumns would surprise, as the few occurrences of those as vault supports can rather be dated to the Venetian period. Thus, either the architectural motif was present on the island much earlier than thought, or one would have to reconsider the dating of the painting. In any case, the western end of the northern nave seems to be the oldest part of the existing structure, be it of the late 14th or 15th century. Unlike postulated in the ARDAC, the southern nave is certainly of the 16th century and perhaps replaces an older structure or a simple façade of the cave church. The western part of the northern nave was perhaps added in a second phase of the same building endeavour, in the 16th century.

¹¹ On the identity of these saints see Bacci 2009a, p 443, who suggests the originally Latin Saint Lucia, Saint Barbara and Saint Catherine.

LOCALITY: Agia Napa	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Barbara
GEO-DATA: 34.997850, 33.958714		CAT. NO: 5

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the fields between Agia Napa and Sotira

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: apse window and window in the western façade gable rectangular slits with blind pointed arch above; southern window rectangular with cross above the lintel

PORTALS: western portal stepped, rectangular doorway with corbels, profiled archivolt with hood mould, cross carved on the tympanum; northern portal rectangular with corbels, cross on the lintel

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch on polygonal corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: large cornice with floral and figural reliefs

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.6370–6372; J.102.571–572 (1974); [in 'Sotira'] B.40.957–964 (1975); B.45.950, 47.565–567, 876, J.35.655–656 (1977); B.48.284–285, 427–428 (1978); B.51.016–021 (1979).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 14th century: erection of the present building [ARDAC: 15th century]

- 1977/78: restoration, partial rebuilding of the façade (vertical cracks on both sides of the portal)

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Hadjisavvas 1983, p 318.

ARDAC 1977, p 15–16; 1978, p 16, fig 13–14; 2005, p 39–40.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan, section, portal profiles: Kaffenberger 2014.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012; 04.03.2013

The modestly sized church of Saint Barbara is located between Agia Napa and Sotira. There are no traces of either a settlement or a monastery surrounding the church, so the origins are unclear.

The building, erected from regular limestone ashlar, consists of a single nave with a rather narrow semicircular eastern apse. The relatively high nave is covered with a barrel vault, which is supported by a central transversal arch on corbels. On the outside, the barrel vault is hidden behind raised lateral walls and, on the western façade, a small triangular gable. The whole building possesses a significantly protruding cornice of a rather simple pitched profile, which binds apse and nave together and is decorated with several ornamental and figural reliefs: leaves and flowers on each corner, on the north-western corner flanking a round face; furthermore a fish in the western part of the northern wall.

Access to the church is gained through two portals. The western portal has stepped doorjambs, of which the inner ends in profiled corbels that carry the large lintel / tympanum. The outer step corresponds to the slightly pointed archivolt, which is surrounded by an additional profiled hood mould protruding from the wall surface. Uncommonly, there is no impost between the jamb and the archivolt. The lintel carries a relief of a double hatched cross with floral ornament springing from its foot. Closely related crosses can be found on the western façades of Saint George of the Greeks [69] and Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta. The portal was once sheltered by a wooden roof or portico, the beam-holes of which are still visible. The gable window is a rectangular slit surmounted by a pointed blind arch on the lintel above. The northern portal is a simple rectangular opening with two shallow, curved corbels. Here, the monolithic lintel carries a relief of a *cross patteé* with jagged ends. In the southern wall, there is only a rectangular window with a simpler cross carved approximately 50 cm above.

The interior is extremely plain: only the apse cornice, similar to the roof cornice on the outside, and the pyramidal corbels of the barrel vault received a decorative treatment.

The amount of sculptural decoration of the outside is highly unusual and underlines the influence of the nearby urban centre of Famagusta. Door profiles as well as the double hatched cross on the western façade indicate an erection in the last quarter of the 14th century, probably by masons, who were trained in Famagusta or even had taken part in the erection of Saint George of the Greeks. A later date, as proposed by Hadjisavvas (late 15th century), can however not be fully excluded due to the retrospective nature of 15th and 16th century architecture in this region.

LOCALITY: Agios Amvrosios	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Christ Antifonitis
GEO-DATA: 35.327361, 33.61903		CAT. NO: 6

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: within former monastic complex in a remote valley south-east of Agios Amvrosios

TYPOLOGY: older domed octagon naos with later narthex and porch to the south

WINDOWS: two chamfered oculi in the lateral narthex walls

PORTALS: narthex: round arched, made from ashlar, horizontally profiled imposts

VAULTING: narthex: transversal barrel vault; naos: dome

MISCELLANEOUS: porch with elaborate, 'urban' sculptural decoration (cone-and-sphere motif)

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Etienne de Lusignan 1580: "[...] laquelle Abbaïe fut bastie & fondee par la mere de mon pere [...]", in: Lusignan 1580, f 84 v.

PICTORIAL: Enlart 1896, in De Vaivre 2012, p 331; Soteriou 1935, pl 24, 59; DOA (under 'Antifonitis')¹² A.702, D.108 (1937); A.1260, 1472–1476, 1488 (1938); B.2749–2750 (1945); B.4889 (1953); J.4240, 4295–4300, 4349–4351, B.13.235 (1962); B.24.135–140, J.16.327 (1969).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 12th century: domed octagon
- early 16th century: narthex and porch
- 1938/39: restoration of the dome
- 1962: restoration of monastic buildings and the porch

PAINTED DECORATION:

Two phases, according to Stylianou datable to the late 12th and late 15th centuries. For a full record of the iconographical programme see Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 469–485.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 246–248 [Enlart 1987, p 206–208]; Jeffery 1916, p 116; Jeffery 1918, p 336; Jeffery 1931–1937, III, p 24–26; Gunnis 1936, p 194–195; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951, p 180; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 469–485; Papacostas 1999, II, p 9; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 103–105; Yapiçioğlu 2007, p 743–764; Papageorgiou 2010, p 75–95; Langdale 2012, p 146–147.

ARDAC 1969, p 11; 1971, p 13; 1972, p 15.

MKE, II, 222–224.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, fig 14.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2008; 05.04.2010; 22.04.2012

¹² Only the images referring to the architecture of the building are listed here. A comprehensive documentation of the paintings before and after the destruction of 1974 is stored in the same location.

The church of Christ Antifonitis, described already by Gunnis as “one of the most delightful monuments in the whole island” is located in a valley several km south-east of Agios Amvrosios. The origins of this monastic location certainly go back to the Middle Byzantine period, as the church features the rare type of a domed octagon, a type that can only be found in a few 11th and 12th century churches in the Greek mainland and Chios, as well as in the castle chapel of Saint Hilarion near Kyrenia. The scholarly importance of this building was mainly seen in the large cycle of paintings, created in two phases in the late 12th and late 15th centuries.¹³ Already Camille Enlart recognized the value of the late medieval additions to the building, the narthex and porch.

The narthex is as wide as the older naos and covered by a transversal barrel vault. It is entered through round arched portals made from very nicely cut ashlar and showing horizontally profiled impost. Apart from the doorways and two chamfered oculi, the narthex walls are plain and undecorated. The inside is considerably richer, as the two transversal arches – moulded at the corners – rest on rich corbels. They consist of stepped rolling quarter circles, the lower of which is chamfered. The piers towards the old naos carry the three stepped, pointed arches and are adorned with engaged colonettes on the corners.

The porch is the richest part of the expansion, regarding the detail level of the sculptural work. It consists of seven pointed arches – two of which on the short sides – that rest on short round columns with large capitals and octagonal bases. The octagonal base connects with the round column through small cone-and-sphere corbels on each face of the base. The capitals are rather plain and possess a torus as well as a profiled, square abacus that carries the arches. The central column of the southern front is accentuated with a flower on the otherwise plain capital and a relief of a cross in the spandrel of the arches above. The edges of the arches are treated with a profile that ends in a cone-and-sphere motif.

The dating of this aesthetically very successful solution poses some problems. Already a survey of previous research shows that there is no common opinion: Enlart proposes the 14th or 15th century, Gunnis and Jeffery opt for the late 15th century while Papageorgiou suggests a late 15th/early 16th century date. Indeed, motifs such as the cone-and-sphere at the end of arch profiles or as a means to connect octagonal base pedestal with the round base itself were widespread in the architecture of the urban centres in the 14th century, which also made use of elegantly rolling plain capitals. In spite of this, it seems more likely that the narthex and porch were added not earlier than the 16th century. Firstly, the narthex

¹³ Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 470–476.

entrances with their rounded plain arches fit much better within the architectural context of the Venetian period. Secondly, the half-columns at the lateral ends of the main porch front are flanked by thin engaged colonettes that evoke the impression of a framing profile – a feature that is very typical for the 16th century. Thus, while the decorative vocabulary makes use of many 14th century elements, this is rather due to a conscious retrospectivity in a later period.

The 16th century date for the expansions might be corroborated by a remark of Etienne de Lusignan in his 1580 description of Cyprus, who claims that the abbey was founded and built by the mother of his father. This event must have happened some decades earlier, so around the mid-16th century. The involvement of a member of a high-ranking family would also explain the high quality of the sculptural decoration of in particular the porch.

LOCALITY: Agios Amvrosios	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Melandrina
GEO-DATA: 35.348924,33.609811		CAT. NO: 7
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: within former monastic complex on a plateau overlooking the sea cost east of Agios Amvrosios		
TYPOLOGY: (ruined) single nave church with polygonal (5/8) apse and large flying buttresses on both sides		
WINDOWS: quatrefoil oculus above apse; apse window slightly pointed, moulded		
PORTALS: simple pointed arches, the southern portal with horizontally profiled imposts, the western portal later reduced in size		
VAULTING: barrel vault on transversal arches, corbels plastered over, later transversal arch underpinning the centre of the vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Scott-Stevenson 1880, p 255–256 (description of the monastery in 1880)		
PICTORIAL: Photograph by Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 344 [misleadingly labelled as "église dans le Karpas"]; DOA (under 'Kalograia') B.9871 (1960), B.84.888 (1974?) [published in Papageorghiou 2010]		
OTHER: keystone above southern portal mentions the year 1731 (Gunnis) or 1736 (Papageorghiou)		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th century: erection of the present church- 1731 or 1736: renovation: addition of the flying buttresses (or before?), new portals, new vault (?)- 20th century: transversal arches underpinning the vault added		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments in "Italian Gothic style" reported by Enlart in 1899, disappeared by 1918 (Jeffery).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 249 [Enlart 1987, p 208–209]; Jeffery 1918, p 335; Gunnis 1936, p 195; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 769–771; Papageorghiou 2010, p 95–101; Langdale 2012, p 148.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Papageorghiou 2010, p 97.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 10.04.2009; 04.04.2012		

Up on the foothills of the northern Pentadaktylos range, a few km east from Agios Ambrosios, stands the small monastic Panagia Melandryna church. It was once surrounded by a simple compound of monastic buildings, as is visible on the oldest pictures showing the church in 1896. A quite detailed account of the monastic community from 1880, included in the travelogue of Scott-Stevenson, tells us that by that time, three monks and several servants inhabited the structure, which served among others as travellers' hostel.

The church, today the only remainder of the complex and partly ruined, is a rather short and wide single nave structure with a polygonal apse. It is constructed from rubble, with the exception of the building corners, which are made from ashlar. Fragments of plaster on the western façade still show an imitated ashlar pattern, which apparently was used to pretend a higher quality of masonry. Additionally, the eastern face of the apse is entirely of ashlar. The apse, recessed above a pedestal zone, also includes the most elaborate decorative elements: the rounded apse window with a roll and hollow framing profile and the apse cornice with a large quirk and hollow moulding. Above the apse, a chamfered oculus occupies the western wall of the nave. Large buttresses flank the northern and southern walls irregularly, later added wide flying buttresses indicate the substantial structural problems that the building already experienced in past times – and which are the reason for the precarious today's state. A two-storey belfry occupies the first bay of the south wall, portals are placed in the western façade and in the northern and southern walls, between the second and third buttresses. The northern and western ones used to be rather large, simple pointed arches, which were filled with smaller round arches in a later phase, while the northern portal is a simple, smaller pointed arch. On the inside, the church is largely plain except for three supporting arches and two transversal arches, placed in alternation in short intervals. The ribs end on flat, hollowed out corbels – apart from the simple apse cornice and a profiled niche in the southern wall the only sculptural ornamentation.

The numerous changes and the poor quality of the masonry make it hard to distinguish building phases.¹⁴ Surely, the very inelegant supporting arches on the inside and the wide flying buttresses as well as the smaller arches in the portals were added at a certain point to stabilize the disintegrating church. The incongruence between the two transversal vault ribs and the buttresses on the outside indicates, however, that either ribs or buttresses might have also been part of a later reconstruction. It seems that the vault of the original church, probably with three transversal arches in the location of the outer buttresses, had

¹⁴ For some of the following observations see also Papageorgiou 2010, p 96, who comes to slightly different conclusions about the sequence of repair works.

partly collapsed or become unstable in the 1720s. The subsequent restoration was commemorated by the (hardly legible) date 1731 or 1736 above the southern portal. It included the replacement of the upper vault, now equipped with two additional transverse ribs, the walling up of the western and northern doorways. The wall above the northern doorway was replaced (strangely, this happened with ashlars instead of rubble, perhaps a reuse of stones from other parts of the church), so was the southern portal. The exact time at which the flying buttresses and the three additional supporting arches on the inside were installed, cannot be determined with certainty. The supporting arches cut through the profiled niche, which seems to be part of the 18th century renovation – thus the arches cannot be part of this building phase.

This leaves the question unresolved, when the original church was started. Camille Enlart suggested the 15th century, probably due to the fragmentary remains of paintings in what he calls an “Italian Gothic style”. Unfortunately, these fragments had vanished already by 1918, when George Jeffery saw the church. The rather soft, deep hollows of apse window and Belfry arches rather remind of 16th century buildings such as Saint Nicholas in Orounda [161]. In the absence of any sources regarding the foundation of the monastery or its original purpose, it seems more or less safe to place the construction of the church within the Venetian period, be this the late 15th or the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Agios Amvrosios	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Ypati
GEO-DATA: 35.325367,33.604095		CAT. NO: 8

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: within ruined monastic complex in the hills south-east of Agios Amvrosios

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with western extension

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: western and northern portal with engaged colonettes, horizontal imposts and profiled pointed arch

VAULTING: barrel vaults; dome

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 41; DOA I. 13.143 (1968); J. 21.835–843 (1970)

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:- 12th century: dome-hall- 16th century (?): western extension and replacement of northern portal

PAINTED DECORATION:–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 337–338; Gunnis 1936, p 195 (here wrongly “Apati-Monastery”); Papacostas 1999, II, p 47; Prokopiou 2006, p 126–135; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 767–768.

PLAN MATERIAL:Ground plan, longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, Fig36; a corrected ground plan in Prokopiou 2006, Fig131.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2008; 05.04.2010

The small church of Panagia Ypati, used to belong to a monastic complex, of which nothing but some heaps of rubble to the north of the church remain. It is situated on a ridge of the Pentadaktylos foothills, halfway between Agios Amvrosios and the important Christ Antifonitis monastery [5].

The church is relatively intact albeit disused for the past decades. It was erected in the Middle Byzantine period, probably in the 12th century, as dome-hall structure, and significantly enlarged with a bay to the west in the Latin period. This additional bay was not constructed as a narthex but rather as an enlargement of the western bay of the naos, towards which it is fully opened and adapted in its dimensions. The expansion is barrel-vaulted and only adorned with a western portal, consisting of doorjambs with engaged colonettes, horizontally profiled imposts and a slightly profiled, pointed arch. At the same time, the northern portal of the old church was replaced with an almost identical doorway.

The portals seem to indicate a 16th century date for the expansion (which is the date wrongly proposed by Rupert Gunnis for the erection of the entire building). However, the portal type might have still been in use during the Ottoman period, so placing the expansion in the 17th century is not entirely impossible, the inclusion in this catalogue thus to be seen with some care.

LOCALITY: Agios Amvrosios	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Elizabeth
GEO-DATA: 34.770416, 32.817374		CAT. NO: 9

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the slope of a valley ca. 2 km south-west of Agios Amvrosios

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse and irregular buttresses

WINDOWS: mitred apse window with triangular lintel

PORTALS: western portal: simple pointed arch, separate pointed recess above

VAULTING: barrel vault on transversal arches, corbels plastered over, later transversal arch underpinning the centre of the vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th/15th century: erection of the original church
- 16th century: replacement of the northern wall and vault after collapse
- Ottoman period (?): second replacement of the vault
- 1999: restoration of the building

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of two phases of paintings preserved on the lower lateral walls. On the northern wall a row of standing saints: Saint Nicholas, Saint Onoufrios, Saint Anthony and Saint Peter. In the arched recess Saint George flanked by further saints. In the spandrels two evangelists. On the southern wall in the central recess, an Archangel Michael surrounded by apocalyptic scenes, in the spandrels the remaining two Evangelists. In the western recess a Saint Demetrios, flanked by two saints on the intrados. Above an incomplete dedicatory inscription. The phase of the northern wall seems to be of the 16th century; that of the southern wall is unclear.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ARDAC 1999, p 25–26, fig 6–9; 2000, p 33.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.147.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 19.12.2014

The church of Saint Elizabeth is situated on a (today) empty plateau along the slope of a valley to the south-west of Agios Amvrosios. The original use of the moderately sized church is unknown, but the foundation of a wall to the north of the façade and remains of a wall connecting to the south-east corner might indicate former monastic (?) buildings surrounding the church.

The building today presents itself as a highly irregular and asymmetric single nave structure with approximately semicircular apse and an unusual, pitched roof. The apse is placed off-centre to the south of the eastern wall. Furthermore, the outside features four buttresses, two flanking the western façade and two in the middle of the lateral walls respectively. There is only one portal in the western wall, a low pointed arch, which is placed off-centre towards the south. It is surmounted by an arched recess with a simple profiled hood mould. The only significant window is the mitred apse window.

The naos is covered with a barrel vault of apparently later date, as the supporting transversal arch is missing in most parts. Only the lower stones of the arch remain on two heavy quarter-circle corbels. The two lateral walls differ in their structure: while the southern wall is pierced by three pointed recesses – smaller ones in the west and east (behind the iconostasis), a larger one in the centre – the northern wall only features one recess corresponding to the larger central one.¹⁵ The wall zone is concluded with a horizontal string course in both cases, but the one of the northern wall is located ca. 30 cm lower – as does the corbel of the former transversal arch.

As the whole church, with the exception of the portal and arches, is built from rubble, it is rather complicated to define the amount and sequence of building phases. There were at least three: part of the first phase is the southern wall and probably the apse and western façade. This building seems to have collapsed towards the north or been taken down deliberately. In a second building phase, the northern wall was erected, ca. 1 m to the north of the original position – this caused the asymmetric placement of portal and apse. It is unclear, why the structure of the southern wall was not copied, but the corbel and arch springer show that the vault was reinstated. At a later date, the vault seems to have collapsed again and, at least temporarily, replaced by a flat beam roof, the holes for which are still visible in the lateral walls. While there are less holes in the southern wall, these might simply have been filled up during the later rebuilding of the barrel vault – during which the transversal arch remained incomplete.

¹⁵ The sequence of three lateral recesses in a single nave building without a dome is rather uncommon, especially with alternating arch widths. For an example see the Panagia in Choulou [57].

The lateral walls of the church, below the string course of the vault, are covered with paintings from two or three phases or at least certainly different painters. On the northern wall, there is a row of standing saints: Saint Nicholas, Saint Onoufrios, Saint Anthony and Saint Peter. In the arched recess there is a well-preserved Saint George flanked by further saints. In the spandrels, there are two evangelists, surrounded by rich ornamental frames and small still-lives. On the southern wall in the central recess, there is an Archangel Michael surrounded by apocalyptic scenes, in the spandrels are the remaining two Evangelists. In the western recess, one recognizes a Saint Demetrios, flanked by two saints on the intrados. An incomplete dedicatory inscription placed on a chess-pattern in red, white and black, does unfortunately neither preserve date nor name of the patron. The phase of the northern wall, dominated by red and green tones, seems to be of the 16th century. The southern wall paintings are perhaps executed in two phases: the western recess partly resembles in colours and style the paintings in the north, while the central recess and the two evangelists are dominated by black and brown tones and the figures articulated entirely differently. The latter phase is hard to date but might well be a repair of the Ottoman period.

For the dating of the church, in particular the 16th century origin of the northern wall paintings is interesting. They indicate that the first rebuilding might have taken place during the same period, while the original church must have been more ancient, perhaps of the 14th or 15th century. The second rebuilding of the vault certainly happened during the ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Agios Andronikos DISTRICT: Famagusta DEDICATION: Panagia

GEO-DATA: 35.514566,34.158623

CAT. NO: 10

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the eastern slope of a ridge, about 2 km north-west from Agios Andronikos

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with apse and (recent) porches

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: [inaccessible]

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–16th century (?): erection of the present church

- 1949: addition of concrete porches on the south and west sides and a belfry

PAINTED DECORATION:

Gunnis reports fragments of paintings: a crucifixion at the west end and an Archangel Michael on the northern wall. This is not verifiable today, as the church (including the porches) is used as barn/ hay storage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 195–196; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 216–217.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2012

The small chapel of the Panagia near the town of Agios Andronikos is of uncertain origins: neither original use nor date of building are known. It might have been the church of a *casale*, as Gunnis claims, but more likely, it belonged to a monastic settlement or a vanished village.

The architecture of the single nave structure with semicircular apse is extremely plain, albeit the use of regular ashlar masonry testifies to a certain architectural sophistication. Thus, a late medieval origin seems certain. The paintings, which we know from Rupert Gunnis' description – a crucifixion on the western wall and a large Archangel Michael on the northern wall –, could have helped to narrow down the date of construction or the context. Crucifixions occupying the west wall of a small church were common in the 15th and 16th centuries, as among others the examples from Frenaros, in the churches of Saint Marina [82] and Panagia Asprovouniotissa [81], illustrate.

Nothing of this is verifiable today, as the church is used as a barn and the barrel-vaulted interior was only partly visible during the author's visit. In any case, the visible parts seem to have been entirely covered in cement plaster in 1949, the date inscribed on the later concrete expansions surrounding the original building, so that only a thorough restoration could shed new light on the history of the building.

LOCALITY: Agios Nikolaos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.348924, 33.609811		CAT. NO: 11
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the village, alongside the 20 th century village church		
TYPOLOGY: double nave church with semicircular apses (southern nave destroyed)		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: main portal assembled from <i>spolia</i> : profiled arch with a rope motif		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: a large carved cross on the southern wall of the northern nave reported by Jeffery is not visible anymore		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 93; DOA B.39.666 (1975); B. 43.680, 754 (1976); B.45.400, 920–923; J.83.830–834 (1997).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 15th – 16th century: erection of northern nave (southern nave entirely uncertain)- 18th–19th century (?): renewal of the west end of the northern nave- 1930s: demolition of the already ruined southern nave- 1976/77: renovation (walls, roof)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Archangel Michael in the northern lateral niche, dated to the 15 th century by Soteriou, to the 16 th century by Gunnis. Today in significantly worse state than in 1935, when it was depicted in Soteriou 1935.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 392; Gunnis 1936, p 203. ARDAC 1976, p 20, fig 32–33.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012; 07.03.2013 [only exterior]		

The church of the Archangel Michael in Agios Nikolaos certainly served as parish church to the village. Today, it is very modest in size, built of rubble and shows signs of frequent repair works. The most remarkable feature is the presence of two naves both terminating in semicircular apses. The southern nave survives only in fragmentary state, as it was already ruined in 1918 and the fragments subsequently taken down. Today, the lower courses of the apse and a part of the northern wall remain. The latter shows that the two naves do not share a common wall but were erected in different phases. The west end of the remaining nave was apparently rebuilt at some point, as the walls are full of spoliated, decorated ashlar that stem from a once richer portal of the late 15th or 16th century. The present portal shows an arch assembled from stones decorated with a rope motif.

The curious layout was readily interpreted as a sign for a Latin / Greek simultaneous use by Jeffery and Gunnis. The material evidence does not necessarily support the theory – the southern, supposedly Latin, nave does not possess a *piscina*. For a more precise interpretation of the liturgical implications of the double nave plan, it would be of help to know the way in which the two naves were connected. There is a small doorway in the bema area, which seems to be original, but as the western end of the remaining nave was rebuilt, nothing is known about doorways or an arcade in the naos.

LOCALITY: Agios Sergios	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi
GEO-DATA: 35.197852,33.874373		CAT. NO: 12
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the village		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse, southern porch and belfry		
WINDOWS: oculus above the apse, hood mould		
PORTALS: [?]		
VAULTING: [?]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the present building, perhaps including the belfry		
- 18 th century (after 1735?): flying buttresses		
- 19 th century: porch		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 204; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 467.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]		

The church of Saint Paraskevi is the second important church in the village of Agios Sergios. It is a low, elongated single nave building with three heavy flying buttresses supporting its northern wall and a (later) arched porch erected along its southern flank. The semicircular apse is framed by protruding buttresses, the southern of which carries an unusual belfry, resembling that of the Panagia Melandrina church [6].

The decorative details of the architecture focus on window and portal frames, with deep profiles accompanying the oculus in the eastern nave wall above the low apse and hood moulds sheltering the belfry opening and the southern portal. The eastern face of the belfry possesses an intact flagstaff holder with trapezoidal corbel and circular staff holder above. A spoliated column (?) crowns the belfry and, according to Gunnis, "a classical frieze forms the doorstep" of the southern portal. This unusual density of *spolia* might be a result of the vicinity to the ancient site of Salamis, the interest in which increased significantly at the beginning of the Venetian period of the island.

This presence of *spolia* as well as the character of the decorative details suggests that Gunnis does not go wrong in attributing the church to the 16th century. The belfry might go back to this period as well, forming one of the rare examples of late medieval bell towers on the island. Buttresses and porch were added subsequently, the former perhaps at the same time as those of the church of Saint Sergios. This might have happened after the large earthquake of 1735.

LOCALITY: Agios Sergios	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saints Sergios and Bacchos
GEO-DATA: 35.197593,33.878247	CAT. NO: 13	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: at the eastern fringes of the village centre		
TYPOLOGY: double nave church with semicircular apses, narthex and southern porch		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: northern and western portals: rectangular with profiled corbels, hood mould on pyramidal corbels; southern portal (walled up): hood mould on quarter circle corbels; southern portal narthex: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: southern nave: drumless dome in the western bay, dome flanked by two barrel vaults in the eastern end; northern nave: barrel vault with two transversal arches on crude, curved corbels (plastered over); narthex: transversal barrel vault with two transversal arches, stepped quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: numerous antique <i>spolia</i> from nearby Salamis used in all parts of the church; large flying buttresses stabilize the western front		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B. 9857–9860 (1946); A.5107–5109, 5111 (1958); J.8227–8229, 8930 (1966).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 12th century: erection of a dome-hall structure- 12th–13th century: addition of a narthex with a drumless dome- 16th century (?): addition of a northern nave and narthex- 18th century: addition of a southern porch- 19th century: replacement of the southern portals and windows as well as the apse windows		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 240; Gunnis 1936, p 203–204; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 465–466; Papageorgiou 2010, p 31–33; Langdale 2012, p 180–181; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Jeffery 1916 [reproduced in: Papageorgiou 2010, p 32]; Kaffenberger 2015 (based on Jeffery 1916).		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.03.2010; 09.04.2012		

The numerous subsequent changes that the church of Agios Sergios underwent indicate the importance and probably role of principal village church. Today, it is a double nave structure with narthex and a southern porch. The oldest part of the building is the eastern end of the southern nave, originally a rather small dome-hall structure perhaps built in the 12th century. A narthex was added to this building in a later stage, maybe in the late 12th or early 13th century. The narthex possessed a blind or drumless dome and short lateral barrel vaults (for a comparison see Saint Epifanios in Famagusta [68]). In a late medieval phase of rebuilding, a second nave was added, which has the length of the old naos and narthex taken together and is barrel-vaulted. The old narthex was opened up towards the northern nave and the old naos, integrating it into the southern nave. A wide arch was opened in the northern wall of the naos, but it had to be underpinned with a spoliated column to receive the thrust of the dome. At the same time, both naves received a common narthex with a transversal barrel vault. The whole extension was stabilized with shallow buttresses that were strengthened with heavy flying buttresses on the western wall at a later time. Furthermore, a southern porch was added and most windows enlarged (19th century, most likely).

The date of the late medieval remodelling cannot be narrowed down too easily as hardly any sculptural decoration was applied. The plain ashlar walls with shallow buttresses, all of high technical quality, remind of buildings such as the church of Saint John in Askeia. This might indicate a rather late date of creation, perhaps in the early 16th century. The portals, especially the pyramidal corbels, would fit well within the style of the 15th century but, considering the persistence of stylistic elements in Cyprus this does not exclude the 16th century suggestion.

LOCALITY: Agios Sergios	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Sozomenos
GEO-DATA: 35.191931,33.875653		CAT. NO: 14
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the village, within a cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse, narthex and northern porch		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: simple round arches		
VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches on crude corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the naos		
- mid-20 th century: narthex and concrete porch		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012		

The unpublished church of Saint Sozomenos lies ca. 500 m south of the village centre of Agios Sergios within a now deserted cemetery. It is a very simple single nave church with semicircular apse, built from ashlar. The southern wall is supported by three buttresses. Its barrel vault rests on three transversal arches with crude corbels (they might have been cemented over and originally been more elaborate).

Above the apse, on the outside, a book-type corbel is placed, probably in a secondary use as a flagstaff holder. Apart from this, there is no evidence that could help to date the church, which might originate in the 15th or 16th century, as the portals are constructed as simple low round arches.

The narthex and northern porch are modern, probably from the mid-20th century.

LOCALITY: Agios Sozomenos	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.197593,33.878247		CAT. NO: 15
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the deserted village, east of the church of Saint Mamas [15]		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: walled up northern portal with recessed tympanum		
VAULTING: simple barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late Middle Ages: erection of the eastern part- 18th century: expansion to the west- before 1918: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- fragments in the portal tympanum and beside of it (unidentifiable equestrian (?) saint)- on the southern wall Mary with Christ and a saint (Saint John?); fragments of other saints Gunnis suggests the 17 th century, but probably earlier.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 206; Gunnis 1936, p 204.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2008; 20.04.2009; 10.04.2010; 23.04.2012		

The small church of the Panagia lies east of the more conspicuous ruin of Saint Sozomenos [16], in the centre of the deserted village of Agios Sozomenos. Its single nave consists of a simple barrel-vaulted eastern part with apse and an unvaulted western extension. The southern wall is supported by three buttresses, while there is only one buttress and two portals, one of which walled up, occupying the northern wall. The interior is plain except for a flat transversal arch, marking the end of the vaulted part.

The church was originally painted, as is confirmed by several figural fragments on the inside of the eastern part. Unusually, there are fragments of a painted decoration on the exterior: ornaments in the tympanum above the walled up portal and an equestrian saint (?) beside this. This could indicate the original presence of a sheltering roof or portico.

The original church was certainly built during the Latin period, probably around the 15th or 16th century. The western extension, which included the addition of buttresses and the walling up of the original northern portal, must have happened in the 18th or early 19th century. It is not clear if the church was simply the church for the village community or served as *katholikon* for a small monastic community connected to the nearby veneration site of Saint Sozomenos.

LOCALITY: Agios Sozomenos	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Sozomenos
GEO-DATA: 35.065317,33.438507		CAT. NO: 16
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the deserted village, west of the church of the Panagia [15]		
TYPOLOGY:(unfinished) three aisled church with three semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: chamfered round arched windows in the apses		
PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with continuous surrounding profile, recessed tympanum and profiled hood mould, flat corbels with floral decoration; western portal: rectangular profiled doorway, flanked by colonettes that end in a capital frieze, the lintel rests on the inner capitals, the outer capital of the colonette carries a hood mould, recessed tympanum framed by a profiled archivolt, finial in the shape of a cross		
VAULTING: unfinished, was supposed to rest on a triple arcade with raised central arch, heavy round piers; supports on cubic corbels flank the central arch in the main nave		
MISCELLANEOUS: richly framed tomb niches in the aisle walls (two in the south, one attested in the north)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: 6 Photographs of Camille Enlart (1896), in De Vaivre 2012, p 290–296; DOA B. 3929–3934 (ca. 1940); A. 1917–1921,1928–1929, 1939–1941; B. 2064–2086 (1942–1943); J.8163–8165 (1966); B. 65.863–864, 883–886, 67. 491–496 (1984)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- mid-16th century: erection of the church up to the level of the vault springers- 1571: abandonment of the site due to the Ottoman conquest- early 20th century: loss of the northern aisle and two apses due to stone robbing- 1943: repair of the southern apse and northern arcade		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 194–198 [Enlart 1987, p 170–172]; Jeffery 1918, p 206; Gunnis 1936, p 205; Papageorghiou 1982a, p 223; Lécuyer et al. 2001, p 678; Lécuyer et al. 2002, p 611; Lécuyer 2004, p 17; Nicolaidès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 254–255; Lécuyer 2006, p 244–246; Bacci 2009b, p 25.		
ARDAC 1943; 1944; 1999, p 18; 2002, p 19; 2003, p 19–20; 2005, p 20.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground Plan and Section: Enlart 1896; Kaffenberger 2014 (reconstruction).		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2008; 20.04.2009; 10.04.2010; 23.04.2012		

One of the most intriguing late medieval buildings of Cyprus is the ruined church in the now deserted village of Agios Sozomenos.¹⁶ The village is located in a dry river valley, roughly between Nicosia and Larnaca. A few kilometres to the south lies the settlement of Potamia, location of a former royal palace known from a number of medieval sources. Until around 1500, Agios Sozomenos seems to have been administratively linked to Potamia, then we do not have any further textual notice either confirming this status or indicating a change. The village is stretched out along the foot of a steep slope to the north. A cave located in the face of this cliff is said to have been the hermitage of the eponymous Saint Sozomenos. Fragments of a painted decoration going back to the 10th century within this cave indicate the long-standing tradition of this veneration site, reaching back into the middle Byzantine period.¹⁷ Within the village itself, a second church apart from the large ruin, the much more modest church of the Panagia [15], presumably served as parish church.

The state of preservation

The church, roughly 15 m by 12 m in size, consists of three naves, each terminating in a semicircular apse [16.2]. The naves are separated by arcades consisting of two heavy, round piers each, carrying stepped, pointed arches, the middle of which is slightly larger and wider than the western and eastern ones. In the aisles, three deep half-canopies or niches are placed, two in the south, one in the north-east. Today, the building is in a heavily ruined state: all that remains are the western and southern perimeter walls, the southern side apse and the nave arches, while the central and northern apses as well as the northern wall (and with it the northern niche) are only more discernible as vague foundations.

As already Camille Enlart noticed, the church must have remained unfinished, in particular the vault never having been executed. Indeed, several arguments prove this hypothesis. In the pictures taken by Enlart, the three apses and the northern wall were still preserved up to the same level as the southern and western walls; solely the apse conches and central nave arches raise above this level [16.5, 7]. No *pierres d'attente* protrude from either walls or arches. Remarkably, no larger amount of debris, of fallen ashlar were visible on the ground in or around the building as well – which would have certainly been the case, had any pre-existing vault collapsed. Furthermore, in case of a collapse of the vault, neither

¹⁶ This catalogue entry is a slightly shortened and revised version of the author's article Kaffenberger forthcoming-a.

¹⁷ For the cave see Papageorgiou 1999, 47–52; Lécuyer et al. 2001, 659

the arches nor the piers would have likely survived this incident intact. Rather than this, a collapsing pier would have been the reason for the ruin of the vault. So the structural integrity of all four piers including the fragile arches above on Enlart's photographs confirms that the vault was never executed. Finally, the sculptural decoration has remained unfinished in several places as well. This is best visible in the case of the main portal capitals, where those on the right hand side remain as bosses, while those of the left hand side are decorated with half completed flower carvings. Thus, we can conclude that Enlart saw the church in more or less the same state of completion as it had when the building site was abandoned. Weed growing within the walls and the lack of icons or similar liturgical fittings indicate that the building was not in use as a church anymore. However, the photographs show only few damages to the then existing parts of the fabric and even partial re-grouting, thus we might assume that the unfinished structure was maintained up until the 19th century. In 1896, the upper parts of the buttresses and of the perimeter walls had partly lost their outer shell of ashlar, exposing the rubble-and-mortar infill of the masonry. The grouting of much of the exposed walls was defective and some ashlar blocks in the southern and central apse had been replaced by rubble (another sign for the repair works executed until the 19th century) [16.5]. Other than this, only the lower part of the inner shell of the northern wall had been largely removed, the ashlar certainly taken away for reuse in new buildings. This process apparently continued until 1942, when the Department of Antiquities started a large-scale restoration campaign. By then, much of the northern nave and the two apses had gone, but also the northern arcade, deprived of the apses, which functioned as its eastern abutment, had collapsed into a heap of stones [16.8]. Therefore, what we see today has to be treated with some care, as it is – despite its ruinous state – in part the product of the 1940s partial reconstruction. During this campaign, the hole in the southern apse was closed, the northern arcade rebuilt, largely using the original stones, and presumably the walls grouted and pointed. The northern wall and the apses were not rebuilt, probably due to the fact that most of their stones had vanished.

The vaulting system

One of the main questions is which type of vaulting the church was supposed to receive. On a first glimpse, the remaining fabric on site does not deliver much evidence: the aisles are devoid of any vault substructures such as responds, pilasters or corbels. Solely the central bay of the nave, slightly larger than the others, shows four slim supports which

spring from impostes that stand on top of the pier capitals. While the three-nave plan is not the most common type in late medieval Cyprus, there are several other churches with a central nave and lateral aisles on the island. Fortunately, in Agios Sozomenos no attempt was made to vault the church during a later period, as it happened with the Saint Charalambos in Trimithi near Kyrenia [234]. In Saint Mamas in Morfou [149] and the katholikon of the Neofytos monastery [222], both churches with three naves but only a single central apse, rows of slender columns separate the nave from the aisles, the arcades seem to be cut out of a solid wall rather than being constructed as individual arches. Both buildings are barrel-vaulted, with the exception of a dome, in both cases placed above two of the eastern arches of the arcades. In Tera, the church of Saint Catherine [223] possesses barrel vaults and a dome above the nave as well, but here, the arcades between nave and aisles are rather low archways, so that the aisles are only partly visible from the central nave – again a situation hardly comparable to what we find in Agios Sozomenos.

The combination of round piers or columns with moulded capital friezes and respond shafts rising from impostes placed on top of these capitals is a formal element, which was used prominently since the 12th century early Gothic of the Île-de-France, most notably the Notre-Dame in Paris. In Cyprus, this system, which retains the independence of the round piers or columns of the arcade while at the same time linking them with the vaulting system, was most successful in a number of the large 14th century churches of Famagusta. Most notably, these were the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas, the church of Saints Peter and Paul and the Greek cathedral of Saint George [69]. In all three churches, the standard supports are formed of triple shafts, the lateral of which correspond to the diagonal ribs of the rib vaults, the central ones to the transverse arches.

In Agios Sozomenos, only a single shaft rises from the piers and forms the respond [16.19]. If we assume that the idea of a systematic correspondence between elements of the support system and the vault system was maintained, this single shaft surely carried a pronounced transverse rib – a solution found in Saint George of the Greeks. It indicates as well that there were most likely no adjoining rib vaults planned. While transverse ribs are of course common for barrel vaults, there is no Cypriot example for transverse ribs in a barrel vault, which rest on round respond shafts instead of simple corbels. The visual emphasis of the central bay, achieved through the vertical shafts, the slightly higher arches and the square plan of the bay, suggests a centralized superstructure instead. It is, in consequence, probably not too far-fetched to imagine an originally projected central dome (of uncertain shape). The idea of a rib vault similar to that of the northern nave in Tochni [227], can be

rejected, as this would either have required double shafts instead of the single ones that are still in place or awkwardly placed corbels in the shaft corners above the level of the arcade apex.

The situation in the adjoining bays and the aisles is more complex. If we follow Enlart's comparison of this church with Saint Mamas in Morfou, we would need to suppose simple barrel vaults throughout. However, the remaining courses of masonry, reaching above the level of the southern apse, do not show any signs of vault springers. Thus, as the author's reconstructive transversal section shows, the aisle vaults would have sprung unusually high [16.4].

For a different possibility, the Unidentified Church 18 in Famagusta [76] can serve as a *comparandum*, as it also possesses aisles and was vaulted in a rather complex system of barrel vaults, groin vaults and a dome. As the material evidence does not deliver any hints for a reconstruction of the intended vaulting of the church in Agios Sozomenos, apart from the central dome, we must include the possibility of a more complex combination of vault types, such as the one in the Unidentified Church 18. High barrel vaults in the aisles would have blocked the option of a window in the lateral nave walls below the dome; a clerestory is unlikely, as this would have created a very narrow, steep interior. Lunette caps in the barrel vaults of the main nave, admittedly not part of the common building practice on the island, could have solved this problem and enabled a better lighting of the interior. If we, in turn, assume groin vaults instead of barrel vaults for the aisles, these could have been constructed slightly lower with a horizontal apex and thus not only created the option of placing windows below the dome but also improved the structural stability of the church. What speaks against this idea is the placement of buttresses, two of which were placed on each lateral aisle wall, but not at the corners of the building [16.6]. Thus, the diagonal forces of a groin vault would have not been properly abutted in these areas, while the lateral buttresses are common in combination with barrel vaults.

In summary, there is a certain probability that the intended vaulting would have comprised barrel-vaulted aisles, a central dome above the main nave and barrel-vaulted bays east and west of the dome, be this with or without lunette caps.

The date

The second important question to be discussed is the dating of the church. Enlart noticed the retrospective character of the church, in particular of the piers and supports, but

proposed a date 'not before the 15th century' due to the Renaissance elements of its decoration. George Jeffery later opted for the 16th century and Rupert Gunnis specified "early sixteenth century". Recent publications took up Enlart's suggestion and, in connecting it with the nearby manor house, considered the church to be a result of Lusignan patronage. This would set a *terminus ante quem* for the year 1472. However, neither the entombments datable to this period in the surroundings of the church, nor the suggested association of the masonry with a late 14th century building phase of the manor house in Potamia can convince as dating evidence.

In the light of this rather obfuscating than clarifying state of research, it is necessary to go back to the material evidence of the church itself. There is an overall resemblance of the architectural elements to the 14th century buildings of Famagusta. In addition to the combination of round piers and responds, the arcades in Agios Sozomenos end with moulded engaged piers on the eastern and western walls [16.22]. This is also known from the major buildings in Famagusta, from where this idea was copied and used in a simplified way for a certain minor churches of the surroundings in the late 15th and 16th centuries. In Agios Sozomenos, these engaged arcade end piers are comparable in their rather articulated moulding, while the arches above are not moulded at all. Furthermore, the profile differs from those examples closer to the 14th century original. The roll moulding of the capital, as well as that of the identically shaped base, corresponds to the step flanking the semicolumn, in a way framing the central semicolumn of the profile. A similar 'framing' effect can be observed at arcade end piers of several 16th century buildings throughout the island, such as the Loggia in Antifonitis [6] or those of the nave arcade of the Panagia in Arakapas [35].

A 16th century date is also corroborated by a stylistic classification of the portals. The church possessed three portals, one in the south, north and west respectively [16.10–14]. The southern and northern portals were identical. The preserved southern portal is composed of a profiled rectangular doorway with flat corbels in the corners. Above this, there is an arched recess with a profiled hood mould. The structural idea of the portal is, in a way, comparable to that of the engaged nave piers. The framing effect is typical for portals of the Venetian period (see chapter 3.2.3). The corbels of the lateral portals in Agios Sozomenos are unique: those of the southern one show a flattened version of a crocket capital imprinted onto the corbel, those of the north once combining a volute corbel with a cusped blind lancet.

The western portal of the Agios Sozomenos church is more complex in that it combines the idea of a traditional stepped column portal with the rectangular, profiled doorway. The jamb profiles include shafts, which end in a capital zone and the outer of which corresponds to the outer archivolt of the hood mould. The inner roll and bell moulding, also ending in a capital, continues into the profile of the lintel above the capital. The result is, just as for the arcades, a hybrid mixture of 14th century ideas with a more current portal design. A similar solution, albeit with an uninterrupted inner doorframe, can be found adorning the 16th century church of Saint George in Potami [187]. The latter, evidently, lacks the unique 'finial' of the Agios Sozomenos portal, which consist of a framed cross in flat relief, decorated with small quatrefoil in the upper spandrels and a *fleurette* in the centre of the cross – a motif, which seems to have been an *ad hoc* creation for this specific site.

Finally, there are two elements of the interior decoration, which indicate what one could call a veritable impact of the Renaissance style on the more traditional Cypriot architecture (see chapter 5.2.2). The individual forms of niche pilasters and shaft impostes can easily be traced back to the Venetian Renaissance of the later 15th century [16.20].

It becomes obvious that, while generally designed according to 14th or 15th century principles, the church of Agios Sozomenos is rich in idiosyncrasies, often caused by the integration of formal or decorative elements, which came in use only during the Venetian period. In consequence, we must reject any attempts to date the church to the period of around 1400. While it might seem tempting to follow Lecuyer in connecting the abandonment of the site with the Mamluk invasion in the region in 1427, the material evidence of the church tells us otherwise. Admittedly, the Mamluk invasion is used as dating evidence for the nearby church of Dali [59]. However, this church is assumed to be built after, not before the destructive events. This is far more convincing: why would a church building, interrupted by an invasion, not show any signs of destruction to the accomplished parts; why would one not return to complete the church in a period of relative prosperity, which the 16th century certainly was? Also the occasionally expressed suggestion that the building might have been interrupted by an earthquake, seems hardly conclusive: one must wonder, would not the fragile arches of the nave arcades have fallen first, had any structural damage caused the interruption? The church of Agios Sozomenos did hardly change throughout the centuries of abandonment until Enlart's visit, which means that it was structurally intact when the building stopped. More likely, an even more incisive event of Cypriot history was the cause for the interruption: the Ottoman conquest of the island in

1571. This date also matches best the decorative characteristics of the church. Most *comparanda* on the island are tentatively or even certainly dated to the decades after 1530, so nothing speaks against assuming a date in around 1550 to 1560 for the beginning of the church in Agios Sozomenos.

As is discussed in the main text of this study (chapters 6.3 and 7.3), the church was presumably initiated in an attempt to reinforce or revive the veneration of Saint Sozomenos, by paralleling it formally and aesthetically with other veneration sites on the island. As patron, one might assume a member of the high-ranking Greek families from Nicosia. The tomb niches show that the building was intended to serve as burial place, presumably for the patron himself. Unfortunately, there are no textual sources, which could help to shed more light on the still elusive history of the church.

LOCALITY: Agios Theodoros	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Panagia Astathekion
GEO-DATA: 34.805831, 33.409267	CAT. NO: 17	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a ridge overlooking the coastline between Larnaca and Limassol, 5 km east of Agios Theodoros		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: eastern gable: oculus; apse: rounded lancet		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch, chamfered jambs, heavy horizontal impost		
VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches on simple corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA: B.47.030–034, 47.098–101, 47.217–223 (1977); B.55.187–196 (1980); B.56.252–267 (1981); J.68.483–510 (undated); J.92.028 (1998).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- around 1500: erection of the present building		
- after 1980: restoration of the building and the paintings		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
The whole interior is covered with large fragments of a multi-scene passion cycle, which can be dated to the late 15 th or early 16 th century. The paintings were much damaged in the 1950s.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 207.		
ARDAC 1991, p 25; 1992, p 22; 1996, p 20; 1997, p 23–24; 1999, p 22, fig 4–5; 2000, p 26–27; 2001, p 29–30.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012		

The church of Panagia ton Astathkion lies between Agios Theodoros and Kofinou and perhaps marks the place of a now vanished settlement or a rural monastery.

It is a simple, single nave church with semicircular apse, of modest size and little sophistication. The southern portal, pointed and equipped with heavy imposts, is the only part executed in ashlar and the only sculpturally decorated element.

The interior is barrel-vaulted; the vault is supported by heavy transversal arches. Above the low apse, a small window. Vault and apse are covered in fragments of a painted cycle, the style of which indicates an early 16th century date of the church and its decoration.

LOCALITY: Agios Theodoros	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Theodore
GEO-DATA: 35.368858, 34.030628		CAT. NO: 18
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the village of Agios Theodoros (Famagusta)		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse, belfry		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: southern portal: chamfered, pointed arch		
VAULTING: central bay: steeply pointed barrel vault with transversal arch on simple corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.31.872–873 (1972).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century, first phase: erection of the eastern bay with apse		
- 15 th –16 th century, second phase: addition of the barrel-vaulted bay to the west		
- 19 th century?: addition of the unvaulted narthex in the west, destruction of vaults in the eastern bay?		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 249–250; Gunnis 1936, p 207; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 290–291.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.02.2013		

A village of Agios Theodoros is mentioned in the confirmation of a fief held by Gabriel Gentile, royal doctor of King Jacob II, in 1468. Albeit there are several villages with this name, and Gentile also possessed fiefs in, among others, Palaiometochos, Klavdia and Dora – thus all across the island – the mention of Patriki, the town next to Agios Theodoros, might indicate that the document of 1468 indeed refers to Agios Theodoros Karpasia.¹⁸

The old village church of Saint Theodore is an often-altered building of little architectural elaboration. It consists of a single nave of three bays, which have different heights and are visibly from different periods. The central bay is vaulted with a steep pointed barrel vault and constructed from differently sized ashlar (some of which are unusually large). The eastern bay with an apse seems to be built from less regular masonry, with the exception of a pointed, chamfered doorway in the southern wall. The eastern and the very simple western bays possess flat, pitched roofs.

The origins of the building are probably medieval, as is indicated by the vault and ashlar masonry of the central bay and the modest portal in the southern wall of the eastern bay. This bay, which might have originally been vaulted, and the central bay are both datable to before 1571. Their relative chronology is obscured by the plaster on the joint between the building parts, so either bay could have constituted the original church. The western bay, perhaps used as a narthex or result of an expansion in times of population growth, seems to be a modern addition – as is the belfry erected over the southern corner of the eastern bay.

¹⁸ Richard 1983, p 188.

LOCALITY: Agios Thyrsos	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Thyrsos
GEO-DATA: 35.570014, 34.257076		CAT. NO: 19
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the seashore between Yialousa and Rizokarpaso, below a cliff with the 19 th century church of Saint Thyrsos		
TYPOLOGY: double nave church with polygonal (5/12) apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: rounded with (heavily weathered) profiled imposts, above keystone a relief of three crosses		
VAULTING: barrel vault with one transversal arch on a trapezoidal corbel above a low arcade with a round pier and semicircular engaged piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: traces of a stone iconostasis		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA (under 'Gialousa') J.25.653 (1971).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the present building		
- 19 th century: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 208; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 192–194; Hadjichristodoulou 2010a, p 407–410; Langdale 2012, p 153.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 22.04.2012		

The small church of Saint Thyrsos is built into a cliff facing eastwards, next to the seashore. It marks the location of a well, probably attributed with healing powers since the Middle Ages and thus attracting local pilgrims.¹⁹ Above the cliff, a large 19th century church shows the importance of this site of veneration well into the Ottoman and British period.

The old church is built from regular but rather roughly cut ashlar. It consists of a wide and short nave, which is mainly freestanding, with a five-sided polygonal apse, and a narrow northern aisle that is carved out of the rock. The naos can be accessed through the central portal in the south-eastern wall, which is decorated with blind arcades. Above the doorway, one ashlar carries three connected crosses carved in relief. The nave is barrel-vaulted with one transversal arch and connects to the aisle through two low arches resting on very short circular piers / half-columns with square abacuses. In the western end of the aisle, one finds a low doorway that leads down to a cave with the well, which was the original reason for the erection of the church. While hardly any sculptural decoration was applied, with exception of the corbels of the vault (semicircular with a fillet in the north, trapezoidal in the south), a remarkable stone iconostasis must have once existed. Now all that remains are a few stones and part of an arch carved out of the rock of the northern wall.

The polygonal apse as well as the crudity of the trapezoidal corbel and the columns indicate a rather later medieval date, perhaps in the mid-16th century.

¹⁹ Gunnis 1936, p 208 recounts the local superstition that the Holy Well in the church is able to cure disease.

LOCALITY: Agrokipia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysopantanassa
GEO-DATA: 35.045516, 33.155582		CAT. NO: 20

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north-east of the town centre

TYPOLOGY: single nave with irregular buttresses

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: chamfered, rectangular southern portal with small corner corbels; similar northern portal, which is additionally surmounted by a recessed tympanum under a pointed arch (portal walled up today); western portal simple with flat round arch, not on the middle axis of the church

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the western wall

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: single nave church with two lateral buttresses on each side, subsequent repairs probable

- after 1918(?): replacement of the original apse with an additional bay and a tower, changes to the western wall

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 302; Gunnis 1936, p 148.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012 [only exterior]

As already Rupert Gunnis remarked, the old church of Agrokippia, a single nave building dedicated to the Virgin Pantanassa, has undergone frequent changes. Nevertheless, the western half can be considered as of late medieval origin. Unusually, for a rural church of modest size, it is wholly erected with ashlar, even if the stones vary in size and quality.

The northern and southern walls with central portals flanked by buttresses are the least disturbed parts of the original structure, which seems to have been very similar to the church of Saint John in Askeia [44]. The northern portal (today walled up) consists of a rectangular, chamfered doorway and a superimposed arched recess. The flanking buttresses are rather slim and only reach up to half the height of the wall (thus ending on the level of the corbels on the inside of the same wall). The southern portal varies slightly: the doorway itself, with a single roll instead of corbels, is moderately richer, but not crowned by a tympanum or recess above. While the south-eastern buttress has the same shape as those on the northern side, the south-western buttress has been enlarged at an uncertain point in time.

The plain western wall shows that for unknown reasons the formerly central portal (of which the jamb and part of the arch are still visible) was moved a metre further to the south. As the new portal, still rather low, is higher than its predecessor, one might assume the obvious elevation of the surrounding ground level as one of the reasons for the renewal of the western entrance. In the upper part of the façade, the original, rounded roofline is visible as a building joint beneath the current, triangular gable. The gable window is indistinctive and surely a later addition.

The choir bay with a tower, separated from the nave by conspicuous building joints, is completely new (early 20th century²⁰) and replaced the old apse. Arch springers on the western buttresses of the expansion show that a complete replacement or remodelling of the church was planned, but never executed.

The interior has been thoroughly renovated in the 20th century and does not show much of interest. The nave is vaulted with the usual barrel vault supported by two transversal arches and indistinctive (plastered over) corbels.

The original church was probably erected around the late 15th or 16th century, even if the lack of more distinctive artistic details makes this a rather conjectural date.

²⁰ Probably after 1917, as Jeffery does not mention this part – Jeffery 1918, p 302.

LOCALITY: Akanthou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Melissa
GEO-DATA: 35.399917,33.828132		CAT. NO: 21
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a plateau in an unpopulated area between Akanthou and Flamoudi, probably marking the site of a deserted village or small monastery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave without buttresses and semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: oculus above the apse		
PORTALS: western portal: slightly pointed arch		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted with transversal arch on simple corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the present building		
- 20 th century: stabilizing of the structure with a concrete ring around the lower courses of masonry		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2012		

The small chapel Panagia Melissa probably marks the site of a deserted village, high up on a plateau in the northern foothills of the Pentadaktylos mountains, approximately between Akanthou and Flamoudi. The building is a typical rural church of the late medieval period in Cyprus: a single nave with semicircular apse, thick walls and a barrel vault. The only attempt at decorating the building is the western portal, made in ashlar, but nevertheless of simplest workmanship. It is impossible to narrow down the date of erection further than 15th or 16th century.

The bad state of repair reveals the typical damage patterns that can be expected with this type of building. While the sidewalls are considerably thick, the lack of buttresses and the poor quality of the (probably reused) material anyway caused them to drift apart under the pressure of the barrel vault. An entire collapse is only a question of time (referring to the state in 2012).

LOCALITY: Akanthou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Michael (Agios Mikallou)
GEO-DATA: 35.410262,33.795012		CAT. NO: 22
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: close to the seashore, not far from the Middle Byzantine church Panagia Pergamiotissa, within a small walled precinct		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with corner buttresses and polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: u-shaped apse window		
PORTALS: western portal slightly pointed arch		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted with transversal arch on simple corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: lithic iconostasis		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A. 6721, B.39.751–755 (1973).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the present building		
- 16 th century or Ottoman period: iconostasis		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 248 [as 'Ay. Sozomenos']; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 367–368; Hadjichristodoulou 2010a, p 410–411.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2010; 04.04.2012		

The church of Saint Michael or Mikallou is situated on a plateau overlooking the seashore between Akanthou and Flamoudi. It is surrounded by a rubble-built wall to which a ruined residential structure is attached. Both, wall and house, seem to be of the late Ottoman or British period. In the centre of this walled precinct is the single aisled chapel, which seems to have been built over an older structure. Few walls of unidentifiable pattern and a brick floor with fishbone-pattern indicate a Late Antique building which might or might not have been a church.

The current chapel has shallow buttresses on each corner and a polygonal apse. It is built of rubble and ashlar, which were only systematically used in the buttresses and the lower courses of the walls. Access to the church is gained through the western doorway, which is formed by a simple pointed arch. The two rectangular windows, in the northern wall and the apse, are similarly simple, even if it is remarkable that the apse window was hewn from a single stone, which forms three sides of the window frame. It might well be that for the apse window one of those monolithic blocks with rectangular opening was used, which can be found in many places in Cyprus but of which the original function is unknown.

The interior of the church is covered with a pointed barrel vault that is supported by a transversal arch on chamfered quarter circle corbels. The disused state of the church leaves nothing of the interior furnishings but the iconostasis. This iconostasis is remarkable for its choice of material: it is entirely made of stone. The decoration, which is cut from the ashlar, imitates irregular wooden beams and is unique on the island.

The church could well originate in the 15th or 16th century, even if neither buttresses, polygonal apse nor the simple portal and corbels can be a conclusive proof for this date. The iconostasis is not datable, due to the lack of a similarly elaborate lithic iconostasis on Cyprus. While it would more easily fit within the decorative schemes of the creative 19th century architecture, already Jeffery speaks of an "ancient stone iconostasis" in 1918. This would rather speak for a date earlier in the Ottoman period or even in the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Akhna	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia of Trasha
GEO-DATA: 35.037505, 33.783880		CAT. NO: 23
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields south of the modern town of Akhna, probably on the site of a deserted village; close to the church of Saint Theodora [24]		
TYPOLOGY: single nave without buttresses and semicircular apse; smaller narthex; modern porches to the north and south of the naos		
WINDOWS: apse: round arched		
PORTALS: southern portal rectangular with corner corbels (mutilated); [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th–16th century: present building- 15th–16th century, second phase: addition of the narthex- 18th century (?): addition of a today mutilated belfry over the western gable- 20th century: addition of the aisle-like porches and a belfry, whitewash of the whole building, replacement of western door		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Jeffery reports a figure of Saint Theodore in the arched recess of the northern wall. As the church was not accessible, this could not be verified.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 186.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012 [only exterior]		

Situated outside of the modern village of Akhna, south of the main road between Larnaca and Famagusta, the church (together with Saint Theodora [24], less than a km to the west) presumably marks the location of a medieval settlement.

The whole structure has suffered from a very intrusive, quite disastrous 'restoration' in the 20th century, during which two porches to the south and north and a bell tower were added. Furthermore, the church received a thick whitewash, which makes an evaluation of building technique or details of decoration impossible.

The original building was a single nave barrel-vaulted church with a seemingly unarticulated exterior – a very common type for 15th and 16th century rural buildings. The southern portal, the frame of which is still recognizable, possessed two nicely cut (today mutilated) corbels and a segmented arch. The current narthex to the west of the nave copies the shape of the naos in smaller scale – an unusual layout, which can also be found at the Archangel Church in Kokkinotrimithia. There, however, no western doorway exists and the western extension is only accessible through the naos – a fact that speaks strongly against the use of the extension as a narthex. As the western doorway of the Panagia of Trasha is modern, one has to consider the possibility of an identical situation here. Then, the original function of the extension would be unknown (perhaps funerary?). Vestiges of a belfry above the western gable of the naos might stem from the 18th century; it was already ruined, when Jeffery saw it in 1918.

The interior of the church could not be investigated, as it was inaccessible. Thus, it is not known if the arched recess of the northern wall, described by Jeffery, and the paintings, which decorated it, still exist in the original shape.

LOCALITY: Akhna	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Theodora
GEO-DATA: 35.039606, 33.779971		CAT. NO: 24
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields south of the modern town of Akhna, probably on the site of a deserted village, close to the church of the Panagia of Trasha [23]		
TYPOLOGY: single nave without buttresses and polygonal (3/6) apse		
WINDOWS:-		
PORTALS: —		
VAULTING: [partly destroyed] barrel vault, trapezoid corbel		
MISCELLANEOUS: column drum in northern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: origins of the present building		
- 1918: already in ruins		
- 1958: rebuilt in concrete, incorporating original remains		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 186.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012		

The small church of Saint Theodora is a single nave building with a polygonal apse. Nothing but ruins remained in the middle of the 20th century, before it was rebuilt in 1958. The rebuilding was executed with thinner walls and a very regular wall surface, so the original remains are well visible on the outside and inside. The northern wall and the adjoining piece of the western wall remain in original height, of the apse only the northern face of the polygon, while the rest is reduced to foundations. With the northern wall, the lower courses of the original barrel vault were preserved as well. They show that there was only one central transversal arch, which rested on trapezoidal corbels.

The crude workmanship of the corbel as well as the irregularity of the walls are rather a sign of low sophistication than of an early date of erection. The polygonal apse as well as the trapezoidal shape of the corbel rather indicate a 15th century or later origin.

LOCALITY: Akourdaleia	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.943298, 32.446568		CAT. No: 25
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Pano Akourdaleia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse, western narthex		
WINDOWS: monolithic apse window		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with bell moulded lintel		
VAULTING: nave: barrel vault with transversal rib; narthex: transversal pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.62.573–575 (1982); J.79.082–086, 81.542–563 (1995); J.83.178–214 (1996); J.84. 985–996 (1997).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14th century (?): erection of the nave (within the ruin of an older building ?) - 16th century (?): addition of the narthex - 19th century: restoration, addition of a bell tower - 1995–1996: renovated after earthquake damage - 2010–2011: renovated 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 155.		
ARDAC 1996, p 26–27, fig 16–17; 1997, p 26, fig 16–17.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.131a.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2008; 30.03.2012		

The ancient village church of Pano Akourdaleia consists of a low nave with semicircular apse and a slightly protruding western narthex. The exterior of the church is plain, with the exception of the western portal. The lintel of this portal shows a bell moulding, which is continued on the right jamb in a simplified form. A simple cross is carved into the lintel; a second similar one is placed above a round blind arch above the apse window. The northern portal, a simple round arch, seems to have been inserted when the bell tower was erected, presumably in the 19th century. The interior is almost as plain and covered in a slightly pointed barrel vault, supported by a central transversal arch springing from quarter circle corbels. The southern wall is pierced by three low, round arched recesses of unclear function. Either, the church was always planned asymmetrically, or the southern wall remains from a previous building and was integrated in the current structure. The narthex is covered in a transversal barrel vault.

While it seems that the nave was, despite its archaic character, erected in the 14th or 15th century, the moulding profile of the narthex portal suggests that the latter was added in the 16th century. The asymmetric design of the nave and fragments of a larger ruined wall, which are integrated into the western narthex wall, might indicate the presence of a former building on the same site or bear testimony to later changes. These might have occurred after earthquake damage, as it happened in the 1950s and 90s, resulting in several restorations. The most recent, between 2008 and 2012, lead to a renewal of the old iconostasis, parts of which might have dated to the early Ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Akourdaleia	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi
GEO-DATA: 34.951416, 32.441537		CAT. NO: 26
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in an unpopulated river valley between Kato Akourdaleia and Kritou Tera		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: dome windows: rectangular		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, jambs and lintel with double roll moulding, interrupted by fluted imposts		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault, central dome with low drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.62.576–578 (1982); J.74.453–454 (1991); J. 75.747–748 (1994); DOA J.78.104 (1994?).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the present building		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragmentary remains according to Prokopiou 2006, but indeed only parts of plain plaster with graffiti.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Prokopiou 2006, p 353–362.		
ARDAC 1991, p 27.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, section: Prokopiou 2006, fig 401–403; Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2012; 05.03.2013		

The church of Saint Paraskevi is situated in a remote valley between the villages of Kato Akourdaleia and Kritou Tera, without any signs of a settlement surrounding it. Agricultural installations such as terraces and a watermill indicate, however, that formerly the church was not as remote as it seems today. If it was a local pilgrimage site or, more likely, church of a small monastery, has to remain open.

Erected from rubble, with large ashlar forming the corners, the church is a slightly varied example of the dome-hall type, with a round dome drum and a shallow semicircular apse. Unlike most of these, the exterior is almost square, cubic and does not reveal the cruciform inner structure on the outside through gables or hierarchized corner compartments. The walls are plain, except for the portals. Both are framed by continuous roll mouldings that in the north with an uninterrupted triple roll, that in the west with a double roll interrupted by odd fluted impost. Beam holes show that there was a wooden porch along the northern and western sides.

The interior, with barrel-vaulted bays west and east of a central dome, also presents a reduced version of the canonical dome-hall church. Due to the almost square plan of the church, here the barrel-vaulted bays are rather short, while the lateral dome arches are deeper than usual. The otherwise common lateral recesses in these bays are omitted, giving the church a cruciform inner structure. Simple, chamfered string courses mark the vault springers and the dome drum – the only element of architectural sculpture on the inside. Prokopiou's assumption that the church must have once been painted is certainly correct, but nothing remains today. The fragments of plaster are all plain and solely show scribbled graffiti.

The question, when the church was built is not easy to answer. The fact that the barrel vaults are slightly pointed would already indicate that it is probably not older than the late 12th century, date suggested by Prokopiou. However, the moulded portal frames, which run across jambs and lintel alike, seem to imitate the typical Venetian period portals, even if in a rather clumsy and rustic way. This would also match the cubic exterior, contrasting with the majority of older dome-hall churches, which possess a hierarchized exterior with lateral gables. Thus, it is most likely a 16th century church, the archaic character of which might indeed be on account of its remote location and perhaps restricted funds during the erection.

LOCALITY: Akrotiri	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.603282, 32.939763		CAT. NO: 27
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields west of the modern town of Akrotiri		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with highly irregular buttresses and semicircular apse, small belfry on southern wall		
WINDOWS: apse window: triplet of chamfered lancets, the pointed arches all carved out of single stone		
PORTALS: southern portal: simple pointed arch, northern portal: rectangular, unarticulated		
VAULTING: slightly pointed barrel vault with two transverse arches, unarticulated corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: arched recess in the northern wall (inside)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.45.951 (1976), J.73.128–135, 74.283–291, 74.468–479 (1993), J.77.332–335, 473–477 (1994).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- medieval: first church of uncertain shape, probably similar to the present building- 14th–15th century (?): erection of the present building, incorporating parts of predecessor- 18th century (?): wooden porch along the southern wall, later removed- 1994: restored, belfry added		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- east of the southern portal fragment of a large standing saint (Gunnis 1936, p 155: Saint Merkurios; the inscription mentioned here is lost today)- in the portal arch fragments of a saint (Gunnis 1936, p 155: SS Cosmas and Damian)- dim traces on the second transverse arch (saints?) <p>The paintings are datable to the early Venetian period.</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 373; Gunnis 1936, p 155. ARDAC 1994, p 23, fig 8–9; 1995, p 22.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.151.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012		

The church of Saint George is located near the modern settlement of Akrotiri in the south of the Akrotiri peninsula.

On a first look it is a rather common rural single nave church with semicircular apse. Nevertheless, the irregular placement of the four buttresses and a number of building joints indicate a complex construction history. Of a previous church on the same site, perhaps a simple barrel-vaulted structure, the northern wall with a central buttress remains. This was enlarged both east- and westwards, when the present church was erected. This is clearly visible in the north-east, where the regular ashlar of the old building corner appear today in the middle of the wall. On the inside, the curvature of the barrel vault is slightly different in the lower courses of the northern side, again confirming the inclusion of older parts. Later changes include the addition – and subsequent removal – of a wooden porch, the addition of a belfry and a rebuilding of the north-western corner, which is marked by clear building joints in the northern and western walls.

Decorative elements are rare: the southern portal shows a simple pointed arch; the corbels of the two transversal arches on the inside are crude quarter circles. The only outstanding element is the apse window, a triplet of chamfered pointed lancets with a large common lintel. The inside seems to have been decorated with paintings, as the evidence of standing saints on both sides of the portal (Saint Merkurios?) and in the arch soffit as well as other unidentifiable fragments in the vault show. A shallow recess opposite to the main entrance in the southern wall is adorned with a modern icon of Saint George, which might stand in the tradition of a medieval predecessor, be this an icon or a fresco.

The date of the first building cannot be determined but a medieval origin is certain. The scarce remains of paintings seem to be executed in the later medieval period, but this gives us only a very approximate *terminus ante quem*. The present church could have already been erected as early as the 14th century, regarding the chamfered lancets in the apse. However, as this window slightly stands out in its quality of workmanship, we might see it today in a secondary use. So a date in the 15th or even 16th century for the rebuilding is thinkable.

LOCALITY: Akrotiri	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas of the Cats
GEO-DATA: 34.599523, 32.987115		CAT. NO: 28
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: within a ruined monastic complex east of the modern town of Akrotiri, flanked by a cloister on the south side		
TYPOLOGY: elongated, single nave with semicircular apse, open porches on the north and west side		
WINDOWS: chamfered, rectangular		
PORTALS: northern portal: rectangular with richly decorated lintel, the recessed tympanum above framed by a profiled hood mould that rests on floral/figural corbels and is crowned with a rich finial; two southern portals rectangular with thick lintels, flat semicircular recesses above		
VAULTING: today slightly pointed barrel vault with three transverse arches in the western part and a raised, eastern bay , unarticulated, approximately rounded corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: vaulting boss for a rib vault reported by Enlart; cloister with numerous <i>spolia</i> from ancient sites in the surroundings, heavily restored		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Lusignan 1580, fol 19.		
PICTORIAL: Pictures of Camille Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 307–310; DOA A.1 (ca. 1900); A.1136 (1937); D.279 (1940); B.994, D.291–292 (1941); A.1979–1991, B.2094–2099 (1943); A.5314, B.8951–8961,9193–9194, 9196, 9198, 9200, 9303–9204, 9211, 9213–9217, 9222, 9225, 9971–9974 (1959); J.6612 (1963); J.46.489–500, 50.348–349 (1982), B.61.659–666, 62.837–838, J.50.350–353 (1983), B.66.647–649, 839 (1984); J.73.358–359.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- medieval: dome-hall naos (?)- late 14th or early 15th century: erection of a rib-vaulted western bay (narthex?)- 16th century: rebuilt from the ruins of the predecessor in the present shape- 1943: first restoration of the church (vault)- 1959: second restoration of the church (walls), uncovering of remains of predecessor- 1981–1983: eastern wing of monastic buildings re-erected- 1990, 2004 onwards: northern wing of monastic buildings and porches of the church added- 2008: new northern porch of church erected		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments (among which one halo) on the piers of the first dome-hall		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 460–466 [Enlart 1987, p 348–352]; Jeffery 1918, p 371–373; Gunnis 1936, p 157–159; Kappas 1999, p 183–166; De Vaivre 2006d, p 37–38; Olympios 2015b, p 423.		
ARDAC 1981, p 16; 1982, p 17; 2004, p 40; 2008, p 31, fig 27–28.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 19.04.2009; 25.03.2012		

The monastery of Saint Nicholas of the Cats is one of the most famous and important late medieval/ early modern monastic sites in Cyprus. Due to its location near Limassol, it was frequented by numerous pilgrims and travellers throughout the 15th to 17th centuries. However, the origins of the monastery are not entirely clear. Already Étienne de Lusignan claims that the monastery was founded by Calocer, the presumed first Christian duke of Cyprus,²¹ and equipped with the order to keep at least 100 cats in order to hunt the dangerous snakes of the Akrotiri promontory. While the presence of the cats throughout the centuries is undeniable, we cannot confirm the high age of the monastery.

The oldest parts of fabric are high medieval: piers, corbels and the lower courses of diagonal ribs, all revealed within the fabric of the present church. The four piers, all with traces of paintings, which we find towards the centre of the building, indicate that the previous building was a dome-hall structure. It is thinkable that the simple southern portals stand in context with this building, one on the original spot, one translocated. Admittedly, the fabric of the wall does not show enough traces to fully confirm this theory. The corbels with diagonal rib springers in the western end of the church are easily identifiable as parts of a square, cross-vaulted bay. Camille Enlart saw a keystone among the ruins of the monastery, which he attributed to a bay of the cloister, but the rib profile drawn on his sketch matches the vault springers visible today, so it must have belonged to the square, western bay. Together with the evidence of the dome-hall structure, it is very likely that the rib-vaulted bay served as narthex to the (older?) dome-hall structure.

Apparently, this church was destroyed to a certain extent, so that a rebuilding in the present shape became necessary. This building kept the size of its predecessor by using large parts of the masonry and foundations. This and the extremely modest character – except for the main portal – indicates that the rebuilding was not executed in a time of wealth and expansion but rather as a reaction to previous destructions. As Enlart states, these could have been triggered either by Mamluk raids (1413, 1425–1426) or earthquakes (1567 and 1568).²² The frequent travellers' reports of the 16th century are not of help in this question, as they elaborate on the topic of the famous cats, but hardly ever mention the buildings. Even for the destiny of the abbey after 1571, they differ profoundly: Carlier (1579) and Beauveau (1608) describe the monastic community as intact, albeit the latter claims that the cats had vanished.²³ Calepio and Villamont (1590) on the other hand report that the

²¹ Lusignan 1580, fol 19.

²² Enlart 1899, p 462 – The Genoese raid of Limassol in 1373, mentioned by Enlart as well, seems too early; for the earthquakes in medieval Cyprus see Antonopoulos 1980; Guidoboni, Comastri 2005.

²³ These sources are presented in Enlart 1899, p 461.

monastic community had ceased to exist. All reports seem to indicate that the buildings were neither destroyed nor damaged. In the beginning of the 20th century, nothing more than the medieval church and parts of the cloister, both in precarious state, remained. Today, a new monastic community occupies the site and has erected new living quarters. The repair works executed in the cloister were hardly sensitive with regards to the original substance, neither was the erection of wide porches all around the northern and western side of the church. The church itself was treated with more care, especially on the inside where the remains of the predecessor buildings were uncovered and not plastered over.

The most elaborate piece of architectural decoration is undoubtedly the northern portal. It is most likely not contemporaneous with the present building and might stem from its predecessor. It remains unclear, if it was integrated on the same spot, translocated or even assembled from various fragments. The profiled arch does not show irregularities, but the two corbels on which it rests are considerably larger. They are very weathered today, but Enlart still made out a figure on the corner of a cusped capital, the bottom of which is decorated with a simple centripetal flower shape. This decoration is highly unusual already in the unusual combination of a figural and a cusped capital. Furthermore, the design would rather be matching for a support capital. This is underlined by the flower on the bottom that is placed in the spot where, if used as a capital, the piece would have sat on the support. Similar cusped capitals can be found in the 13th century Abbey of Belmont in Syria, which makes a reuse of these capitals from an earlier structure even more probable.²⁴ The finial of polygonal, conic shape with a bunch of cusps on top is less unusual, but neither seems to match the arch beneath. It is impossible to see if it binds into the arch or is just set atop, as the supposed joint is covered by a large blotch of cement plaster.

The large lintel of the portal is decorated with four coats of arms, arranged symmetrically next to a cross, of which only the upper part with an unusually high cross bar remains. The extent of the damage allows for different reconstructions. Enlart suggested that the cross could have rested on a globe or the head of Christ – both rather ‘western’ solutions, which would be unique in Cyprus. More likely seems the reconstruction as double cross, perhaps resting on a fan of leaves – either a personal coat of arms or a possible sign for the ‘True Cross’ in late 14th – early 15th century Cyprus. It is tempting albeit conjectural to connect this symbol with the legend of a foundation in the lifetime of Saint Helena and a presumed relic of the True Cross in the monastery of Saint Nicholas. The coats of arms next

²⁴ For Belmont see Enlart 1925–1927, pl 68 fig 211.

to the cross are not readily identifiable.²⁵ Enlart attributes the outer ones – a ciborium, pyx or retable on the left, a cross throughout with four standing keys on the right – to the church and its abbot, Jeffery more carefully describes them as “personal” coats of arms. As he remarks in a subsequent study, the cross with four keys is the coat of arms of the bishops of Beauvais throughout the Middle Ages, but he himself doubts a connection between this institution and the monastery in Cyprus.²⁶ The inner ones, a lion rampant and a cross, might indicate a connection with the Lusignan but are too common and widespread to help with any further identification of possible donors.

Overall, it seems that the church has origins in the Middle Byzantine period (the dome-hall naos) and was considerably extended in a ‘Gothic’ style. Details such as the pyramidal corbels of the western bay or the decoration of the portal, which seems contemporaneous, indicate an early 15th century for the first remodelling. The second renewal, which resulted in the present building, is only datable via historic hints as presented above: it is highly likely that we see a building of the second half of the 16th century.

²⁵ The lintel is mentioned in all works on Cypriot heraldry but hardly any attributions are made (Jeffery 1920, p 211; De Collenberg 1977, p 139).

²⁶ Jeffery 1920, p 211.

LOCALITY: Akrounta	DISTRICT: LIMASSOL	DEDICATION: Saint Luke
GEO-DATA: 34.762753, 33.093871		CAT. NO: 29
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the slope of the western shore of the Germasogeia reservoir, 2 km east of Akrounta		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [reconstructed]		
PORTALS: [reconstructed] southern portal with chamfered door-jambs		
VAULTING: [reconstructed] barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: profiled cornice		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.73.869–879 (ca. 2000).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- after 2005: rebuilt from ruined state		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
ARDAC 2005, p 35, fig 8–9.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 08.03.2013		

The church of Saint Luke, which is situated between the village of Akrounta and the modern Germasogeia reservoir was disused and in a ruined state until 1993, when restoration began. It is a rubble built single nave church with a semicircular apse. Of the original building remain the northern wall up to roof level and the lowest two to three courses of the other walls. It was made of mainly grey volcanic stone with few limestone ashlar used for the building corners and the portal frames. The church possessed two portals, in the west and south, of which the southern seems to have been slightly more elaborate: it is wider than the western one and the doorjambs are chamfered on the outside. The reconstructed pointed arches as solution for the upper part of the portals might be generally according to the original design. Nevertheless, the western portal is certainly too high compared to its width.

The interior was always very plain: no transversal arch interrupted the barrel vault, which emerges seamlessly from the walls. As a sequence of rectangular gaps in the remaining plaster on the northern wall indicates, there might have been an attempt to stabilize the crumbling building with eight or nine transversal wooden beams at some unknown point.²⁷ The best-preserved north-western corner of the church contains a high arched recess and two small niches set at a 90° angle alongside the apse. These niches are framed with nicely dressed limestone ashlar.

There is little evidence that could help to date the church. The combination of volcanic rubble and limestone ashlar as well as the modest decoration of the southern portal remind of the 16th century church of Saint Nicholas in Galataria. Indeed, Saint Luke might have been built during the same period.

²⁷ Generally, the occurrence of beam holes in the lower courses of a barrel vault is not uncommon. However, there are usually not more than two or three of these holes, set apart by several metres. An interpretation as scaffolding holes has to be rejected here.

LOCALITY: Alaminos	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 34.805082, 33.434987		CAT. NO: 30
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the town centre of Alaminos, today within a cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall naos with extremely long (later) nave west of the domed bay		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch, ashlars, profiled hood mould; northern portals (walled up as window) pointed arches in ashlar		
VAULTING: domed bay, flanked by barrel vaults; nave barrel-vaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: two large corbels on northern wall below dome		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.21.464–465 (1970); B.65.891–892, 896 (1984).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century (?): erection of the dome-hall naos		
- 18 th –19 th century, several phases: elongated to the west, insertion of southern portal, insertion of northern portal and addition of an open porch to the north (?)		
- 20 th century: second western expansion (narthex), upper part of nave, bell tower		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Reported by Gunnis: Christ Pantokrator, surrounded by angels, in the dome; Saint Mamas on the south wall. Due to a fire hardly visible today.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 160.		
ARDAC 2004, p 33–34; 2005, p 32; 2006, p 29, fig 27–28.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010 [only exterior]		

The church of Saint Mamas is located in the southern outskirts of Alaminos, a town well known for a medieval watchtower and its connections with the Ibelin family.²⁸ It consists of a dome-hall naos and a long western extension. The dome-hall is of rather wide proportions but small in scale. It was changed several times: in the northern wall, two portals were broken in (walled up and used as window today), in the southern wall another portal. Above the southern portal, the otherwise regular structure of the wall is disturbed, indicating a less careful procedure than in the north. The western end of the church was expanded at least two times, the last time well into the 20th century, when also a bell tower was erected.

While the removal of all plaster in a recent campaign was beneficial for the study of building phases, the almost complete absence of sculptural elements makes it complicated to date any of the phases. The proportions and overall character of the dome-hall suggest, with all care, a rather late, perhaps 15th century origin. The later phases probably date from the 17th to 20th centuries and are without further interest.

²⁸ Enlart 1899, p 669–671.

LOCALITY: Alektora	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.693818, 32.646872		CAT. NO: 31

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: situated on the borders of the community of Alektora, halfway to Kouklia; on a small hill above an ancient farm / manor house; location known as Lakkos tou Vragkou

TYPOLOGY: single nave with rounded apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: southern and western portal rectangular, framed with rather flat, run-on profile, richly profiled corbels in the corners

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: one arched recess in northern wall (inside)

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –
PICTORIAL: –
OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the present building
- 1990s (?): restoration, whitewash

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 385; Gunnis 1936, p 161.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012 [only exterior]

The small church of Saint George is today situated in the fields between Alektora and Kouklia. In 1918, Jeffery still describes a surrounding hamlet of which only a rather large uninhabited farm building remains. The access road from Alektora still shows ancient cobblestones (of medieval origin?) and thus indicates a certain former importance of the settlement, which seems to have been known by the name *Lakkos tou Vragkou*.

The church building is remarkably well preserved and apparently never underwent any changes apart from a recent restoration. It is modest in size and simple in its overall character but shows two elaborate doorframes around the quite large rectangular portals in the western and southern walls. Both possess rather flat mouldings with a smooth bell profile, which continue around three sides of the doorway, thus framing it. The corners of the doorways are adorned with profiled corbels of a type that exists since the 14th century in Cyprus, presenting a deep hollow framed by two quirked rolls. The rather fine ridges that flank the quirks of the corbel are typical for a number of 15th and especially 16th century buildings (see in particular the katholikon of the Neofytos monastery [222]).

While the date of origin in the 16th century is hardly doubtful, the function and original context of the church are unknown. The small size of the building and the unusual name of the settlement, meaning 'cistern of the Franks', were reason enough for Jeffery to assume a foundation as (Latin) seigneurial chapel of a *casale*. Such an origin (even in the widest sense) is not verifiable, due to an absolute silence of the written sources. The high quality of workmanship anyway indicates a certain wealth of the patrons responsible for the erection of the building.

LOCALITY: Anogyra	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Holy Cross
GEO-DATA: 34.730937, 32.738035		CAT. NO: 32
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: the present church lies within a ruined monastic complex on a plateau southwards below the village of Anogyra		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall/ cruciform naos		
WINDOWS: rectangular; apse window with trilobe arch		
PORTALS: southern portal with simple quarter circle-corbels, large lintel and arched recess above		
VAULTING: domed central bay, flanked by two barrel vaults and two deep arches; no corbels or mouldings except for the simple lower foot ring of the dome drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: open arch on the bottom of the apse, connecting to a well (?)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.1555–1556, D.294–295 (1940); A.1752–1753 (1941); A.1895–1898 (1942); A.1942–1946 (1943); A.2136–2142, B.2135, 2540–2557, 2675–2680 (1945); B.20.748–750, 776–778, I.8684–8700, 8718–22, J.9100–9103 (1966); J.15.806–819 (1969); B.36.199–204, 37.544–546 (1974); B.47.582–592, J.35.641–645 (1978); B.53.336, 383, 389, 964–970, 55.541 (1980); J. 49.937–939 (1984); J.87.306–318 (1997); J. 90.385–411(1998).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 9 th –10 th century: erection of the original church and monastic complex		
- 16 th century: erection of the present day building to the east of a large room that flanked the old church on the north side; subdivision of the old church into cells (?)		
- 1942–45: first restoration (repair of the roof and upper courses of masonry)		
- 1970s/80s: smaller repairs, again of the masonry and vault		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Remains of a full painted decoration on all parts of the interior walls and vaults, except for the dome and the western end of the church, mainly common topics. Datable to the 16 th century.		
In the apse remains of a row of bishops; in the barrel vault above the choir the scenes of Pentecost and the ascension of Christ. In the pendentifs the four evangelists. In the northern cross arm at the bottom several small scenes of torture, probably parts of a large martyr image. In the southern cross arm unidentifiable fragment (saints in the arch, a large scene on the wall). In the western cross arm fragment with a female donor figure.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 385; Gunnis 1936, p 166; Papacostas 1999, II, p 42; Stewart 2008, p 200–201 (predecessor). ARDAC 1979, p 15, fig 15–16; 1991, p 21 [suggested date: 15 th century]; 1994, p 23; 1997, p 24, fig 4–5; 1998, p 29, fig 6–9 [suggested date: 14 th –15 th century]; 2001, p 36.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Papacostas 1999, III, fig 129–130 (old church), Kaffenberger 2014 (later church)		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2008; 19.04.2009; 06.03.2013		

The monastic site of the Holy Cross near Anogyra must have been of significant importance in the early Middle Ages, regarding the size and elaborateness of the original structure. It is situated on a vast plateau below the town in direction of the coast, presumably on the spot of an antique settlement. The complex consists today of an early medieval, ruined church with adjoining rooms and the intact high medieval church. The old church was a basilica of three bays length with a raised central bay. It was flanked by a large room to the north, which had at least the length of the church and received a vaulting at a later stage.

The old church was subdivided at some point in history, perhaps after an earthquake destruction. Presumably, at the same time, the new church was erected at the east end of the large room, of which it kept the width. It is not clear if there was a building on the same spot before, but the odd arch at the bottom of the apse, which opens into a pit or well just outside, might indicate a spot of 'holiness' in the widest sense. Nevertheless, only further archaeological investigations can solve this question.

The church is lengthy and of rather squat proportions, built as an unusual derivation of the dome-hall type. It is a single nave structure with a central dome and flanking barrel vaults, which are hardly shown on the outside. On the inside, the domed bay and the longitudinal barrel vault dominate, but the lateral arches below the dome are just deep enough to consider them as compressed cross arms (instead of the more widespread shallow recesses). The recesses to the north and south of the barrel-vaulted bays are formed as very low but deep niches, a fact that made Gunnis call them "founders tombs".

The painted programme of the church seems to have followed a rather common scheme, even if only the scenes of Pentecost and the Ascension of Christ in the eastern cross arm are well preserved [see Saint Mamas in Sotira, 210]. Gunnis recognized Italian influence in what he still saw of the image on the southern wall – today this is not verifiable anymore.

It is hard to narrow down an absolute date for the erection of the church. If we assume that the painted decoration is contemporaneous, an early 16th century date seems most likely, even if the late 15th century date suggested by earlier reports of the Department of Antiquities is far from improbable – unlike the 14th century date, which appears in the more recent reports.

LOCALITY: Apsiou	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Amirou
GEO-DATA: 34.794579, 33.042551		CAT. NO: 33
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: church of a monastery located 3 km to the east of the town of Apsiou, in the south-eastern Troodos foothills		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: southern and northern portals: simple pointed arches; western portal: richly profiled, doorjambs with engaged colonettes framed by a continuous profile and covered by a thick abacus, archivolt profiled with hood mould		
VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches, double quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the western window		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.7535–7536 (1965); B.62.609, 612 (1981), J.28.198–202, B.64.920–928 (1983); B.62.610–611, 68.471 (1985); J.85.029–047 (1997).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- early 16 th century: erection of the present church		
- after 1998: church restored, western portal largely replaced		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 170–171; Kappas 1999, p 190–193.		
ARDAC 1984, p19, fig 11–12; 1998, p 29; 2001, p 36; 2002, p 35; 2006, p 33.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.12.2014		

The church of the Amirou monastery, located in a Troodos foothill valley east of Apsiou, is a standard single nave building with three-sided polygonal apse and without external buttressing. The masonry consists of local volcanic stone; only the corners and wall openings, such as the chamfered apse window, are made of limestone. The most remarkable feature of this otherwise unpretentious building, erected near the site of a holy well, is the rich western portal. The doorposts are adorned with engaged colonettes that are framed by a surrounding continuous profile. The archivolt is slightly pointed and rests on thick, protruding imposts of the doorposts. It is also profiled and surmounted by a stepped hood mould. Elements of this portal, especially the continuous profile that 'frames' the colonettes, suggest a knowledge of Venetian period buildings – a fact already noticed by Rupert Gunnis.

The interior is barrel-vaulted in the usual type, slightly pointed and with three transversal arches, which rest on double quarter circle corbels. The arches, chamfered, and corbels betray a certain quality of the admittedly very modest sculptural decoration.

The church was most likely built in the 16th century, as is indicated by the main portal and the character of apse window and vault corbels. The polygonal apse and the overall proportions seem to indicate a date rather early in the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Aradippou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Panagia Aimatousa
GEO-DATA: 34.961372, 33.565629		CAT. NO: 34
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: situated in the fields north of Aradippou		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (7/12) apse, surrounding porch		
WINDOWS: apse window round arched		
PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with damaged corbels; northern portal pointed with flat decorated imposts		
VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches, double quarter circle corbels (one with book-motif)		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: origins of present church		
- 17 th –18 th century (?): remodelling, narthex? [northern portal]		
- early to mid-20 th century: rebuilt from ruins, using original portals and perhaps corbels		
- after 2003: restored, removal of 20 th century changes		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 181; Gunnis 1936, p 173.		
ARDAC 2003, p 25–26.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 14.04.2012		

The Panagia Aimatousa church lies in the fields north of the town of Aradippou. The original context of the church is unclear, even if Jeffery suggests an identification of the site with a royal palace 'La Cour de la Despotissa'.

Gunnis describes the church as a modern rebuilding, which only includes the former building's apse. However, today the church presents itself as an (admittedly heavily restored) medieval building. In consequence, the medieval remains included in the 20th century building seen by Gunnis must have been more numerous than he assumed. The single nave structure, today surrounded by wooden porches, possesses two portals, in the north and south walls, and a large walled up arch in the west. The latter probably lead into a later narthex, of which nothing remains. The portal in the north is pointed and its flat, rectangular imposts are ornamentally decorated in a rather crude way. The southern portal, on the other hand, has a rectangular, chamfered doorway with corbels. The corbels are damaged, but show a classic inverted attic profile. The interior is very plain, the barrel vault resting on the usual two transversal arches on corbels, here of the double quarter circle type. The south-western double quarter circle corbel is decorated with a book-motif, which is normally only used for single quarter circle corbels.

Not much can be said about the date of erection of the church. Due to the heavily restored state, it is not known how many building phases the church had and which parts might have been restored already before the 20th century. The assumption, the building might go back to the 14th century would only be supported by the southern portal (however, this portal is of a simple type which remained in use throughout the Middle Ages), while the northern portal as well as the corbels on the inside rather point towards the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Arakapas	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Iamatiki
GEO-DATA: 34.843923, 33.115355		CAT. NO: 35
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village of Arakapas, today surrounded by a cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: three nave structure with central apse, later covered by a barn roof		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: profiled doorposts with engaged colonettes and thick abacus, archivolt profiled and with hood mould; southern portal: similar design but very crude workmanship		
VAULTING: [open wooden roof]		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Dedicatory inscription: "On the 18 th of August 1727, this holy and divine church was begun thanks to the collaboration and grand desire of Georgios and his children", on the north-western arcade pier. ²⁹		
PICTORIAL: DOA ³⁰ J.7878, 7889–7890 (1965); J.21.33–332 (1969), B.41.862–864, 44.724–725, 728(1976); B.44.727, 733–735, 45.939–940 (1977)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (Papageorghiou: beginning of; Frigerio Zeniou: second half): three naved basilica with one or three (?) apses; unfinished or destroyed (?)		
- 1727: rebuilt with a barn roof		
- 1976–1979: restoration (renewal of decayed walls and roof)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
A hagiographic programme of the 16 th century on the arcade; for a detailed analysis see Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 206–224.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 359; Gunnis 1936, p 173–174; Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 205–224.		
ARDAC 1976, p 16; 1978, p 15; 1979, p 15; 2009, p 25, fig 32–33.		
MKE, I, p 270.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p fig 149.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012		

²⁹ Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 205.

³⁰ Only pictures referring to the architecture are listed here. A large survey of the paintings from 1969 and 1977 is stored in the same location.

The Panagia of Iamatiki is situated on the eastern fringes of the mountainous town of Arakapas. On a first glimpse, it seems to belong to the large group of simple, rectangular barn roof churches. Nevertheless, the southern and western portals reveal already from the exterior that we see a building of a certain architectural sophistication. Both portals feature engaged colonettes in the jambs and a roll moulding decorating the archivolt, as well as a profiled hood mould. Even if the execution is slightly clumsy and the design simplified, these portals fit well into a group of late rural renditions of 14th–15th century portals.

Despite of this, the interior is by far the more interesting part of the church. It is divided into three naves, the central of which ends in a semicircular apse, hidden behind the straight eastern wall of the building. The naves are separated by two arcades, each consisting of three western arches on slender columns, followed by a single, lower arch on rectangular piers in the bema area. Curiously, the western ends of the two arcades are connected by a lower arch in north-south-direction instead of being connected to the west wall. The design of the western arcades is unusual in a number of further aspects. The northern columns are considerably higher than their southern counterparts, but the lower arches of the northern arcade almost entirely correct that difference. In the west and east, the arcades end in half columns, which are flanked by a roll profile that continues around the half column at the top, thus forming the torus of the otherwise flat and unarticulated capital. The abacus above these half-columns surprises with a rather elegant quirk-and-hollow moulding that contrasts with the clumsier column capitals, a combination of a pillow-like body and small volutes on two sides. The arch soffits are rounded and framed by a continuous roll in the same way as the half columns.

This evidence is quite unusual: while the decorative forms can be connected with a general "creative simplification" of forms in the later centuries of Latin rule on the countryside, the transversal arch at the western end of the arcades does not easily correspond to any common building scheme. Previously, it has been proposed that the unusual combination of stone arcades and the large timber roof is a result of a collapse of a presumed earlier stone building that, in a second phase was rebuilt with a simple timber roof.³¹ For this theory speaks the preserved painted decoration, which covers some piers and all arch soffits of the more elaborate, three bay western arcade as well as the lower parts of the walls above. The paintings date to the 16th century – probably to the second half as Stella Frigerio-Zeniou has pointed out.³² Thus, the date of 1727, preserved in a dedicatory

³¹ Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 205.

³² Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 224, rejecting the previously discussed date of ca. 1500.

inscription on the north-western pier, can only be connected to a later phase of rebuilding – most likely of the roof (and possibly the eastern end of the arcades with the apse).

While we can easily accept the 16th century date for the decorated arcades and the paintings, as well as the 1727 date for the construction of the roof, this does not bring us closer to the shape of the original Venetian period building. Papageorgiou remarks that there is no sufficient evidence to determine the typology and structure of this original building. Nevertheless, Stylianos claims that it must have certainly been vaulted, referring to the destroyed upper parts of the paintings on the nave wall, which would indicate the collapse of an adjoining vault. However, two facts speak against the presence of an original vault. First, the slim walls and columns would hardly have carried a massive barrel vault; second, the continuous painted decoration of the arcades proves that these never collapsed on either side – which would have certainly been the case, had the vault collapsed. In consequence, it seems probable that the church was either never meant to be vaulted or remained unfinished in the 16th century and the 1727 renovation in fact repeated an earlier solution. The damage to the upper parts of the paintings would be well explicable as cause of a leaking roof. The transversal arch, it seems, might have been part of a narthex area, originally opening up into each nave with a wide arch. Did the naves originally possess separate roofs? We cannot determine this with any certainty, but this speculative and unparalleled solution could help to explain the compressed impression of the southern portal, which appears to be too big for its current position.

By the 18th century, this 16th century church was presumably heavily ruined, perhaps even missing its roof. By then, the type of triple aisle barn roof churches had become more widespread, as is shown by examples such as Saint George in Gourri or Saint Kyriakos in Kampos.³³

³³ Feraios 1999, pl gb5–gg5.

LOCALITY: Archimandrita	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.736305, 32.680185		CAT. No: 36

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the deserted village of Kato Archimandrita

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: slit-like, chamfered apse window

PORTALS: southern portal: pointed with simple roll profile

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the original church

- 19th century (?): enlarged in the west

- 20th century: addition of a bell tower

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2008

The small Panagia church of Kato Archimandrita, a now deserted village in the southern Troodos foothills, is simple and of rather common character but doubtlessly ancient. The single nave is covered by a slightly pointed barrel vault without transversal supporting arch. A curious bulge in the northern wall marks on the outside the position, where on the inside a niche for the icon of the church patron is placed. The southern portal, opposite from this niche, is the only decorated element of the building. It is formed by a pointed arch with a single roll moulding. The western end and the tower were added in the 19th and 20th centuries, respectively. More recently, the interior was whitewashed and paved, which suppressed any sense of antiquity that one might have had here before.

LOCALITY: Archimandrita	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George Oreites
GEO-DATA: 34.72337, 32.64365		CAT. NO: 37

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the Oreites Forest, between Archimandrita and Kouklia; today surrounded by buildings of the Oreites Wind Farm

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: three rectangular portals with square book-type corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal rib

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.7290–7291, 7310, 7325, 7358 (ca. 1960); B.13.359–362 (1962); I.13.354–366, 14.691–696 (1968).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the present building
- 1968: repair of the ruined structure (western wall, apse, wall surfaces)

PAINTED DECORATION:

According to the ARDAC 1968, there are “some good quality wall paintings”: Saints in the lower zone, in the upper zone fragments of an Anastasis (?), in the apse an enthroned Mary or Christ.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ARDAC 1968, p 10 & fig 41–44; 1994, p 26.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]

The church of Saint George is located in the Oreites Forest, on the heights between Archomandrita and Kouklia. Today it is surrounded by buildings of the Oreites Wind Farm. It is a rather simple single nave church with a semicircular apse and a slightly pointed barrel vault.

The church is heavily restored (1968 onwards), as it had been fallen in disuse before the 20th century. Large parts of the upper, outer wall surfaces, the tiled roof, the western wall and the upper parts of the apse are modern replacements, a concrete ring beam had to be inserted in order to stabilize the structure. Nevertheless, its original character and the few distinctive elements of the architecture were retained.

In fact, only the interesting corbels that adorn the three simple portals of the church are of some slightly more elaborate architectural character. They are decorated in the same way as the book-corbels, which mainly appear in the surroundings of Famagusta, but their basic shape is rectangular instead of circular. While this specific motif can only be found at the nearby Panagia Katholiki in Kouklia [117], from where it was presumably inspired, it most likely belongs to the 16th century, just as its circular counterpart.

There are unpublished remains of wall paintings that, up to now, were not accessible to the author.

LOCALITY: Arediou	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Odigitria / Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 35.046672, 33.198875		CAT. NO: 38
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a hill in the eastern outskirts of the town of Arediou		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure, wider semicircular apse, octagonal drum of the dome		
WINDOWS: rounded on north side (later?)		
PORTALS: southern portal with rounded arch, assembled from older <i>spolia</i>		
VAULTING: large central dome flanked by barrel-vaulted bays to the east end west, deep arches to the north and south		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.195 (1936); B.13.363–367 (1962); B.39.381, 383, 385, 387 (1975); B.47.549–552 (1977); B.64.879 (1981); J.66.829–831, J.71.146–149 (1991)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 14th or 15th century (?): first building of uncertain shape, built from ashlar- 16th century: present church built using stones and incorporating interior walls from the predecessor- Late 19th century: partly rebuilt?, especially the west end- 1975–1977: restoration (porch, walls, roof renewed, concrete tie beams inserted)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the southern wall a fragment of an enthroned Virgin with Christ, painted above an older image of identical iconography. On the northern wall a Saint George killing the dragon. The paintings have been dated to the 14 th century in the ARDAC 1991, p 18.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 301; Gunnis 1936, p 172; Chotzakoglou 2012, p 236, 240. ARDAC 1975, p 14; 1976, p 15; 1977, p 12–13; 1978, p 13; 1982, p 16; 1991, p 18, fig 1–2; 2004, p 24–25; 2005, p 21.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012; 20.12.2014 [only exterior]		

The Panagia church is located on the southern outskirts of Arediou, a village in the plains west of Nicosia. The church occupies a slope of a small hillock, resulting in a monumental, plain western wall, half of which belongs to the substructures of the naos. What we see today is a rubble built dome-hall church with a slightly longer western arm and a partly open, roofed porch to the south. It possesses lateral triangular gables and an octagonal dome drum, both with very pronounced string courses. While the typology of the church is common, its proportions differ from the standards. The whole structure has a rather squat appearance; the wide nave ends in a large and deep apse. The lateral gables are similarly wide and do not rise much above the anyway low eaves level.

Several incongruences indicate the sequence of multiple building phases. The latest of these is the most clearly identifiable: the western bay was enlarged in the 19th century; the new roof level rises as high as the drum of the more ancient dome. At the same time, the western substructures were erected, presumably also the porch (even if this was again restored in 1977). The central and eastern bays of the naos are older but seem to incorporate fragments of an even more ancient predecessor. The southern portal, a simple round arch, is formed of dressed stones, some of which are decorated with mouldings. The rather careless placement of these mouldings surprises and suggests that the exterior of the church was once plastered. Certainly, these stones, as well some regular ashlar in the masonry of the apse, are part of the original church on the site, which might have been erected in the 14th or 15th century. The current structure is hardly thinkable before the 16th century and its flat octagonal dome drum resembles the nearby Archangel Church of Pera [174] from the same period. The fragmentary paintings on the otherwise plain interior, tentatively dated to the 14th century in the ARDAC, might indicate that parts of the internal walls of the predecessor, which were covered in paintings, were incorporated into the 16th century rebuilding.

LOCALITY: Argaki	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint John the Baptist
GEO-DATA: 35.180061,33.036698	CAT. NO: 39	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the town of Argaki

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with [late] polygonal apse

WINDOWS: rectangular chamfered window with quarter circle corbels in the western bay; profiled oculus in façade

PORTALS: western portal: doorjambs with engaged colonettes (only one side preserved), archivolt with chevron moulding and hood mould; northern portal (damaged, walled up): archivolt profiled

VAULTING: [barrel vault: late]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: first building as a single nave structure (?), built from ashlar, rich portals
- 18th century (?): remodelling, new eastern bay and apse
- late 19th century: restoration, 'transept', new tower

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 223 [here: 'Saint Barbara']; Gunnis 1936, p 174; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 430–432.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2012

Saint John the Baptist is the parish church of the town of Argaki, where it is situated in the centre. It is a large single nave building of five bays, which underwent numerous restorations and reconstructions, which make it hard to date specific parts of the building.

The oldest and most significant parts of the present church are certainly the heavily weathered western and northern portals, both pointed and with profiled archivolt, the western one richer with a chevron moulding and an additional hood mould. These portals could go back to the 15th or 16th century – even if the poor state of preservation leaves an uncertainty about this. Together with a profiled oculus in the façade and the trapezoidal corbels of the western vault compartments, they might indicate that the entire western end of the church remains from the original church. This would then have been the common single nave building with two buttresses on the north and south walls (a perfectly preserved example of this type is the church of Saint John in Askeia [44]).

This church was restored in the 18th century, when it seems to have been extended by three bays to the east, using very regular ashlar especially for the polygonal apse. A rectangular window (with chamfered edges and small corbels) in the second bay of the southern wall of the older part cuts through the walled up southern portal – either this was the original apse window, moved to this place when the apse was torn down, or inserted during the renewal.

The 19th and 20th centuries brought further changes: a new tower above the north-western corner of the church, the insertion of new, large portals in the third bay and a transept-like cross-vaulted fourth bay, executed in rubble.

Overall, the church presents a very good example for a parish church in the larger villages of the plains east and west of Nicosia, which all originate in the Middle Ages and were transformed, enlarged, enhanced several times during the Ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Armenochori	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.759695, 33.133371		CAT. NO: 40

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the fields between Armenochori and Parekklesia

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: apse window: sharply pointed

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault without transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: two lateral pointed recesses in each naos wall

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA J.83.795–807 (1997)

Other: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–15th century (?): erection of present building

- 2000–2001: reconstruction of ruined western wall and bema

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragment of a Virgin Orans (?) in the apse, further indistinctive fragments throughout the building.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 175.

ARDAC 2000, p 32, fig 9–10.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.12.2014

The chapel of Saint Marina is located in an unpopulated area north of Armenokhori, perhaps on the site of a former settlement or monastery. It is a simple, single nave building with semicircular apse and lateral arched recesses on the inside. There is no sculptural articulation; even the otherwise common apse string course is missing. Beam holes in the northern wall indicate a former porch on this side.

The chapel had been heavily ruined by the 1990s: the west wall had collapsed, most of the apse vault was missing and there were holes in the other walls. Even if the church has been restored now, the loss of the western wall with the main portal and of most parts of the painted decoration makes any attempt to date the structure frustratingly speculative. Only the pointed apse window could give a hint to assume a date in the 14th or 15th century.

LOCALITY: Arnadi	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Luke
GEO-DATA: 35.24342, 33.846902		CAT. NO: 41

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the fields west of Arnadi

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with apse

WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular, unarticulated

PORTALS: western and southern portal simple pointed arches in ashlar

VAULTING: barrel vault with one transversal arch, quarter circle corbels with a rope motif

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 15th–16th century: erection of present building

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012

The origins of the chapel of Saint Luke, west of Arnadi, are obscure, as today no village or monastic buildings surround the structure. It is a single nave chapel with semicircular apse and a pointed barrel vault, heavily abutted through the thick lateral walls. Except for two simple, pointed portals, the exterior is plain. On the inside, the only remarkable features are the two corbels of the transversal arch, which separates the nave into two bays. These corbels are of the common quarter-circle type, here with chamfered edges, but are crowned by an uncommon twisted rope motif. Similar rope ornaments can, for example, be found in Lapathos [124] and Gastria [85]. They indicate the knowledge of 15th century Venetian architectural forms, which points towards a date in the late 15th or 16th century.

LOCALITY: Arsos	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Philipp
GEO-DATA: 34.840782,32.768858	CAT. NO: 42	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Arsos

TYPOLOGY: cross-in-square structure with polygonal (3/8) apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: a central rib vault on four low columns, flanked by four barrel vaults, corner compartments barrel/groin-vaulted

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Description of the church in Barsky's travelogue of 1734–1736, in: Grishin 1996, p 61.

PICTORIAL: DOA J. 76.236–238 (1994); J. 87.288–295 (1997); J. 90. 432–241 (1998)

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 15th or 16th century: erection of a domed cross-in-square church
- 17th or 18th century: covered in wooden roof
- ca. 1900: rebuilt in present shape, exterior clad in modern ashlar
- ca. 1950: western expansion (?)

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 364; Gunnis 1936, p 179; Olympios 2015b, p 423–424.

ARDAC 1999, p 27, fig 10–11; 2000, p 31, fig 5–6.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012

The village church of Arsos, dedicated to the Apostle Philipp, is one of the most unconventional buildings of the island and was once, according to Jeffery, the metropolis of the Orthodox see of Pafos.³⁴ Today it presents itself as a large centralized cross-in-square church with a slightly protruding western cross arm and polygonal apse. The exterior leaves no doubt, that the early 20th century played a central role in shaping the building: everything is clad with very neatly cut ashlar; portals and windows are certainly not older than this phase. The interior, however, quickly reveals that Gunnis' dismissal of the church as a "vast modern building on an ancient site" was not entirely correct: larger parts of the masonry are ancient and belong to an older building. Even though the division of bays – a central bay surrounded by four barrel-vaulted cross arms and lower corner compartments – corresponds with classic cross-in-square churches, the factual proportions of the space are entirely different from the medieval Cypriot standard. The central bay is extremely wide and covered by a high rib vault, while the small corner compartments are covered by oddly amalgamated barrel / groin vaults, opening up with arches of identical height towards the two adjacent cross arms. The four piers of the crossing are short and decorated with different creatively sculpted capitals; they most likely belong to the 19th century rebuilding of the church but might follow the original design, as will be discussed below.

The same cannot be said for the rib vault, as it is not only confirmed by the unique design and good state of preservation, but also by a valuable 18th century description of the church before the renovation. The monk Vasily Barsky, traveling through Cyprus between 1734 and 1736, states in his travelogue:

*"There is a great stone church dating from ancient times of the Venetian principality and dedicated to the Apostle Saint Philip. It has a dome on top, but this cannot be seen from the outside as the whole church is covered with a wooden roof with tiles, and it possesses no beauty from the exterior. It has two entrances from the west and the south. On the interior it is only beautiful in its dimensions and its architectural arrangement, but otherwise it is in a state of dilapidation and decay."*³⁵

Thus, we learn that the previous building was indeed large and probably unconventionally structured, a fact, which supports the assumption that more irregular parts of the masonry in the northern and southern transept walls as well as in the vaults of the corner compartments remain from the Late Medieval building. Most conspicuously, these old parts of masonry are visible in the western bay, where a vertical joint in the middle of the northern and southern walls separates the old parts in the west (including the western wall) and the renewed parts above the low arches towards the corner compartments. Similarly clear is the situation in the northern and southern transept walls, where we can still recognize the joints of walled up portals. In addition, the lateral walls of

³⁴ Jeffery 1918, p 364.

³⁵ Grishin 1996, p 61.

the corner compartments as well as parts of the arches, decisively more abraded than those deriving from the 19th century, testify to the inclusion of large parts of the predecessor.

This predecessor apparently had the same dimension and general shape as today's church. As Barsky reports, the central bay was surmounted by a dome and the whole structure covered by a wooden roof – perhaps similar to the situation in Lagoudera or Kakopetria, where domed churches, even if significantly smaller, also received a wooden roof to cover the entire building. The bad state of the structure in the 1730s and the pattern of preserved walls could mean that the rebuilding was necessary due to a collapse of a pier, which would have taken down the vault but probably left the lateral walls intact.

Unlike for many rural Cypriot churches, in the case of Saint Phlipp in Arsos, the description of Barsky also delivers an interesting insight into the topic of relics stored within the building:

*"In the altar of the church there are the relics of the Apostle Saint Philip, preserved from ancient times, but which are now neglected and devoid of any ornamentation or veneration, and I was indignant at this disrespect shown by the priests and lay people. The relics consist of the following: the front of the head, that is the forehead, mounted in silver and enclosed in something resembling a pyramid. There is also a bone up to the elbow with one end covered in silver and with the inscription: 'reliquia S. Philippi Apostoli,' that is, relics of the Apostle Saint Philip."*³⁶

It is unclear, at which time these relics came to Arsos, but it is probable that their veneration, either already present or newly established, lead to the erection of the unusually large and structurally elaborate church. Due to their pristine state, we should consider the piers to be most likely from the 19th century. If we accepted them to be faithful copies of their predecessors, this would indeed be revealing. The two southern ones, round and with squat pillow capitals resemble the nave piers of Saint Marina in Potamiou [189], while the northern ones, octagonal and with chamfered corners of the abacus, are comparable with the crossing piers of the same building, erected presumably in 1551. The ornamental detail of the north-western pier includes dentils, egg-and-dart ornament, volutes and a corner decoration resembling *muqarnas*. (The latter comparable to those in the remote church of Saint George near Charkeia [51]). Can we thus assume that this decoration goes back to the original, Venetian period church – be this as a remaining stone or as a copy – or must we rather assume that the builders were inspired by the church of Potamiou in the 19th century? In any case, the loss mainly reconstructed state of the ornamental details is deplorable, as this could have helped to verify Barsky's statement that the church was built in the Venetian period.

³⁶ Grishin 1996, p 61.

LOCALITY: Askeia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.166051, 33.609725		CAT. NO: 43
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields north of Askeia within a former cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with apse		
WINDOWS: —		
PORTALS: remains of a hood mould on the northern wall, corresponding arch on the inside		
VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches on heavy piers, two transversal arches on corbels, corbels very creative: harp motif and circular shape		
MISCELLANEOUS: tomb slab with coat of arms mentioned by Jeffery (lost after 1974, picture in archive)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.31.825, 32.126–131 (1972)		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Late Antiquity: first building of uncertain shape- 14th century: rebuilding of the nave in the current dimensions- 15th century: first repair works (west wall, vault?)- 1778: further repair works (west wall, south wall, vaults, apse)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Busts of Christ and apostles remained on the triumphal arch of the apse, but were destroyed after 1974.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 198–199; Gunnis 1936, p 179; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 388; Papageorgiou 2010, p 43–44.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012		

The village of Askeia, today one of several larger settlements in the Mesaoria plain, was already of considerable importance in the medieval period. It is frequently mentioned in chronicles and connected to the noble family of the De Bon.

North of the village, in a deserted cemetery, lies the large church of the Panagia. Its origins are probably much older than the medieval period, as is attested by few marble *spolia* integrated into the masonry and lying scattered in the nave. The present church has one single, rather long nave with a wide semicircular apse. The outside as well as the interior are inhomogeneous due to frequent alterations and more recent structural damages. The latter are, in addition to neglect and faulty statics, probably caused by the location of the church in a muddy, frequently flooded territory. The repeated flooding caused a significant raise of the surrounding ground level: rather squat from the outside, the interior of the church proves to be unusually high – even if a thick layer of mud covers the floor. The original floor level must have been considerably lower, as is indicated by the broken through and walled up original portals that are visible in the wall beside the current entrances. All three lie approximately 1,5 m lower than the current doorways. The inside is divided into five bays of different depth, divided by large transversal arches on thick wall piers. Transversal arches on corbels further divide the deeper third and fourth bay. Entrances can be found in the west wall, in the southern wall of the second bay and in the northern wall of the third bay from west. The first bay, slightly narrower than the others, contains a wall niche in the north, the second bay a walled up window in the northern vault, the third bay a protruding arch on the southern wall, opposite from the doorway, the fourth bay another smaller niche in the southern wall. In the apse, the main window is rather large and placed strangely off the central axis towards the south.

The sequence of building phases for this highly irregular structure is almost impossible to determine, with large portions of plaster still on the interior walls and hard access to the northern outer wall. Already from the outside, the use of badly cut ashlar mixed with rubble and the irregular buttresses (four in the south, one in the west and two in the north) testify to several rebuilding phases. On the inside, apart from the above-mentioned changed doorways, the irregular sequence of transversal arches on corbels and larger ones on wall piers add to this evidence, even if more parts seem to belong to the original structure. Furthermore, western wall and apse clearly do not bind in with the lateral northern and southern walls. One cannot determine if this is a technical neglect in the building process or indicates different phases, even if the latter is more probable – considering, that the western wall contains a high amount of rubble, while the adjoining northern and southern wall compartments are mainly built from regular ashlar.

Without further restoration and excavation works, one can only approximate the building chronology. Nothing is known of the presumed Late Antique predecessor, but with

some likelihood, its apse remained long enough to define the unusually wide proportions of today's nave, perhaps on the foundations of the original central nave, and apse. The first tangible medieval phase probably dates to the 14th century, as evidenced by the simple but well executed wall niche with moulded arch in the first bay of the northern wall. This would mean that by then, the building already had the same extent as the present church. Also the remains of the old portals, indicating a mitred top of the doorway on the inside and pronounced hood moulds on the outside (only remaining in the north), accord to the 14th (and early 15th) century building habits spreading from Famagusta and Nicosia. The only windows comparable to the small one cut into the northern side of the vault could be found in the late 14th century Unidentified Church 18 in Famagusta, even if the irregular placement here might be a later afterthought. We must wonder, if any part of the vaults are still original, as the larger transversal arches resting on the thick piers seem not to bind in with the vault masonry. It could be that the piers are still part of the 14th century building, or of a 15th century remodelling: heavily damaged traces of a painted decoration on the easternmost transversal arch have been dated to the 15th century in the past. One might also date the inside of the western wall to this 15th century phase, as the remaining parts of the walled up western portal differ slightly from those in the northern and western walls, but are clearly referring to the same ground level. The corbels of the two slimmer transversal arches, on the other hand, indicate a much later date for these. One shows a classic quarter circle corbel; however, it is surmounted by a cavetto moulding and decorated with a clumsy grid pattern. Another one is composed of stereometric shapes: a trapezoid block resting on a rectangular one, which is on top of a sphere. Both seem to be copies of entirely misunderstood medieval originals – something, which does happen as early as the 16th century but could also point towards the 17th or 18th century. The date for a final remodelling of the church in the Ottoman period is known. In 1778 the floor level was apparently raised and the old portals given up. The outside of the western wall, surprisingly uniform, might have been renewed, as were some of the many buttresses added. It seems that also the apse, perhaps previously still of Late Antique origin, was remodelled in 1778 – the frame and size of the rectangular apse window fit this date rather well. The bell tower, in the south-eastern corner of the building, certainly does not predate the 18th century either.

Overall, the church is of surprising size and the considerable effort of different generations to keep it functional even while facing an apparently unsuitable location suggests an important role in the medieval and post-medieval town. Nevertheless, nothing is known about the original function. It is hard to imagine it could have been the village church, as the (modern) village centre is a few km further south.

LOCALITY: Askeia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint John
GEO-DATA: 35.160668, 33.60821		CAT. NO: 44

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the northern fringe of Askeia

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with apse, two external buttresses on each side wall; later annexe to the north

WINDOWS: rectangular apse window with profiled frame, chamfered round arched window in western gable

PORTALS: western portal: simple pointed arch; southern portal: chamfered rectangular doorway with steep profiled corbels, surmounted by a semicircular recess above the lintel

VAULTING: barrel vault with two chamfered transversal arches, the western arch on quarter circle corbels, the eastern arch on double quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the western façade

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of present building

- after 1571 [Bağışkan: 1854–1855]: erection of an annexe and a mirhab in the nave during the transformation into mosque

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 386–387; Bağışkan 2009, p 225–226.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012

The today disused church of Saint John in the town of Askeia served as mosque (Osmanli Camii) for a certain time, as is shown by the presence of the *mirhab* on the inside. The date of conversion is not known, the first evidence for a Muslim use is the date 1271 (which equals 1854–1855) above the main entrance. In all certainty, the building was erected as a church, probably just a few years before the conquest in the 16th century. Apart from the changes made for adaption to the use of a mosque – an annexe in the north and the *mirhab* in the nave – it represents one of the best preserved examples of a middle-sized town church from this period.

The building consists of a single nave with a semicircular apse. The north and south walls are supported by rectangular, heavy buttresses. Buttresses as well as building corners, decorated elements and the vault are made from regular ashlar masonry, while the plain outer walls consist of rubble and are plastered over. Only little sculpted decoration adorns the church: the southern portal, clearly the main entrance, as it is facing the village, consist of a rectangular, chamfered doorway with flat moulded corbels, a heavy lintel and a round arched niche above. The northern and western portals are simple unarticulated arches. The apse window is of some elaboration, it is rectangular and surrounded by a roll moulding, while the western window consists of a simple chamfered round arch. Next to this, a profiled flagstaff holder indicates the vicinity to Famagusta, where these were common throughout the medieval period. On the inside, the vault is supported by two chamfered transversal arches, which rest on double quarter circle corbels in the east and simple quarter circle corbels in the west.

There are certain similarities to, among others, the Panagia church in Afentrika [2] on the Karpas peninsula, which was also built in the 16th century. Both structures share the emphasis of plain surfaces, good proportions, lack of sculpted decoration and even of details such as the use of double corbels only for the easternmost vault arch.

LOCALITY: Avdimou

DISTRICT: Limassol

DEDICATION: Panagia

GEO-DATA: 34.685375, 32.762471

CAT. NO: 45

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south of present day Avdimou,

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with apse (?)

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: barrel vault [destroyed], circular corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:- 15th–16th century: erection of present building

- fell into ruin before 1918

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

(Jeffery 1918, p 384–385); Gunnis 1936, p 233.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012

The village of Avdimou was a considerably important medieval settlement. In the 15th century, it is listed as *casal* together with Vasa, apparently in shared possession of Johan Dares, Clera de Gibelet and Uzabia de Beylona, widow of Luzenian de Gibelet, who are listed as *seigneurs* of the *casal*. Jean Richard assumes that this is the result of a hereditary distribution of the estate. In the first quarter of the 16th century, also "Oronda" is listed with Vasa and Avdimou – perhaps referring to Orounda near Nicosia.³⁷

Today, nothing more than a ruined structure, south of the village, remains of the medieval settlement. It is described as church of the Panagia by Gunnis, while Jeffery only mentions a ruined church of Saint Merkurios, which might also refer to a now entirely lost, different structure.

Of what is left, we can assume that it was a single nave church with an apse and a barrel vault, rather large and entirely built of rubble. Only parts of the northern and southern walls remain, both retaining one of the vault corbels each. These corbels are of the quarter circle type, but the rounded part is undercut deeply, which gives the corbel the appearance of a section of a roll moulding. Gunnis further reports that "a curious stone corbel with two human faces carved on it, which had for many years lain in the ruins of the church [...] is now preserved in the police station."³⁸ Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this corbel are unknown.

The shape of the corbels points towards a late medieval date of the building, perhaps in the 15th or 16th century.

³⁷ Richard 1983, p 114–115, 194.

³⁸ Gunnis 1936, p 233.

LOCALITY: Avgorou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.037470, 33.840075		CAT. NO: 46

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the modern village of Avgorou

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with small apse, open porch to the south

WINDOWS: rectangular apse window (late)

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches on double quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: original woodwork (16th century)

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.49.259–262 (1978); I.46.701–704 (1980); B. 56.740–746 (1981); B.62.567–569 (1983); B.75.046–049 (1986).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th or 16th century: erection of present building, perhaps including the apse of a predecessor
- 16th century, second phase: enlarged to the west (narthex?)
- 18th or 19th century: addition of the porch
- 19th century: addition of the bell tower
- 1980: restoration of porch and bell tower
- 1999–2003: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

Damaged frescoes of the early 16th century (?) in the three eastern bays: scenes from the life of Christ in the vault of the two eastern bays, a Virgin Orans with archangels in the apse, bishops, prophets and saints in the lower register. In the third bay from east only a Saint Paraskevi.

An Archangel Michael on a later painting layer (probably 18th–19th century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 186–187.

ARDAC 1980, p 17; 1999, p 24; 2000, p 29; 2001, p 33–34; 2002, p 33; 2003, p 28.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012

The church of Saint George is situated in the village centre of Avgorou and probably initially served as its parish church. It is a simple single nave building with a small semicircular apse, an open porch to the south and a tower in the south-eastern corner. The exterior is extremely plain, the barrel vault heavily abutted. The nave was once enlarged to the west, a fact that is only testified by vertical building joints in the northern and southern walls – the overall proportions and lack of decoration were maintained. The apse, erected from unusually large ashlar might either remain from a predecessor or testify to the presence of a Late Antique or Middle Byzantine church on the same site. The latter could be further indicated by the presence of various *spolia*: a marble screen plaque with inelegant carved crosses in the southern wall, above a (walled up) rectangular doorway with heavy lintel and two small marble columns in the eastern arch of the porch. As the latter was certainly not erected before the 18th century, they might be from a different context. The same is true for two pyramidal flagstaff holders, which are placed on the corners of the porch, even if they also could come from the west end of the medieval building. Other decorative parts of the porch, such as two carved crosses and a relief of Saint George, might create a certain appearance of antiquity, but were surely produced together with the porch. The latter seems to have possessed a west wing, open towards the church with a large arch in its west wall, but this arch is now walled up and nothing remains of the western porch.

The interior is richer in distinctive features. The barrel vault is supported by two transversal arches on double quarter circle corbels, the western of which marks the place of the original western wall before the extension. A badly preserved but large cycle of paintings covers especially the eastern bays – the vault contains scenes from the life of Christ, in the lower register are saints and a Madonna Orans with archangels above a row of bishops occupies the apse. Above the original southern door, a Mandylion is distinguishable. A single painting, the depiction of Saint Paraskevi, is preserved in the third bay from east – apart from this, only a fragment of an ornamental band testifies to the once complete decoration of the later added western bay.

This information is relevant for dating the building: the paintings, except for a badly overpainted Archangel Michael, are executed in the style of the early 16th century, so by that time the church and the extension had been erected. The ancient iconostasis, perhaps also a piece from the Venetian period, damaged the paintings, which indicates that it was brought here during a later refurbishing, perhaps when the porch was added.

LOCALITY: Avgorou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George Terratsiotis
GEO-DATA: 35.046431, 33.815829	CAT. NO: 47	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the fields west of Avgorou

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with semicircular apse, drum of the dome octagonal

WINDOWS: apse window: cusped lancet; above apse: quatrefoil oculus; nave windows: rectangular; dome drum: large, pointed arches

PORTALS: rectangular doorways with corner corbels (book-type, with double crosses on the inner side), surmounted by protruding pointed arch on pyramidal corbels

VAULTING: central dome rests on lateral pointed arches, western and eastern bays are groin-vaulted and separated from the central bay by flat transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders; two recesses in the northern wall (one protruding on the outside, one in wall thickness); traces of surrounding porches; coats of arms over the doorways

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA J.72.180 (1993).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 15th–early 16th century: erection of present building
- early 20th century (before 1936): restoration of the vaults, frescoes repainted

PAINTED DECORATION:

- damaged frescoes of the 16th century (?) in the apse (bishops, Communion of the Apostles) and adjacent walls (apse vault – Virgin Orans – repainted in poorest quality during the 1930s)
- martyrdom scenes (16th century?) and an image of Saint George (19th century) in one of the recesses in the northern wall

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 187.

ARDAC 1992, p 25; 1993, p25–26; 1999, p 24; 2000, p 29.

MKE, II, p 48.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012; 04.03.2013

The church of Saint George Terratsiotis is situated in the plain rural area west of Avgorou. Nothing indicates today, what the original purpose of the building was, since neither a settlement nor remains of monastic buildings surround the structure. The church itself is very well preserved, except for the loss of a probably wooden porch surrounding it.

The building is a large dome-hall structure with semicircular apse and an octagonal dome surmounting the cubic naos. It is built from limestone ashlar, like so many buildings in the region, but thick modern mortar joints make it hard to assess the quality of workmanship – the stones seem fairly well cut. Flat buttresses, two to the north and south each, emerge from the lower wall zone and become more conspicuous in the upper wall zone, which is set back by one stone layer. Small gables conclude the western and eastern walls, while the lateral ones end horizontally. The whole building is surrounded by a profiled string course. Apart from the convincing proportions and the sophistication of the material, the sculpted decoration is unusually rich for rural Cypriot churches as well. The two portals, in the south and west, are almost identical: a rectangular doorway with a flat arch instead of a lintel and two book corbels, is surmounted by a protruding rectangular hood mould. The hood mould sits on a combination of a quarter circle corbel and, below this, a second, pyramidal one. Simple heraldic elements decorate both portals: in the west, two coats of arms, one with a simple *cross pattée*, the other with a double cross. While the first version is also present on a coat of arms above the south door, the latter adorns the insides of both doorways' book corbels. The windows are less elaborate. The four windows of the dome drum are formed by unprofiled pointed arches. An oculus with a standing quatrefoil occupies the wall above the apse. The apse window is a chamfered rectangular slit with a small blind cusped arch above – a hardly visible, very subtle form of decoration. The naos once possessed six windows, two in each bay, which already indicates the unusual vaulting solution on the inside.

These vaults, insensitively 'polished' before 1936, consist of the usual dome-hall sequence, except that the domed central bay is flanked by groin-vaulted eastern and western bays. These groin-vaulted bays are less wide and shorter than the domed one, which gives the interior a wide, open and centralized appearance. The rather small apse with a sharply pointed conch and two asymmetric, pointed blind arches in the northern wall of the domed bay are the only deviations from the otherwise regular plan. The interior is mainly devoid of sculptural decoration, perhaps due to the restoration, which seems to have left out only the two string courses of the dome drum, both of the same profile as the exterior string course. The apse and adjoining walls are decorated with fragments of

paintings of rather average quality, which apparently date to the 16th century, but were partly overpainted in recent centuries.

The church fits well within the frame of rural churches in the surroundings of Famagusta, which possess a strong 'Crusader Revival' style. Close similarities to Saint Epifanios in Famagusta (a domed bay flanked by groin vaults, the string course) and Saint Mamas in Sotira (e.g. the – destroyed – porch surrounding both churches), as well as the double crosses on the heraldic shields, could point towards an early date in the late 14th or early 15th century. However, the corbels of the portals seem to indicate otherwise: the book shaped corbels as well as the pyramidal ones of the hood moulds do not appear on Cyprus before the 15th century and only become more common in Famagusta in the course of the 16th century. If we accept these details as dating evidence, the church of Saint George Terratsiotis would be a prime example for the retrospective tendencies in the 16th century, visually re-establishing the environment of the glorious 14th century long after the end of Famagusta's role as trading hotspot in the Eastern Mediterranean. This dating should nevertheless be treated with some care, as the building lacks any sign of 'Renaissance' decoration. If this was a purposeful decision, or if potentially influential buildings such as the monastery of Agia Napa had simply not been erected by that time, we cannot determine with certainty.

LOCALITY: Avgorou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Kendeas
GEO-DATA: 35.062653, 33.851564		CAT. NO: 48
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: near the main road Xylotymvou – Famagusta; no surrounding settlement		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [?]		
PORTALS: [?]		
VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches on corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 20 th century: remodelling of the monastic buildings, renovation of the church		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Karouzis describes a painted decoration, which, according to him, indicates a date in the 15 th or 16 th century. It is not certain, if this decoration still exists.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 154; Karouzis 1993, p 106–107		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible during visit]		

The monastery has been erected over an ancient *agiasma*, the main site of veneration of the hermit Kendeas. This cave sanctuary consists of an entrance chamber, from which a low arch leads into a deep second cave.

Jeffery and Gunnis describe the church of the monastery as of “unarchitectural character” and Gunnis dates it to the 16th century. Heavily restored in the 20th century, this church nevertheless remains more or less intact. It is a building of a single nave, with a barrel vault. The vault rests on transversal arches with quarter circle corbels in the west and double quarter circle corbels in the east. Karouzis furthermore describes fragments of a 15th or 16th century painted decoration. A verification of this sparse information was not possible, as the monastic complex was inaccessible during the on-site research.

The proposed dates might well be true, considering that the 16th century saw a significant interest in the erection of new churches connected with veneration sites of especially local saints.³⁹

³⁹ See chapter 6.3.

LOCALITY: Avlona	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.1640923, 33.1039523		CAT. NO: 49
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the northern fringe of Avlona – today inaccessible (military zone)		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: central dome with intersecting ribs, on transversal arches; rest barrel-vaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late 14th– early 15th century (according to Gunnis): erection of present building - 1535 (according to Gunnis): renovation, new painted programme - mid-20th century (between 1936 and 1974): restoration, covered in concrete plaster 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
According to Gunnis (current images indicate a complete loss of the paintings):		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late 14th century layer: donor figure above south door - layer of 1535: virgin with angels in the apse, raising of Lazarus 		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 220 [dates the church to the 19 th century]; Gunnis 1936, p 188; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 643–644; Papageorgiou 2010, p 45.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible] ⁴⁰		

⁴⁰ The discussion of the building is based on the pictures published in Yapıcıoğlu 2007.

Avlona, mentioned as fief of a certain Pierre Empolo in the “*Livre des remembrances*” in 1468, possesses two churches with medieval origins – both inaccessible due to the current location of the village in a military zone. The church of Saint George in the northern area of the village is a small dome-hall structure with an unusually short western bay. Portals and windows are entirely undecorated and fragments of cement plaster suggest, that the whole exterior was insensitively restored at some point in the 20th century. The interior is similarly plain, except for an arched recess with profiled moulding in the north wall and a remarkable dome construction. Above the upper string course of the dome drum, two intersecting flat band ribs support the dome vault.

The few available current pictures indicate, that the once rich painted decoration, which is still described by Rupert Gunnis in the 1930s, is entirely lost today. Gunnis observed two layers of painting, a very fragmentary one that he dated to the late 14th century (including a donor figure above the south door) and a younger layer from 1535, depicting among others a virgin with angels in the apse. As Gunnis’ datings are often not reliable and as he does not write, where from he was informed about the 1535 date, both suggestions can only be used with considerable care. The architecture can only testify to a building date during the Middle Ages. The ribbed dome construction and the use of regular ashlar bands for the ribs and the dome arches suggest, however, an origin in the Frankish period. A similar ribbed dome is only known from the church of the Saints Barnabas and Hilarion in Peristerona, only a few km from Avlona – there it has been dated incoherently to either the Middle Byzantine or the Late Byzantine period. In any case, the example from Peristerona is larger but much more irregular, if not clumsy in its execution – more like a later attempt to strengthen the dome shell. The dome in Avlona could simply be a reflex of the nearby design, but here purposefully employed and more regularly executed. Nevertheless, nothing of this contributes to a reasonable amount of certainty about the original date of the church.

LOCALITY: Avlona	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 35.16206, 33.106612		CAT. No: 50
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Avlona – today inaccessible (military zone)		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with asymmetrically placed apse		
WINDOWS:[replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: the church possessed a 16 th century candlestick and a 17 th century iconostasis (both lost)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of a first building, of which today the apse remains		
- 18 th century: church rebuilt		
- 20 th century (between 1936 and 1974): second renovation/ rebuilding		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
According to Gunnis (current images indicate a complete loss of the paintings), there were fragmentary paintings on the vault ribs.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 187; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 645; Papageorgiou 2010, p 45.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible] ⁴¹		

⁴¹ The discussion of the building is based on the pictures published in Yapıcıoğlu 2007.

The second considerable building with medieval origins in Avlona is the village church of Saint Marina, inaccessible today, since the whole village is part of a military zone. Recent images show a large barrel-vaulted building of little quality and uncertain date with a mid-20th century façade. Solely the asymmetrical position of the semicircular apse with a pointed conch betrays the presence of older building phases.

Gunnis, who considered the whole building to be from the 18th century, observed remains of paintings on the vault ribs. These paintings are today covered by whitewash or entirely lost, so the building chronology is subject to some speculation. We might wonder if an older church was perhaps enlarged in the 16th century and restored subsequently, as suggested by Papageorghiou, or if solely the apse remains from a late medieval building.

LOCALITY: Charkeia	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint George of Attalou
GEO-DATA: 35.300770, 33.536623		CAT. NO: 51
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the northern Pentadaktylos foothills, a few km south of Charkeia		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: [destroyed]		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted lateral bays, central dome (destroyed)		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century (?): erection of the original building		
- around 1950: collapse of the vault		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a standing saint (Athanasia?) and of an unidentified scene, including a sea creature (?). Not certainly dated, perhaps late 15 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 322 [here described as "Melanisiko Monastery"]; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 493–497.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 492.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2012		

The ruined church of Saint George of Attalou forms the katholikon of a former monastic compound in the upper Pentadaktylos foothills, not far from the village of Charkeia and the better-known Armenian monastery of Sourp Margar, to which it belonged at least in the beginning of the 20th century. The origins of this monastery are largely obscure, albeit it is mentioned as Maronite possession in 1596 by Girolamo Dandini.⁴²

The church is of the dome-hall type, erected over a rather wide and short plan. While Jeffery still saw the church intact, in around 1950 large parts of the western wall, all portals and windows and the entirety of the vault collapsed due to the poor quality of the masonry. The roughness of the masonry as well as the lack of decorated portals and windows, which usually form the base for a dating, make it hard to determine the period of erection of the church. Solely the shape of the engaged wall piers, which once carried the dome, can be of further help. They are circular in their lower courses up to the springers of the lateral niche arches. Small squinch-like decorations connect the circular piers with the orthogonal wall above. These small corner decorations reminding of simple *muqarnas* are indeed hardly thinkable in Cyprus before the 14th, more probably 15th century and are firmly embedded in the surrounding masonry. Furthermore, the proportions and the circular shape of the engaged piers remind of the late 14th – early 15th century (?) church of Saint Andronikos in Liopetri, even if the latter is executed in a more skilful way.

The fragments of wall paintings in the church depict a standing saint, Saint Athanasia, and what has been previously identified as Saint George. However, the fragment reminds more of an unidentifiable sea creature (?). In any case, the fragments are not datable and without further research cannot help in the identification of original context and date of the church.

Nevertheless, on the base of the architectural evidence we can assume a 15th century date for the erection of the present structure.

⁴² Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 493.

LOCALITY: Chlorakas	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.799127, 32.408351		CAT. NO: 52
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Chlorakas		
TYPOLOGY: cross shaped with elongated western arm, semicircular eastern apse		
WINDOWS: dome windows with triangular top		
PORTALS: western and northern portal: rectangular with flattened keel-arch above, coat of arms in the centre		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted cross arms, central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 37; DOA [under 'Pafos Earthquake'] A.4100, 4111, J.1750, 1757–1758 (1953); [under 'Chlorakas'] A.4595–4596 (1954); B.48.994 (1978); B.61.421–423 (1982); B.66.654–656, 842 (1984); J.73.797–801 (1993); 84.020–032 (1997).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 14th century (?): erection of the original building- late 15th or 16th century: western extension, portals- 18th–19th century: addition of a large room to the north and a small room to the south of the western bay of the nave- 1953: slightly damaged in earthquake, subsequently restored- 1984:demolition of two annexe rooms flanking the western end of the nave		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>All parts of the initial building are covered in paintings, which are badly repainted. According to the ARDAC 1996, these paintings date to the 15th century and cover an older layer.</p> <p>Two saints are on the southern wall of extension, date unknown [the 13th century date suggested in the ARDAC 1997 seems too early].</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Gunnis 1936, p 268; Čurčić 2000, p 15 [12th century date implied].</p> <p>ARDAC 1984, p 23–24, fig 22–23; 1996, p 27–28; 1997, p 27.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
<p>—</p> <p>(Soteriou 1935, fig 26, is labelled as the Panagia Chryseleousa but shows in fact an erroneous plan and section of Saint Nicholas)</p>		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.03.2012		

The Panagia church stands in the centre of modern Chlorakas and certainly served as parish church of the village since its erection. It is a spacious but low building on an unusual, cross shaped ground plan with elongated western cross arm. A wide dome surmounts the crossing. The rubble-built exterior is entirely plain, except for the western and northern portals and four mitred windows in the dome drum. The interior, low and rather dark, does not possess any sculpted decoration; the surfaces of vaults and walls of the eastern half of the building are all covered in paintings.

It is possible to distinguish two building phases. Originally, the western cross arm had the same length as the eastern one and was only extended to its current size in a second phase. The original building is hardly datable, only the mitred windows, which we encounter in 14th century Famagusta, might hint at a date before 1400. Probably at the same time as the western arm was enlarged, the remarkable portals were inserted; they show a flattened keel-arch decoration carved into their lintels. This arch type is very rare in Cyprus and can only be encountered in three further instances, adorning the northern portal of the small church of Saint Nicholas in Chlorakas [53] and the western portal of the Panagia in nearby Emba [64] (as well as the destroyed northern portal of the Avgasida katholikon [208]), so that we can speak of a more local phenomenon. This type is widespread in for example 15th century Rhodes, so that one might think of a Rhodian mason bringing this decorative idea to Cyprus in the late 15th or 16th century. The coat of arms that is inserted in the keel of the main portal depicts a t-shape, vaguely resembling a tau cross, in fact a unique heraldic shield in Cyprus. Due to the overly simple nature of the heraldic shield and its ambiguity, it does not help to identify potential patrons of the church extension, who might have chosen to place their coat of arms above the main entrance for commemorative reasons.

The paintings of the church interior were heavily overpainted in the beginning of the 20th century, but where the original layer shines through, we can distinguish a passion cycle and other classical scenes such as the ascension of Christ, Saint Michael etc., all of moderate quality and probably executed in the context of the 16th century renovation of the building.

LOCALITY: Chlorakas	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 34.793455, 32.412835		CAT. NO: 53
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the southern outskirts of Chlorakas		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with elongated western arm, semicircular eastern apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: northern portal rectangular, profiled frame with keel arch and coat of arms, simple hood mould with recessed tympanum		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted cross arms; central dome above the eastern bay		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA I.10.933–934 (1967); J.73.802–804 (1993).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 9 th -10 th century (Prokopiou) or 12 th century: erection of the dome-hall		
- 16 th century: western extension, replacement of the northern portal		
- 2005: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 268; Prokopiou 2006, p 389–399.		
ARDAC 2005, p 41, fig 20–23.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 26 (erroneous); Prokopiou 2006, fig 442–444.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.03.2012		

The church of Saint Nicholas is a small dome-hall building in the southern outskirts of Chlorakas, which goes back to the Byzantine period. Prokopiou's 9th/10th century date seems to be too early, but the church was certainly in existence before the 12th century. In the context of this study, it is relevant that the church underwent a restoration in the late medieval period, which did not only result in a structural strengthening and an enlargement of the naos, but also in the insertion of a large new portal in the northern wall. This portal consists of a rectangular doorway with a keel-arch moulding on the lintel, much alike the western portal of the Panagia in Chlorakas [52]. The keel is occupied by the same heraldic shield with a tau cross (albeit slightly weathered, so the identification is not entirely sure) as we find it in the main portal of the Panagia. We can thus conclude that both churches were remodelled and decorated with new portals at the same time, possibly funded by the same patron. This took place perhaps in the early 16th century (and not after 1571, as stated by Prokopiou).

LOCALITY: Choletria	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Irene
GEO-DATA: 34.753793, 32.595496		CAT. NO: 54
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: 1 km south of Choletria in an unpopulated area		
TYPOLOGY: [ruined] single nave structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: –		
VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches on simple corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.74.442–446 (1993).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the present building		
- 19 th –20 th century: collapse of the vault and southern wall		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished – Jeffery 1918, p 322, speaks of “rustic chapels in [the] neighbourhood of the invariable type, and in the usual condition of decay and neglect.”		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012		

This ruined rubble-built church is located ca. one km south of the modern town of Choletria. The surroundings are unpopulated, but perhaps the church marks the place of an ancient village. Presumably, the ruin is one of the churches referred to by George Jeffery, when he speaks of "rustic chapels in [the] neighbourhood of the invariable type, and in the usual condition of decay and neglect."

The building used to be of the typical rural single nave type with semicircular apse and barrel vault, which was widespread in Cyprus in the 15th and 16th centuries. The southern wall and vault are gone, as well as most of the western wall and apse. No decorated element remains to narrow down the date of construction, as the quarter circle corbels of the vault are entirely generic.

LOCALITY: Choli	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 34.979132, 32.444184		CAT. NO: 55
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Choli, 100 m east of the church of the Panagia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse and elevated western bay		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: several doorways with simple chamfered, strongly protruding imposts carrying monolithic lintels, crude hood mould above the northern portal		
VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.3438 (1951); C.5767–5787 (1960); J.11.856, 13.419–425 (1968); B.39.372–380, 664 (1975); J.53.773–774 (1985); J.88.207 (1991).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 15th–16th century (?): erection of the church, perhaps incorporating remains of an older building - 19th–20th century: addition of a tower and a large porch in the north of the building - 1990s: restoration 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Extensive cycle, still described as “in an excellent state of preservation” by Gunnis in 1936, today fragmentary. Comprehensively discussed in Stylianos, Stylianos 1997 with a full list of the depicted scenes (from the life of Mary and a Passion cycle) on p 421.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 269; Stylianos, Stylianos 1975; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 419–421. ARDAC 1997, p 28; [wrongly as ‘Panagia’] 1998, p 36, fig 30–31.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and longitudinal section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.144.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2012; 05.03.2013		

The church of the Archangel Michael lies towards the southern end of the village of Choli. It is a long, single nave structure with semicircular apse, erected from rubble with ashlar being used for the building corners. The most conspicuous feature is the western bay, rising around three metres above the rest of the building to form a tower-like structure. The nave is covered by a low barrel vault, carried on two transversal arches, the western of which underpins the eastern wall of the tower. Buttresses stabilized this arch to the north and south (even if both are slightly further west than the western wall of the tower), the northern one incorporated in a 20th century porch. On the inside, the tower is barrel-vaulted as well and today does not show any division of storeys. The portals of the church are remarkable for their shape and their position. In the centre of the northern church wall is what presumably functioned as main entrance, a rectangular doorway with protruding chamfered imposts and a monolithic lintel, surmounted by a crude hood mould. Four more doorways are placed in the tower. Two are on the ground floor level, next to the buttresses supporting the dividing arch on the inside. They have the same shape as the main doorway, albeit the one in the north is today walled up and the imposts chiselled off. A further walled up doorway is visible on approximately 2,50 m height in the northern wall of the tower. Above this level, there is a small step in the western wall of the tower, atop of which another entrance or window was located, today reduced to a smaller opening. On the ground floor, the western wall seems to have been patched up at some point, suggesting the former presence of another entrance here. The evidence is obfuscated by the hardly documented repair works executed after the earthquake of 1953.

Already the relative chronology of the building is puzzling. Gunnis considers the western part to be the "lower stages of a medieval watch-tower, the vaulted roof being added later."⁴³ This notion remained largely unchallenged and indeed the doorways on three levels, indicating an original tri-partition of the interior, might corroborate this theory. However, a medieval watchtower would have hardly possessed entrances on the ground floor. While the portals could have been inserted when the nave was added, this would not explain, why the second portal, of identical shape, was inserted halfway up the northern wall. Furthermore, the ashlar of the south-eastern corner of the tower rest on top of continuous rubble masonry in the lower zone. Here we would have to expect a vertical joint, had the tower been erected before the nave of the church. To conclude, it seems that nave and tower were either erected at the same time or, less likely, that the tower was an afterthought.

⁴³ Gunnis 1936, p 269.

Presumably, the division into storeys was initially part of the architectural concept, even if the building was used as a church – otherwise the portals of tower and church would most likely not be of identical shape (assuming that none of the portals is in secondary use today). This requires explanation, but no similar structure on the island is known to help. The doorway on half-level could speculatively be explained as access to a tribune placed in the eastern bay, perhaps serving a monastic community. A common use of a church by a monastery and a parish, which would make such an arrangement necessary, is admittedly a Western medieval practice and does not fully explain the vaulted upper storey. However, western tribunes of the Venetian period are known from a number of churches in Famagusta, for example Saint George of the Greeks and Saints Peter and Paul.

Furthermore, while not likely to serve immediate fortificatory functions, the tower may have indeed been used as a safe place to store the church treasure, a library or even relics. In this context, one is reminded of the church of Saint Afxentios in Komi Kebir [113], which, according to Gunnis, housed relics of the homonymous saint in a chamber above a deep separating arch in the west end of the church. Do we see the remains of a similar installation in Choli, in which the pious visitor of the church would once have had the chance to enter the western bay from two (perhaps three) sides and subsequently pass below a venerated relic in one of the upper storeys?

Independent from this, the absolute chronology of the church remains similarly obscure. The paintings, which still adorn the interior in a large number (albeit much has been lost since Gunnis attested the decoration to be in an excellent state of preservation), were dated to the Venetian period, probably the 16th century. In contrast, the portals of the church seem extremely archaic at first and could suggest a date far before the Latin period. Nevertheless, one can compare the oddly protruding corbels with those of the side portal of the nearby church of Saint Paraskevi in Akourdaleia [26], itself of debated age but most likely from the 16th century. Thus, the portals of the Archangel Church in Choli, and with it the whole church, may well be a product of the 15th or 16th century as well.

LOCALITY: Choli	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.979491, 32.444876	CAT. NO: 56	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village of Choli, around 100 m east of the parish church of the Archangel Michael

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: biforate window in the western façade (presumably invented in 1956)

PORTALS: rectangular with heavy monolithic lintels (presumably both reconstructed)

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal rib

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.2391 (1946); A.3434–3437 (1951); A.4130, 4290 (1953); A.4762–4766, B.7799–7800 (1956); J.88.205–206 (1991).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–15th century (phase 1) : erection of a small chapel of one bay
- 14th–15th century (phase 2): replacement of the apse of the first chapel with a second bay & new apse
- before 1930: ruined, most of the vault collapsed
- 1953: further damage in the Pafos Earthquake
- 1956: reconstruction of the west and east ends, missing parts of the vault, upper courses of the lateral walls

PAINTED DECORATION:

In the eastern vault scenes from the life of the Virgin (on the northern half) and the life of Christ (on the southern half). In the second niche of the northern wall fragments of an Archangel Michael.

The cycle can be dated to the Venetian period (late 15th or 16th century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 269.

ARDAC [wrongly as 'Archangel Michael'] 1998, p 36.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and longitudinal section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.143.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2012

The church of the Panagia in Choli today serves as cemetery chapel for the small village. One might wonder about its original function, considering that it is located only 100 m east of the larger parish church of the Archangel Michael. The church is a narrow, rather long building of one single nave with a semicircular apse. The interior is barrel-vaulted; a transversal arch supports the vault. The corbels of this arch are combined from the quarter circle type with protruding imposts placed above. Two blind arches on each side occupy the lateral walls of the eastern bay, in the western bay a wider niche is placed in the southern wall.

As by the 1950s only the western bay with its vault and the foundations of the rest were preserved, there is some uncertainty about which parts of the building can be considered original. A conspicuous vertical building joint in the southern wall, approximately marking the middle of the building, might indicate two phases. The western bay might have been the initial building, the apse of which would have been replaced with a second bay and new apse later on, resulting in the elongated shape. While this difference in masonry could also be the cause for the partial collapse later on, there is some uncertainty, as to whether this joint might not be a result of the reconstruction of the church in 1956 as well. The apse is a reconstruction in its entirety, as no trace of it is visible on the few available pre-1956 photographs.

The paintings, depicting mainly scenes from the life of Mary and a large archangel Michael in one of the blind arches, can be dated to the Venetian period, so the late 15th or 16th century. While this serves as firm *terminus ante quem*, the erection of the church, or at least its eastern part, might go back to the 14th century. An even earlier date is unlikely, as the corbels betray a knowledge of (more elegant) widespread 14th and 15th century solutions – thus, Gunnis might not go wrong in dating the church to the 15th century.

LOCALITY: Choulou	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Pantanassa
GEO-DATA: 34.871461, 32.556454	CAT. NO: 57	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Choulou		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with polygonal (7/12) apse		
WINDOWS: —		
PORTALS: southern nave portal: pointed arch, profiled impost (dogtooth-moulding); apse portal(!): rectangular, richly moulded imposts, dogtooth moulding around parts of the doorway		
VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches on corbels (one corbel with cross in relief)		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral recesses in the western part		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.36.149–153 (1974); B.38.755–759, 891–897 (1975); J.75.157, 519–523 (1993); J.76.658–663, 954–959 (1994)		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 15th–early 16th century: erection of a single nave church- 18th century: expansion to the east- 19th century: subsequent renewal of the church (after collapse of the vault?)- 1990s: renovation (roof), further frescoes uncovered		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Various fragments of a circle, which once covered the whole church. In the lower zone various scenes in the recesses, the most important of which a Madonna with archangels, three men in the furnace and a sacrifice of Isaac. Above three registers on each side of the vault (the highest destroyed entirely). First busts of saints, then a Christological cycle (including a Footwashing, the Baptism). Fragments of a monumental Crucifixion on the western wall, sadly disturbed by a 19 th century window. Above a large Mandylion. Datable to ca. 1500 (?) [Gunnis: around 1510; in the ARDAC 1994, p 26 an untenable 13 th century date proposed].		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 269–70; Iliades 2005, p 33. ARDAC 1994, p 26; 1995, p 26; 1998, p 36; 1999, p 30, fig 24–25; 2001, p 41.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.10.2008; 27.03.2012 ⁴⁴		

⁴⁴ I wish to thank Michele Bacci and Andreas Mauersberger for sharing their photographs of the church interior, which was inaccessible during the on-site research for this study.

The parish church of Choulou, dedicated to the Panagia Pantanassa, has been aptly described as “much repaired at various times” already by Gunnis. Today, it is a single nave building with a polygonal apse (7/12). On the exterior, the western half is entirely plain, while the lateral walls of the eastern half show flat blind arcades on engaged piers. The southern façade is dominated by a tower placed at the western end of the blind arcade. Four portals give access to the building. Two simple ones are situated in the southern and western walls of the western half, the southern one displaying two sculpted fragments: a quarter-circle corbel and a frieze with simple profiling. The largest portal, pointed with simple roll moulding and profiled imposts, occupies the western arch of the southern blind arcade. Finally, a small rectangular doorway is placed in the southern polygon face of the apse. Parts of its jambs and the lintel are decorated with dogtooth moulding running along the outer edge; two differing profiled imposts with crude renditions of dogtooth and dentil moulding carry the lintel. Various cross graffiti are scratched into the portal jambs in an unusual density. The elongated interior is barrel-vaulted; with (interrupted) transversal arches in the eastern half of the nave. The northern and southern walls in the western half are articulated by large, deep blind arches or recesses. There are three on each side, the western ones being slightly narrower than the central and eastern ones.

The painted decoration, considerable fragments of which remain in the niches formed by the blind arches, the lower vault zones and the western wall, present the most conclusive dating evidence. In particular, a depiction of Mary flanked by archangels, which has been dated to the early 16th century, reveals the origins of the church in or shortly before the Venetian period. As most of the church is covered in whitewash, the sequence of changes is not perceivable through building joints. However, it seems safe to state that the western half substantially belongs to the initial 15th–16th century building. This seems to have been an architecturally rather simple single nave church with lateral recesses, similar to for example Saint Andronikos in Polis [183]. This church, on the inside preserved except for the apse, seems to have received an eastern expansion with a new apse in the 18th century. Tower and the lateral blind arches of the eastern nave part can be dated to the 19th or 20th century, presumably following a collapse of the nave vault. The portals are the most problematic elements. Gunnis dates the southern portal to the initial 16th century building. The crude dogtooth ornament in the imposts might indicate an 18th century date, the more likely option, but the design is not entirely out of place for earlier centuries as well. The rectangular apse doorway was clearly assembled from fragments of a once larger portal. The jambs and lintel with the more accurately carved dogtooth frame seem to have been turned upside-down in this process: usually, dogtooth ornament ornares the inner corners of jambs. The imposts, however, are contemporary with the main portal, thus rather from the 18th century.

Overall, the fragmentary remains of the initial church, presumably a late 15th–16th century building, suggest that it was of considerable importance due to the rather large scale and the high quality of the painted decoration.

LOCALITY: Chrysochou	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas (?)
GEO-DATA: 35.004893, 32.43797	CAT. NO: 58	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on a raised plateau in the northern fringes of the village Chrysochou

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse, northern annexe, minaret

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: southern portal (walled up): rectangular with corbels; western portal: simple pointed arch

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault carried by three transversal arches on quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA [in 'Polis'] B.41.072 (1975); B.61.389 (1982); [in 'Chrysochou'] B.61.390–393 (1982); B.64.913–917 (1983); B.70.738–740 (1985); B.73.686–687 (1986); J.79.306–308, 865–876 (1995); J.83.421–439, 85.100–114, 233–238 (1997).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the main nave
- after 1571 (?): addition of the northern annexe and the minaret
- 1985–86: restoration especially of the northern annexe
- 1995: earthquake damage, minaret destroyed, subsequently reconstructed and church repaired

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Bağışkan 2009, p 347–348.

ARDAC 1985, p 25–26; 1989, p 31; 1997, p 28, fig 32–33; 1998, p 35, fig 26–29; 1999, p 31, fig 26–27; 2000, p 38, fig 25–27.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.03.2012 [only exterior]

The village of Chrysochou inherited its name from the homonymous medieval bailliage, also including nearby Polis Chrysochous. In the 15th century, reportedly the region was of rather secondary importance: King Jacob II ordered that it should be united with the bailliage of Emba and Lemba further south due to the small amount of casale included. In the 16th century, the bailliage seems to have been re-established: it is listed with thirteen casale, including also Pomos, Androlikou, Akourdalia and Kritou Tera.

The village church was initially a modest single nave building with semicircular apse and a barrel vault. The nave is supported by two buttresses in the south; in the north, the nave is abutted by a later annexe room. Two simple portals, a pointed and a rectangular one (the latter walled up, once with now indiscernible corbels). The barrel vault is pointed and supported by transversal arches on quarter circle corbels; the apse vault is rounded instead of pointed. Shallow pointed blind arches structure the lateral walls; each is placed beneath one of the three transversal arches of the vault.

The church, which certainly originated in the 15th or 16th century, was perhaps already transformed into a mosque during the earlier centuries of the Ottoman period and the annexe was added. Regarding its functional history, the building is comparable to the (much smaller but probably contemporary) church/mosque of Pelathousa [172]. Restoration campaigns took place in 1985–1986, in order to secure the then ruined northern annexe, and 1997, after an earthquake in 1995 had destroyed the upper part of the minaret. In this campaign, the interior was renovated and the whitewash removed to reveal the regular ashlar of the construction.

LOCALITY: Dali	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.029104, 33.425725	CAT. NO: 59	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: within a cemetery, at the fringes of Dali next to the road Dali-Potamia

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with polygonal (3/8) apse, corner buttresses with engaged colonettes

WINDOWS: apse window: profiled, pointed arch

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with chevron corbels and continuous profile (parts of ornamental decoration), separate recessed tympanum above with dogtooth moulding, hood mould with slight indication of an ogee arch; western and northern portal: rectangular, chamfered, with chevron corbels

VAULTING: currently two groin-vaulted bays separated by transversal arch; originally one large rib vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Two drawings by Edmond Duthoit, 1862, which show the pre-restoration state (Bonato, Severis 1999, p 199–200); DOA B.64.897–898, 65.898 (1983).

OTHER: inscription on northern vault capital: "ΕΠΕΔΙΟΡΘΩΘΗ Ο ΠΑΡΩΝ ΝΑΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ~~~~~".

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- mid-15th century: erection of the present church
- before 1862: collapse of the vault
- between 1862 and 1896 (1887?): rebuilding of the vault and the lateral gables (different to original shape)
- 1980s: repair of the vault and roof

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 199–201 [Enlart 1987, p 172–173]; Jeffery 1918, p 202; Gunnis 1936, p 216; Bonato, Severis 1999, p 199–200; Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 260.
ARDAC 1983, p 17, fig 1–2; 1985, p 18.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2008; 20.04.2009; 10.04.2010; 18.04.2012; 03.03.2013; 23.11.2014

Dali, situated in the plains south of Nicosia, is a large settlement with a continuity reaching back into the pre-Roman period. Several Middle Byzantine churches and cave sanctuaries in the surroundings testify to a rich and varied sacred topography of the region.⁴⁵ In the eastern outskirts of the town, today surrounded by a cemetery, lies the church known by the name of Saint Mamas. It is an ashlar-built rectangular building of roughly 8 m by 12 m, with a three-sided polygonal apse. The corners of the nave are protruding and form strong buttresses with engaged colonettes decorating the edges, the whole building is today surmounted by triangular gables, which are, as will be discussed below, part of a more recent building campaign. Three portals give access to the interior, the southern one being clearly identifiable as main entrance by its size and elaboration. This doorway is rectangular, framed with a continuous roll moulding, the lintel resting on profiled chevron corbels. The recessed tympanum above is framed by a roll with fillet and fine dogtooth moulding, the whole sheltered by a slightly ogee-shaped hood mould with horizontal returns and more dogtooth moulding. The western and northern portals are simple chamfered rectangles, the western one with chevron corbels, the northern one with cavetto-and-roll corbels (the latter visible on an 1862 drawing of Edmond Duthoit, before the portal was walled up). A profiled pointed apse window and the presence of polygonal, basket-shaped flagstaff holders completes the impression of a building of high artistic quality.

Today, the interior is covered by two bays of groin vaults with a transversal arch. This arch rests on small corbels, which itself sit atop of two engaged half-columns. These half-columns carry flat blind arches, dividing the lateral walls into two layers. This vault was considered original by Camille Enlart, first scholar to study the building in detail in 1896. However, the drawing of Duthoit reveals that by 1862 the church was ruined after a collapse of the original vault. Indeed, the capital of the northern half-column bears an inscription, referring to the renovation of the church on the expenses of an honourable person from the town.⁴⁶ During this renovation, the gables of the exterior were replaced as well, a fact that is also recognizable due to the smaller ashlar formats used for the gables. It is this event, to which the date 1887, discovered by Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004 on the western doorway, must refer, and not the restoration of the wooden doors (the southern of which, with a curious owl-shaped handle, might indeed be of higher age than the 19th century).⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Gunnis 1936, p 216–217; Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 260.

⁴⁶ Strangely, the name of this 19th century patron has been scratched out later – a modern form of *damnatio memoriae*?

⁴⁷ Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 260.

The original vault, remains of which are shown by Duthoit, was a single rib vault, spanning the whole nave of 6 m by 8 m – one of the widest spanning medieval rib vaults in Cyprus.⁴⁸ While the builder must have been aware of this daring construction, which he tried to abut with the use of the protruding corner buttresses, its size was presumably the reason for the later collapse. Interestingly, the damage patterns shown on Duthoit's drawing are similar to those in Saint George of the Greeks, Famagusta [69] (and typical for the general construction of rib vaults in the Eastern Mediterranean). While most of the ribs are gone, the rest of the vault retains several layers of stone more, indicating a self-carrying construction of the vault sails. The precise design of the rib profiles and the corbels, on which they rested in the nave corners, is not discernible. However, it seems likely to assume corbels of the same shape as the still present flagstaff holders, closely resembling those of the rib vault in the contemporary Panagia Stazousa church [105]. The rib profile might have also been alike. Today, solely the apse design remains from the original interior, even if the corbels and rib springers might still be embedded within the inner wall layer above the blind arches. The apse is rather low, covered by a high calotte resting on a simple cavetto moulded string course. A curious, unique detail are the roll mouldings or rather engaged colonettes decorating the apse corners in the same way as the buttresses on the outside.

As mentioned above, already Camille Enlart recognized the unusual opulence of the building for a rural Greek church, which caused him to include it among the 'Gothic' churches in his 1899 volume. Nevertheless, his verdict is rather dismissive: "Cette église montre parfaitement ce que devinrent au XVe siècle les traditions françaises en Chypre entre les mains de Grecs dirigés par des Vénitiens."⁴⁹ Indeed, the church is one of the few testimonies of Cypriot 15th century church architecture. As Enlart has already remarked, the region was devastated in Mamluk raids in 1425. Even if other pre-1425 churches of the region do not show signs of ancient damage anymore, the aftermath of such a situation of threat would have been ideal for the erection of new churches. Stylistically, there are good arguments to date the church not before the 15th century.⁵⁰ In particular the detailing of the southern portal (ogee arch, idiosyncratic application of clumsy relief) matches the 15th century tendencies towards a certain austerity, combined with idiosyncratic application of

⁴⁸ The rib vaults of the nave in Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta, largest rib vaulted Greek church on the island, reached a size of 5 m by 7 m.

⁴⁹ Enlart 1899, p 201 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 173: "This church perfectly demonstrates what happened in the fifteenth century to the traditions of French architecture in Cyprus when they fell into the hands of the Greeks directed by the Venetians." Weyl Carr aptly speaks of "Enlart's [...] romantic ideal of colonial implantation" when describing his ideological background. (Weyl Carr 1995a, p 251.)

⁵⁰ See chapter 5.1 for a detailed description and contextualization of the style in the context of 15th century architecture.

decorative details. At the same time, none of the details requires a knowledge of late 15th century Venetian forms, so a later date in the 16th century, suggested among others by Gunnis and Jeffery, is not indicated.

The original function of the church remains entirely obscure. Certainly, it is far too elaborate to have been erected as cemetery chapel, even if a funerary or commemorative function cannot be excluded. Nothing indicates that the church was originally Latin, as assumed by Gunnis: there is no *piscina* in the southern flank of the apse, but a (prothesis) niche in the northern apse front, as is the custom for the Greek churches of the island. The stylistic similarities to the Panagia Stazousa as well as the modest size combined with high architectural quality let us rather think of a church once belonging to a monastic site. The lack of a narthex is not problematic in this context: even if the Panagia Stazousa church possesses one, this was a later addition and other buildings on the island show that narthexes were not compulsory anymore by the 15th century.

LOCALITY: Davlos	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.411648, 33.917412		CAT. NO: 60

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the northern slope of the Pentadaktylos mountain range, approx. 2 km south of Davlos

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with polygonal (5/8) apse, regular buttresses, wide narthex

WINDOWS: church: rectangular; narthex: narrow, rounded arches

PORTALS: church: pointed arches with profiled imposts; narthex: destroyed

VAULTING: church: barrel vault with transversal arches; narthex: two groin vaults

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th century(?): erection of the narthex as addition to a presumable predecessor of the present church
- 18th century: church replaced, narthex divided in two separate rooms

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2012

The small monastic settlement of Saint Nicholas is situated high above the town of Davlos, in the woods of the northern Pentadaktylos slopes below the Kantara castle. It consists of a church with narthex and a few poorly built, ruined domestic buildings further up the hill. The site has not been studied previously and nothing is known about its historic context.

The oldest part of the church complex is the narthex. It is a very plain, cubic rectangular structure built of ashlar. A single doorway, the lintel and tympanum of which are missing today, is placed in the southern half of the western wall, below a round arched window. A second window of identical shape pierces the southern wall of the narthex; a slit window occupies the northern half of the western wall. The interior of the narthex is separated into two groin-vaulted bays. The corners of the bays are occupied with engaged piers, resulting in a cruciform shape of the plan –therefore, no buttresses were needed on the outside. As a result, the vaults continue in lateral deep arches or barrel-vaulted segments. The northern bay retains an unusual pebble floor, which might be of considerable age. The character of the building and the vaults, which resemble early 14th century examples in Famagusta, indicates a 14th century date, even if the absolute lack of sculptural decoration makes a more precise dating impossible.⁵¹

The narthex is placed asymmetrically in front of the church – access is gained through a pointed doorway in the southern bay, which is not aligned with the narthex entrance. The church itself is a simple but well-built single nave structure with regular exterior buttresses and a barrel vault, certainly erected in the 18th century. It seems certain that this church replaced a more ancient building on the same spot and in the same process the narthex was divided by a rough rubble-built wall.

The unusual shape of the narthex raises some questions concerning its function. Narthexes in Cyprus possess usually one or three bays, sometimes with a dome over the central one. Without exception, they are more or less symmetrical, even if they are later additions.⁵² Even later narthexes added onto double nave structures (such as the church of Agios Sergios [13]) then possess doorways leading into both naves. Here, the division in two bays with the southern one forming the only entrance to the church is undoubtedly original. No joints indicate that the northern bay possessed a door in its eastern wall, or that the older church extended over the dimensions of the 18th century building. Did the northern bay, entirely secluded, perhaps once have a function surpassing that of usual narthexes, even if it was initially not screened off against the southern bay? Until further historical evidence can be produced, this question will have to remain open.

⁵¹ See chapter 4.2 for this vault type.

⁵² On narthexes see Papageorgiou 1982b.

LOCALITY: Deryneia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.063275, 33.960837		CAT. NO: 61

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Deryneia

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with polygonal (3/6) apse, western extension

WINDOWS: dome windows: stepped round arches

PORTALS: western portal: pointed arch with profiled imposts, ornamented spolia above; southern portals recent additions

VAULTING: barrel vaults without transversal arches, central dome

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (1 image, ca. 1935); DOA (wrongly under Vrysoulles-Agios Georgios) B.53.386–388(1980); DOA B.39.868 (1975); B.52.326–331 (1979); J.71.459–462 (1992).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century(?): erection of the dome-hall church
- 18th century: western extension with portal
- 19th century: second western extension, southern portal

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a cycle in the domed bay, including a large Saint George and his martyrdom, executed by Nicholas Savvas in the 18th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 227; Gunnis 1936, p 218.
ARDAC 1979, p 17; 1984, p 22; 1997, p 23.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012

The church of Saint George in the village centre of Derineya is a small dome-hall with later western extensions. The elongated nave, erected from very irregular ashlar is entirely plain, except for the (post-medieval) western and southern portals. The same is true of the three-sided polygonal apse, with a rectangular chamfered window and a simple cornice. A curious feature is the lack of gables above the lateral walls, which leaves the roof above the lateral dome arches visible in the form of an amorphous mass of stone. The dome, with an irregular, approximately round drum, shows four round arched windows with stepped frames.

The inside consists of an unvaulted first bay, a barrel-vaulted second bay and the slightly narrower dome-hall, vaulted in a sequence of pointed barrel vault, (irregular) dome and another pointed barrel vault. The lateral walls of the barrel-vaulted bays contain low, pointed niches. Except for the deep lateral dome arches, there are no carved elements in the whole interior, which could deliver some dating evidence.

Much of the finishing of the upper parts might be part of a thorough renewal in the 18th century, when the church received its first western extension (including the later reused western portal) and a cycle of paintings executed by Nicholas Savvas in the domed central bay. The iconostasis of high artistic quality is dated to the Venetian period by Jeffery, but it might have been placed in this church as late as the 18th century: its backside reveals a certain amount of adaption as well as reused parts from another iconostasis. Even if the iconostasis might not be originally from this church, a date in the 15th or 16th century for the initial dome-hall structure seems likely. One argument would be the polygonal shape of the apse, becoming more frequent only around 1400 in the region of Famagusta, for example used in the nearby church of Saint Andronikos in Liopetri [133]. The stepped frames of the dome windows are not of further help, as they appear on buildings of the 12th and 13th century as much as on some examples of the Lusignan or Venetian period (Saint James in Triкомо [232]). While it is surprising that the church was not built in regular ashlar, like many other 14th to 16th century buildings in the immediate vicinity of Famagusta, the austerity of interior and exterior rather point towards an inexpensive building, which did not attempt to challenge the contemporary structures in terms of artistic sophistication.

LOCALITY: Deryneia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.09377, 33.896393		CAT. NO: 62

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: outside of the modern Deryneia Army Base next to the Larnaca-Famagusta road, in a location named Strovilia

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: rectangular, chamfered; different shapes (all recent)

PORTALS: –

VAULTING: barrel vault on three transversal arches, double quarter circle and trapezoidal corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: arched recesses in the lateral walls

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–15th century (?): erection of the eastern part of the present church, with a southern porch or second nave?
- 15th–16th century (?): western expansion
- 20th century: belfry, porches, large western and southern entrance, joints filled with cement mortar

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments reported by Gunnis, p 219 – nothing left today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 219.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.04.2012

The church of Saint Nicholas, situated just outside towards the east of the current Derineya Army Base, is today half-hidden behind a large concrete porch of the 20th century, which runs along the western and southern fronts. What remains of the medieval building is a single nave structure with semicircular apse. Two large arched doorways in the western and southern façades lead into the church; the western bay possesses two rectangular windows to the north and south and an oculus high up in the western wall. The nave is covered with a pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches, the eastern of which rest on double quarter circle corbels, the western on corbels of vaguely trapezoidal shape. A wide flat arched recess occupies the northern wall of the central bay.

In a recent restoration, all joints of the ashlar masonry were filled with dark grey cement mortar, which makes an assessment of original building phases rather complicated. Nevertheless, a conspicuous vertical masonry joint in the northern wall proves that the western bay was erected in a second phase. Perhaps it is this extension, which Gunnis means, when he states that “the south aisle was destroyed and a narthex was added”. It might be that there was indeed a true narthex: this could explain the wide segment arched western entrance. This archway does not resemble any exterior portal from the medieval period in Cyprus, as it is far too large and not decorated at all. However, the ashlar of the arch seem to be set together with the surrounding ashlar layers of the wall, speaking against a 20th century change. Here, a removal of the concrete porch and modern joint fillings might produce more evidence in the future.

The question of an original southern nave, suggested by Gunnis, is equally hard to solve. There is an arch springer projecting from approximately the middle of the southern wall. Furthermore, the southern entrance resembles in its size more a wide arch between two naves of a church. It is unfortunately entirely modern in shape and substance, so that it has to remain open, if it replaced a connecting arch towards a former southern nave or a portal, which might have been sheltered by a medieval predecessor of the modern concrete porch.

The church was certainly erected at some point in the 15th or 16th century, as indicated by the double quarter circle corbels. The western expansion might have still been part of a pre-1571 enlargement, which perhaps comprised the lost structure to the south of the nave as well.

LOCALITY: Elea	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.137144, 32.916354	CAT. NO: 63	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village of Elea, north-east of the centre

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: rectangular, chamfered apse window; chamfered oculus in the western façade

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, arched recess above; northern portal: rectangular with a simple projecting hood mould

VAULTING: two slightly different barrel vaults, the eastern half on three transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the apse

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century(?): erection of the eastern part of the present church
- 16th–17th century(?): western expansion, two transversal arches of the eastern part underpinned
- 20th century: repair of the western façade

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments reported by Gunnis: a Dormition of the Virgin above the northern door, "other fragments" in the apse. The Dormition has been removed after 1974, while the other fragments are extremely damaged. They show presumably an enthroned Virgin in the apse, various saints (?) on the western transversal arch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 223; Gunnis 1936, p 222; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 659–660.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2010; 07.04.2012

The former parish church of Elea, dedicated to Saint George, is a single nave church with a deep semicircular apse. Already the exterior reveals that the nave was built in two phases: the eastern part is erected from large (reused?) ashlar and covered with a flat tiled roof, while the steeper pitched roof of the rubble built western half is covered in concrete. The change in masonry results in clearly visible vertical joints, even if these are further west than the joint in the roof. Here, the lower parts of the older ashlar masonry remained and were patched up and heightened in rubble during the extension.

There are several rather crude attempts at decorating the exterior: the northern portal, of the first phase, possesses a recessed tympanum and a protruding hood mould above a wooden lintel; the western portal, part of the second phase, shows a recessed pointed tympanum. The upper part of the western façade is set back and pierced by a chamfered oculus. A flagstaff holder in the shape of a quarter-circle corbel is placed in the eastern gable, above the low apse.

The interior is more complex to decipher, as the barrel vault rests on an irregular sequence of transversal arches. The western extension shows an uninterrupted vault of the same dimensions as the concrete roof on the outside. This indicates that the former western bay of the initial building was taken down during the extension process and only the lower walls integrated into the new western bay. This bay is less wide than the older bays and (invisibly from the outside) placed slightly further north, so that the engaged piers, which carry the first vault arch, are of different depth if seen from west. The barrel vault of the older part is underpinned by three transversal arches, the western and eastern of which rest on slightly wider, deep engaged piers, while the central one ends mid-air on wide quarter-circle corbels. One might wonder, if two of the arches were stabilized on a second phase with the addition of the engaged piers, or if these were part of the initial plan. Only a removal of the plaster could solve this question with absolute certainty, but a small part of the western arch, where the plaster is missing, does not seem to indicate a later change in the masonry.

Numerous fragments of paintings (which were indeed more numerous, when Rupert Gunnis saw the church in the 1930s) remain. On the piers, we see fading remains of saints' busts, while the apse was once occupied by an enthroned Virgin Mary flanked by two standing figures, presumably archangels. The "fine Dormition of the virgin"⁵³ above the northern doorway has presumably been removed in its entirety, as there is a gaping hole in the plaster, leaving only the rest of a halo and a few letters on spot. The paintings are not

⁵³ Gunnis 1936, p 222.

precisely datable due to their bad state of preservation, but might well go back to the 16th century, just as a tombstone and fragments of the old iconostasis, which Gunnis still saw but are now lost.

It is certain that the church is a work of the Latin period, presumably after 1300, even if the simple northern portal and the use of the large, uneven ashlar gives the building a more ancient appearance. The church presents an interesting attempt to display a certain wealth, also through the considerable size for a village church, but at the same time trying to achieve this effect without major expenses. The ashlar could be largely reclaimed ones from nearby Soloi, which would explain their varying size and uneven surfaces. Simple elements of the urban 14th century architecture were included, such as the flagstaff holder. The corbels of the central transversal arch are uncommon, as usually the transversal arches of Latin period churches are much slimmer, between 25 cm and 30 cm in contrast to more than 50 cm here. They somewhat resemble the stacked quarter circle corbels of Saint Epifanio in Famagusta [68]. A direct link is, nevertheless, unlikely, as the examples in Elia show a slim moulded frame along the upper- and backsides, an element known since the 14th century but remaining in use during the Venetian period. It seems most likely that the church was built in the 16th century in a retrospective style and the interior painted shortly after. The lack of painted fragments in the western bay might mean that here they were entirely plastered over, but could also indicate that the extension was erected after the painted cycle in the eastern half was executed, thus at the end of the Venetian period or even later.

A fragment of a '16th century tombstone', reported by Gunnis, cannot be located in the surroundings of the church anymore.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Imhaus 2004, I, p 360.

LOCALITY: Emba	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.806561, 32.424521		CAT. NO: 64
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the Village centre of Emba, alongside the recently built, large parish church		
TYPOLOGY: cruciform with a dome, irregular apse; later: aisles, narthex in the shape of a western transept with octagonal dome		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with continuous profile, coat of arms in the centre of the lintel, above instead of a tympanum a profiled semicircular window		
VAULTING: slightly pointed barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the apse		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 38, 99; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (1 image, ca. 1935); DOA (not including those depicting the paintings): F.918, B.4918 (1952); J.1752, A.4288 (1953); A.4477–4479, 4499–4502, 4586–4590 (1954); B.39.675 (1975); J.89.003–017 (1997).		
OTHER: year 1744 carved into the lintel of the western portal.		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 12th century(?): erection of the original, cruciform church- 14th–early 15th century: western expansion: narthex, aisles- 16th century: repair works, western portal and paintings added- 1744: date on the portal – repair works to other parts of the building- 19th century: bell tower, further repairs- 1953/54: repair and grouting of walls after earthquake damage- 1965/66, 1985, 1990s: repeated restoration of the paintings		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Large remnants of a rich painted program (Pantokrator in the eastern dome, numerous gospel scenes in the vaults – see Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 409–413, for a detailed description), probably late 15 th or 16 th century (14 th century: ARDAC 1966); fragments of an earlier decoration of the late 12 th or early 13 th century (Papacostas 1999, II, p 23).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 407; Gunnis 1936, p 222; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 409–413; Papacostas 1999, II, p 22–23; Čurčić 2000, p 10–11; Hadjichristodoulou 2002.		
ARDAC 1966, p 10; 1980, p 20, fig 15; 1981, p 20, fig 20–24; 1985, p 25, fig 37–38; 1986, p 24 ; 1995, p 27, fig 25–26 ; 1996, p 27, fig 22–23 ; 1999, p 30 ; 2001, p 41–42 ; 2002, p 42, fig 16–18 ; 2003, p 36, fig 20–21 ; 2004, p 47–48, fig 35–36.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 27.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2008; 21.03.2012 [only exterior]		

The old parish church of Emba, dedicated to the Panagia Chryseleousa, is today dwarfed by a modern successor nearby. Nevertheless, it is one of the most spacious and complex parish churches in the territory of Pafos, its numerous building phases testifying to a considerable importance of the village throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods. Today, the church has an irregular, approximately rectangular plan, with two cruciform, domed parts rising above. Thus, the interior division is visible from the exterior: a nave with lateral aisles is placed between a western and an eastern transept with dome above the crossing. From the western transept, a single bay protrudes towards the west, mirroring the single bay in the east, to which the irregular apse is attached. In particular, the latter underlines the problematic evaluation of the masonry of the church: circular in its northern half, the southern half is an irregular polygon. Both was once encased in a second polygon, which has since been partly taken down again. All of this is erected in the same rubble masonry, newly grouted in the latest restoration phases, so that hardly any building joint remains visible. The southern wall presents similar evidence, with up to four layers of abutting lower walls placed in front of the (probably) original wall surface.⁵⁵

For the focus of this study, in particular the unique western transept and the changes executed together with its erection are of interest, as the original church was presumably erected as early as the late 12th century. This first building seems to have been of cruciform shape, comprising of the nave, eastern transept, bema bay and apse, which are preserved in today's building. Already Soteriou's plan of 1935 shows two main phases, suggesting that the aisles, which mainly connect the cross arms, were erected together with the western transept. The northern one is executed as a corridor and does not possess an opening towards the nave; a curious feature, which evokes the idea of some processional use of the aisles, perhaps also the reason for the addition of a western transept. The date of this expansion phase is hard to define, as it lacks decorative details except for the dome. The latter is erected from ashlar and possesses an unusual decagonal drum, which is unique in Cyprus. While the decagon itself is very regular and testifies to a certain skill of the mason, it posed a problem as to where to place the windows. This does not pose a problem in east-west-axis, but the centre of the northern and southern side is occupied by a corner of the drum, not a face. Thus, the windows had to be placed slightly obliquely, off-centre, in an attempt to find a compromise between placing them in the north-south-axis and placing them in the centre of a polygon face. In any case, the technique and design of the dome, which possesses the only sculpted string course of the church, suggest a date in the late 14th

⁵⁵ See in particular Čurčić 2000, p 10, for an analysis of the subsequent strengthening in the context of earthquake damage.

or early 15th century. There is no absolute certainty as to whether this dome is indeed contemporary with the transept below, or replaced in fact the original dome – meaning that the transept might as well be a pre-14th century addition to the 12th century nave.

The western portal, bearing the date 1744 inscribed on its lintel, poses further problems. It is of the framed type in use since the late 15th century, here with a single, massive roll running along the jambs and forming a slight ogee in the centre of the lintel. This ogee is occupied with a blazon, decorated by a *cross pommly*. This decoration reminds a lot of the 16th century portals of the Panagia and Saint Nicholas in the nearby village of Chlorakas, which might have served as models. Oddly, a slightly more clumsy and misaligned version of the same motif appears upside-down on the top of the lintel, leading over to two profiled impostes and a semicircular, profiled window. The latter is presumably part of the 1744 restoration, to which the (rather hastily scribbled) inscription on the lintel refers. The inverted motif on the lintel might testify to an error in the making, which was corrected by turning the lintel around (instead of throwing the valuable, monolithic stone away). This would be an interesting insight in 16th century building practices. In any case, a date in this period of the portal is corroborated by the paintings in the western transept dome, presumably executed in the same renovation phase. At the same time, another portal or window was enlarged and decorated with a continuous roll frame: the lintel of this window or portal is today placed upside down above the (18th century ?) apse window. The strange, mitred northern portal of the eastern transept apparently replaced a larger, slightly off-centred predecessor, of which only the crude hood mould remains. This replacement might have taken place in either the 16th or the 18th century renovation, as the design of the roll frame follows 16th century standards but the mitred top is unique (admittedly in either period).

LOCALITY: Episkopi	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.670053, 32.905482		CAT. NO: 65

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the current village centre of Episkopi, east of the historic centre

TYPOLOGY: single nave building with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: simple pointed western portal

VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches, the western of which richly profiled

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the church
- 16th century, second phase (?): western enlargement
- 1855: repair works, new southern portal

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments reported by Gunnis, lost or whitewashed today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 227.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012

The small church of the Panagia in the eastern quarters of Episkopi village is an unpretentious single nave church with flat, semicircular apse. The irregular masonry, mostly of rubble, patched up with some larger ashlar, indicated multiple restorations. The interior, today whitewashed, is covered by an irregular barrel vault resting on two transversal arches. The eastern one is of the usual rectangular profile and rests on double quarter circle corbels, while the western one, placed very close to the western wall, shows a rich sequence of roll and hollow moulding, the outer rolls carrying small fillets. In the south, this arch rests on what looks like the upper part of a single semicolumn with fillet, while in the north it dies out into the wall.

Presumably, the original church, perhaps a building of the 16th century, was just two bays long and subsequently enlarged with the addition of the western transversal arch and the (slightly lower) western barrel vault. Alternatively, the vault collapsed at some point and, when it was replaced, underpinned by the additional arch. The 19th century later contributed the southern portal and two southern buttresses. Gunnis, who saw the church disused in the 1930s, reports fragments of paintings, today lost or covered under whitewash, vestiges of a 16th century iconostasis and a Byzantine cross inserted into the southern façade – all but gone as well.

LOCALITY: Episkopi	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George (?)
GEO-DATA: 34.666318, 32.905198		CAT. No: 66

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Episkopi, north of the Pafos-Limassol road

TYPOLOGY: single nave, originally with apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: –

VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches on quarter circle corbels (west) and double quarter circle corbels (east)

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.75.666–672 (1986); B.81.519–520, 562–562, J.60.057–080 (1989); B.82.062, 064, 087–093 (1990); J.68.394–399 (1992); J.82.766–770 (1996).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- early 16th century: erection of the original church
- after 1571: apse removed, transformed into mosque
- 1898–1901: repair works, addition of the porch and new doorways
- after 1988: restoration, paintings uncovered

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a once rich programme were uncovered between 1988 and 1989. On the western wall a Koimesis is discernible, above the doorway a Mandylion, in the vault Christological scenes (Baptism, miracle scenes, Passion scenes) and architecturally framed standing saints; on the arches various saints. The paintings were dated to the early 16th century in the ARDAC reports.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 227; Bağışkan 2009, p 315–316.

ARDAC 1976, p 16; 1977, p 15; 1978, p 16; 1988, p 23, fig 17–18; 1989, p 24, fig 5–6; 1990, p 25–26; 1991, p 22; 1993, p 23; 1999, p 28; 2002, p 36; 2004, p 41–42; 2005, p 36, fig 12–13; 2006, p 33–34, fig 39–42; 2007, p 31–32; 2008, p 31–32.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012 [only exterior]

In the southern quarter of the village of Episkopi stands a building complex known as Muslu Çavuş Mosque. Encased in younger structures – the western porch with large pointed arches and a small domed space in the south-east – is a large barrel-vaulted nave, which was once the church of Saint George. The masonry of this building has been altered frequently, and today it consists of rubble-built and ashlar-built parts.

Of the original church, the barrel-vaulted nave with small buttresses remains, while the semicircular apse has been replaced by a rectangular eastern bay during the conversion of the building into a mosque. Little dating evidence is preserved, save for a fragmentary, large cycle of paintings, which has been uncovered mainly in the 1980s. These paintings, datable to the early 16th century, define a *terminus ante quem*, but might in fact be more or less contemporary with the erection of the original church. While the western portal is a product of the 19th century, the transversal arches of the barrel vault, resting on quarter circle, respectively double quarter circle corbels, point towards a 16th century date as well.

LOCALITY: Erimi	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint John
GEO-DATA: 34.680521, 32.916347		CAT. NO: 67
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village of Erimi, today surrounded by modern residential buildings		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse, [vanished narthex]		
WINDOWS: simple rectangles		
PORTALS: southern portal: simple pointed arch; western portal: rectangular, irregular corbels carrying the lintel, very crude decoration on lintel and corbels: ornaments, a cross surrounded by "IC XC N K" and four single letters (illegible – Σ or Θ?; C; Π; A)		
VAULTING: barrel vaults flanking the central dome, dome arch springers on profiled imposts, very simple string course at the lower end of the dome drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.10.484 (1961); J.8878–8889 (1966); B.26.154–156, J.21.253–254 (1969).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –early 16 th century: erection of the church		
- 1969: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a once rich programme: a standing Mary in the apse, above a row of bishops; in the eastern lateral niches standing saints, above this in the north the sacrifice of Isaac, in the south the Last Supper. In the naos in the lower zone a row of standing saints, above this on the southern wall a Dormition of the Virgin; the northern wall entirely occupied by a large Saint George, surrounded by small scenes from his martyrdom. In the dome only the lower zone with prophets and kings under a painted arcade remains. Due to their style (including the remarkably inventive ornamental frames), the paintings are certainly of 16 th century origin.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 377 [Saint John]; Gunnis 1936, p 233 [Panagia Chrysopolitissa]. ARDAC [Saint John] 1969, p 8–9, fig21,23; [Panagia Chrysopolitissa] 1998, p 29–30.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012		

The first problem posed by this dome-hall church situated in the northern outskirts of Erimi, today surrounded by modern housing developments, is its original dedication. George Jeffery refers to a church of Saint John, a name used by the older *Reports of the Department of Antiquities* as well. However, there is also a 19th century church of Saint John and Gunnis refers to the medieval building as Panagia Chrysopolitissa, dedication given as well in the more recent ARDAC issues. Finally, on modern maps the name of Saint George can be found.

The building, made from rubble with few ashlar accentuating the corners, is very plain and box-like. On the outside, only the rectangular postament for the circular dome drum rises from the main cube, in the east a semicircular apse is added. Two doorways provide access: a simple pointed arch in the south and a rectangular one with small corbels and large monolithic lintel in the west. The latter is decorated with flat geometric ornament carved into the surface and surrounding a large circular cross relief. Similar ornaments adorn the clumsy corbels, which imitate quarter circle corbels with a double roll. The interior follows the standard model for dome-hall churches with slightly incised barrel-vaulted western and eastern bays and a central dome resting on top of wide lateral arches. Small pointed niches occupy the lateral walls of the eastern and western bays. The only elements of sculptural character on the inside are the vault impostes, simple chamfers with a deep hollow in the plinth. The whole church was once covered with a rich cycle of paintings, considerable fragments of which remain. They have not been studied in detail, but undoubtedly date to the 16th century.

The paintings provide a firm *terminus ante quem* for the church, which has been dated to the 14th or 15th century previously. The decoration of the lintel and the plain character of the exterior (not too different from for example Saint Catherine in Tala [221]) seem to indicate a rather late date, perhaps towards the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century. The decoration of the interior with painting was surely planned from the beginning, which could explain the lack of an upper string course in the dome and the overall simple treatment of the architecture of the interior.

The original function of the church is unclear. During an excavation in 1998, foundations of a western narthex and few burials immediately to the north of the church were discovered.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Epifanios
GEO-DATA: 35.123801, 33.943738		CAT. NO: 68

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the south-eastern quarter of Famagusta walled city, next to Saint George of the Greeks [69], to which it is connected through a wide arch in the northern wall

TPOLOGY: two naves of three bays with northern lateral compartments, including dome-hall and cross-in-square elements; ending in two semicircular apses

WINDOWS: northern apse: chamfered, mitred central window flanked by rectangular stepped ones; southern apse: three rounded lancets; southern nave: chamfered lancets (?); western bay and gables: oculi

PORTALS: southern portal: stepped jambs, pointed tympanum with double archivolt, the outer with chevron moulding, hood mould on cushion corbels; western portals (only southern preserved): stepped chamfered jams, deep pointed hood mould on triple stepped frontal corbels

VAULTING: [largely destroyed] four domes, the remaining bays mainly groin-vaulted, north-eastern bay and lateral compartments barrel-vaulted

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: A church of Saint Epifanios mentioned in the will of Fetus Semitecolo in 1363 (Otten-Froux 2003, p 46)

PICTORIAL: drawing of Edmond Duthoit of 1862, in: Bonato, Severis 1999; photograph of J.Thomson, 1879; drawing of Edward L'Anson, 1883; photograph of Camille Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 128; photograph in the Kew National Archive (CO 1069.694), ca. 1900; photograph of John Foscolo, ca. 1900; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (11 images, ca. 1935); ca. 60 photographs in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive (1930s–1940s); Soteriou 1935, pl 50; DOA A.110–145, C.95, 104, 111–114, 128–129, 130, 136, 143–145 (1935); A.187–189, 198–200, 246–255 (1936); A.1191, C.224, 229–230 (1937); A.1432–1440 (1939); A.2274 (1946); A.4486 (1954); J.15.623–627 (1969); J.23.656–663(1971); B.31.849–857, J.25.953–964 (1972); B.83.640,1 (no date, Bardswell collection)

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- before 1000 (?): first church of uncertain shape
- late 11th–early 12th century: erection of a cross-in-square church
- 12th century: addition of a western narthex
- 13th century: partial reconstruction of the vaults due to earthquake damage
- first quarter of the 14th century: addition of a southern nave in dome-hall shape
- first half of the 14th century: addition of a domed western bay to the southern nave, new façade
- after 1350: changes to the northern wall during the erection of Saint George of the Greeks
- after 1491: reconstruction of the south-eastern vault after earthquake damage
- before 1860: collapse of the northern nave
- around 1910: collapse of the southern domes
- 1941: northern apse destroyed by an aerial bomb
- before 1960: restoration of the ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

A female saint on the northern wall of the north-western dome pier of the northern nave. Probably 13th century. Prophets on the intrados of the southern dome arch of the south-eastern dome. Probably 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 25; Enlart 1899, p 319 [Enlart 1987, p 257]; Jeffery 1904; Jeffery 1906, p 487–490; Jeffery 1916, p 129–134; Jeffery 1918, p 147–148; Carlier 1934, p 27; Gunnis 1936, p 96; Hilton 1936, p 1; Mogabgab 1936, p 22; Soulard 2006a, 358–359; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 78–80; Kaffenberger 2010; Papacostas 2010a; Papageorghiou 2010, p 52–54; Langdale 2012, p 378–379; Olympios 2014c; Papacostas 2014b, p 38–46; Kaffenberger 2014; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and sections, elevations: Duthoit 1862; L'Anson, Vacher 1883; Enlart 1896; Jeffery 1904; Jeffery 1916; Soteriou 1935, fig 44 (also DOA D.494–495); Kaffenberger 2010
Profiles, detail plans: Kaffenberger 2010

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION:

31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 21.02.–20.03.2010; 22.06.2012; 01.03.2013

The church of Saint Epifanios (formerly also known as Saint Symeon) is the most ancient, frequently remodelled church building in Famagusta.⁵⁶ The question of the original dedication is discussed in chapter 6.2, so it will not be repeated here. It is very probable that the church was known as Saint Epifanios from the mid-14th century onwards, while the original dedication is uncertain.

Today dwarfed by the ruin of the much larger Greek cathedral of Saint George alongside it, the church has for a long time attracted little attention among scholars studying the architecture of Cyprus. The building is nevertheless one of the key monuments for the study of Greek church architecture in Cyprus after 1300, as has been recognized as well by Olympios, who recently devoted a long article to the building. The church as we see it today has two naves of four bays each, both ending in apses. Adjoining the northern nave are two side rooms and a transept, whose northern wall forms part of the later south wall of Saint George. The interior structure is obscure today since the largest part of the vault as well as two internal piers are missing, and the remaining walls and piers show several different types of masonry. While the state of decay partly impedes a precise investigation of the original appearance, the absence of plaster facilitates a perception of phases for the existent masonry.

The cross-in-square Church

The plan of the building readily reveals that the northern aisle of Saint Epifanios originally formed a part of a cross-in-square church, which has been enlarged subsequently. Yet the different types of masonry visible within this section of the building reveal an asynchrony of its components, which asks for a further distinction of building phases.⁵⁷

The oldest parts of masonry can be found in the northern transept wall [68.37]. The left side of the lower courses shows layers of large ashlar alternating with layers of small ashlar, which are combined with smaller stones in the joints. A similar technique can be seen in the lower parts of the eastern piers of the crossing. The right half of the northern transept wall is assembled from uncut ashlar and rubble, which have not been laid out in layers.

⁵⁶ This catalogue entry is a shortened and moderately revised excerpt from Kaffenberger 2014, p 173–180.

⁵⁷ Sure enough, the troubled history of the building causes some amount of uncertainty about the differentiation between purposeful changes, rebuilding or patching, which cannot be resolved with certainty.

Even if we assume that this wall formed part of an even older structure than the one to which the large ashlar belong, the scarce evidence would not allow for a precise reconstruction of the typology of this hypothetical first church. The first more evident church might already have been a cross-in-square church. The other possibility, a basilica of small dimensions, would only be contradicted by the small archway to the east of the transept, which is only attestable for the next phase of building. It is almost impossible to date this phase but the large ashlar indicate a relatively early date around the turn of the first millennium.

This next, more clearly reconstructable, phase includes the upper parts of the northern transept wall and the lower parts of the bay to the west of the transept as well as the aforementioned archway [68.35]. It is marked by uneven ashlar, which form continuous layers. They are quite regular in size but have broad joints filled with rubble and mortar. These walls surely formed part of a cross-in-square building since the small archway between the transept and the north-eastern side compartment was constructed at the latest in this phase, even if it seems to have been enlarged at a later stage. The large archway between the nave and the northern aisle of the western cross-arm might have had a predecessor in the same place but its well-cut keystones –forming a pointed arch – and its rather clumsy alignment with the courses of the surrounding wall indicate a later replacement.

It is hard to define the absolute dating for these first two phases: Churches such as Saint Anthony in Kellia [98] attest that cross-in-square churches were already built as early as the late 10th century, which thus figures as a *terminus post quem* for the earliest stages of the Epifanios-Church. The second phase may be datable roughly around 1100.

In the current western wall of the northern nave, we find remains of an older wall incorporated into the later structure, carrying a partly filled up barrel vault with the scarce remains of a pendentif on its eastern edge [68.30–31]. South of this situation, the wall-pier facing east and separating the two naves most certainly also belonged to the same structure. This is indicated by the springer of an arch on the right side of the wall-pier, now incorporated into later walls. Wall, vault, pendentif and pier can be interpreted as parts of a former narthex consisting of 3 bays. The northern and southern bays were barrel-vaulted, while the central bay was surmounted by a dome, whose north-eastern pendentif is still visible. While the dome arches were reaching up to the vaulting, the walls of the side bays were structured by lower blind arches.

Due to the almost complete destruction of the church between the first and second bays of the northern nave, it is not provable, that the narthex was added later. Yet as that was the case for all known Cypriot examples, we can at least assume this. The domed type of narthex with three bays is relatively widespread and most Cypriot examples can be dated to the 12th century – which is as precise as we can be about the narthex of Saint Epifanios.

It is apparent that the Epifanios-church was partly destroyed at some point and rebuilt afterwards because the walls of the bema and the apse, as well as the upper parts of the piers and the higher courses of the eastern transept wall, mainly consist of regular, well-cut ashlar of a quality barely comparable to the previous types of masonry. With a certain probability, the rebuilding followed the original plan and used all older foundations, as the lower parts of surviving walls and piers were also reused at that time. Nevertheless, in these sections minor changes – such as the renewal of the arch in the nave – may have taken place. The barrel vaults of the bema and the transept were also re-erected in that phase as certain springers of the arches that once supported the dome show the same technique. Nevertheless, both remaining vaults (and in consequence also the now destroyed dome) seem to have been patched or completely rebuilt a second time, showing poorest technique and mostly irregular stone material mixed with few well cut ashlar.⁵⁸

In that context, reported earthquakes may help to specify the date: the destruction of the upper eastern parts and the vault are typical damage patterns caused by earthquakes. Olympios is opting for a destruction of the church by the strong earthquake of 1491, due to the hardly skillful way, in which the vaults were patched up. While this observation, solely talking about the second rebuilding, is probably correct and the dating seems likely, it says little about the first rebuilding of the cross-in-square church. The fabric of this first phase of rebuilding shows an increased accuracy of the masonry and surely postdates 1200. Olympios dates this phase to the late 12th or early 13th century, assuming that in this phase the original barrel vaults were replaced by groin vaults. Yet, the masonry of the clerestory wall in the western cross arm – certainly part of the destroyed groin vault above – is made from better cut masonry than the courses of masonry below the string course, thus opening the possibility of assigning the insertion of the groin vault to a later stage (we will come back to this below). In consequence, the first rebuilding may have also repeated the classical type of the original building with barrel vaults. Rebuilding that mimics older shapes is often a reaction to some type of sudden damage – such as that caused by an earthquake. One of

⁵⁸ Especially the bema vault was heavily damaged during the Second World War, when a bomb hit the northern apse of Saint Epifanios. The damages were repaired subsequently without the attempt to relocate the ashlar to their original position [68.25–26].

the strongest attested earthquakes in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th century took place in 1222. We can thus assume that Saint Epifanios may have suffered grave damage during this earthquake, leading to a rebuilding in the 1220s or 1230s, even if a lack of decorative sculpture makes a precise dating almost impossible.

The dome-hall addition

The next large alteration of the church was the addition of a second nave, which replaced the southern part of the cross-in-square structure [68.38–39]. This process is easily visible on the southern bema pier, which is separated in two halves by a vertical joint. This joint starts exactly on a level corresponding to the existing low archway between the north cross-arm and the north-eastern compartment. This proves the existence of an identical archway in the southern cross-arm that has been taken down with the adjoining wall for the erection of the new aisle.

Even if the added aisle is just as ruinous as the rest of the structure, we have a rather clear account of the original appearance, as the vaults only collapsed some time before 1916. Therefore, a handful of historic photographs and sketches shows the building in a less derelict state. Among those, the drawings of Edmond Duthoit (1862) and Edward L'Anson (1882) as well as the photographs of John P. Foscolo and Camille Enlart deliver the most detailed information, especially concerning the appearance of the domes [68.1, 10–11]

The addition had the form of a dome-hall-church, consisting of three bays, the central of which was surmounted by a dome. The dome had a drum, which appeared polygonal on the outside and was pierced by mitred windows with profiled frame. While this is a rare but not unique form of windows, the interior of the drum might have been structured by a singular system of thin pilasters, if L'Anson's sketch is reliable. The other two bays of the added aisle were covered with groin vaults, which are marked by small gables rising above the cornice on the outside. The use of groin vaults in the southern aisle was not without problems, as they required high, open arches on the side of the older structure. The solution seems to have been to renew the vault of the western cross arm of the cross-in-square church with the aforementioned groin vault [68.28]. The barrel vault of the bema bay remained unchanged, so that only a low arch connected the old and the new structure [68.40]. Here, a certain separation and compartmentalization of the building was of some advantage – or at least not a problem – while the improved linking of the two naves in the west created a wider, more spacious room, according to the aesthetics of the period.

The groin vaults, together with the use of pointed arches and Gothic profiles, the exceptionally well cut ashlar masonry and the blocky, cubic exterior indicate that this phase was influenced by stylistic features coming from the Crusader countries. As discussed in depth in chapter 4.2., we can imagine that the dome-hall addition was erected sometime after the arrival of the refugees from the lost territories in the East – perhaps around 1310 or 1320. Thus, it is one of the first buildings adapting the style of Latin Crusader architecture for an Orthodox church in Cyprus.

Integrating the parts: a new façade

The very irregular outer appearance created by the previous additions was corrected unified in the last building phase [68.3, 9, 14]. During this phase the southern nave received an additional bay to the west – clearly separated from the dome-hall addition by a vertical joint [68.19, 32] – and a new façade. These additions also incorporated the older narthex, leaving only its dome visible on the outside. The design of the new façade followed the previous phase closely, making use of well-cut ashlars and small gables above the cornice. On the inside, the narthex walls, which might have only possessed small doorways before, were opened up towards the northern nave and the new bay, as it is shown on Duthoit's plan. The new bay to the south of the narthex also received an octagonal dome, which resembled the dome of the dome-hall addition closely – although it was pierced by simpler, rectangular windows. After this last addition, the building was surmounted by four domes in total.

Soteriou considered this phase to be later than Saint George of the Greeks, but the material evidence contradicts this opinion: Both western entrances, which were constructed in this last phase, had to be walled up subsequently to reach the level of the small square to the west of the church. This square again connects the newly erected church of Saint George, which has a much higher floor level, with the older church. Thus the façade of Saint Epifanios, which also breaks off rather clumsily where it meets the wall of Saint George, was certainly finished before works on the new cathedral began. Judging from the overall similarity to the previous phase, this last addition to Saint Epifanios might have been constructed not later than the 1330s.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George of the Greeks
GEO-DATA: 35.123951, 33.943611		CAT. NO: 69

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the south-eastern quarter of Famagusta walled city, next to Saint Epifanios [68], to which it is connected through a wide arch in the southern wall

TPOLOGY: basilica of a nave and two aisles, all terminating in semicircular apses

WINDOWS: apses: cusped lancets with hood mould; nave and aisles: pointed windows with roll and hollow moulded frames, hood mould and tracery (double lancet with arched square and quatrefoil); western façade: oculus with tracery, above pointed window with tracery (three lancets and stacked quatrefoils); staircase turret: slim cusped lancets

PORTALS: central western portal: pointed with a triple sequence of roll and hollow mouldings, hood mould with foliage and finial; lateral western and southern portals: stepped columned portals with foliage capitals, roll and hollow moulded double archivolt with dogtooth moulding, hood moulds with dogtooth moulding; northern portal [destroyed]; stepped columned portal with marble spolia, archivolt with dogtooth and chevron moulding, hood mould with simplified foliage; portals between nave and lateral spaces: rectangular with moulded corbels and discharging slit above the lintel

VAULTING: [largely destroyed] rib vault above triple shafts, resting on top of the round arcade piers; central bay: dome with round drum above thick transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: pointed funerary niches with roll and hollow mouldings in the lateral walls

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Testaments of Fetus Semitecolo and Michel Caibach, 1363 (in: Otten-Froux 2003, p 42, 46). The church is mentioned in numerous pilgrims' and travel reports such as those of Dietrich von Schachten, 1491 (in: Grivaud 1990, p 134), J. de Meggen, 1542 (in: Mogabgab 1941–1943, III, p 147), Christoph Fürer von Haimendorf, 1566 (Fürer von Haimendorff 1646, p 300–301), Cornelis de Bruyn 1683 (Bruyn 1698, p 366), Richard Pococke, 1735 (in: Cobham 1908, p 255).

PICTORIAL (SELECTION): Etching of Cornelis de Bruyn, 1683 (in: Bruyn 1698, fig 192); drawing of Vasily Barsky, 1730 (in: Grishin 1996, pl. 7); photograph of J. Thomson, 1879; drawing of Edward L'Anson, 1883; photograph of Camille Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 128; photograph in the Kew National Archive (CO 1069.694), ca. 1900; photograph of John Foscolo, ca. 1900; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (75 images, ca. 1935); ca. 60 photographs in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive (1930s–1940s); Soteriou 1935, pl 48–49, 98, 139; DOA A.110–145, C.95, 104, 111–114, 128–129, 130, 136, 143–145 (1935); A.187–189, 198–200, 246–255 (1936); A.1191, C.224, 229–230 (1937); A.1432–1440 (1939); A.2274 (1946); A.4486 (1954); J.15.623–627 (1969); J.23.656–663 (1971); B.31.849–857, J.25.953–964 (1972); B.83.640,1 (no date, Bardswell collection).

OTHER: Marked on Sebastiano Gibellino's etching of the siege of Famagusta as 'S.Giorgio domo dei Greci'.

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- ca. 1350–1374: erection of the new church alongside the church of Saint Epifanios [68]
 - 1491: damaged in an earthquake, subsequent strengthening of the piers, erection of a stone iconostasis
 - 1571: damaged by Ottoman cannonade
 - 1735: collapse of the vault due to another earthquake
 - 1930s: removal of the debris, restoration of the ruin
-

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of numerous paintings can be seen in all parts of the church, the best preserved being the Passion scenes in the southern apse and the bishops in the northern apse. For a detailed discussion of date and iconography see Kaffenberger 2010, p 56–60; Paschali 2014a; Paschali 2014b and the forthcoming PhD thesis of Maria Paschali (London).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 23–25; Enlart 1899, p 311–321 [Enlart 1987, p 253–258]; Jeffery 1904; Jeffery 1906, p 487–490; Jeffery 1916, p 129–134; Jeffery 1918, p 147–151; Carøe 1932, p 52; Carlier 1934, p 27; Gunnis 1936, p 96–97; Hilton 1936, p 1–2; Mogabgab 1936, p 22; Megaw 1939, p 98; Mogabgab 1939b, p 22; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951, p 177; Mogabgab 1951, p 189; Boase 1977, p 178–179; Papageorghiou 1982a, p 222–225; Papageorghiou 1995, p 277–278; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 119–120; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 286–296; Schryver 2006, p 395–396; Soulard 2006a, 356–365; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 70–77; Bacci 2010, p 89–92; Kaffenberger 2010; Papacostas 2010a; Papageorghiou 2010, p 52–59; Langdale 2012, p 380–390; Andrews 2012, p 161–162; De Vaivre 2012, p 117–132; Lourenço, Ramos 2012, p 256; Lucchese 2012, p 178–182; Andrews 2013, p 437–442; Bacci 2014b, p 232–233, 246–247; Kaffenberger 2014; Olympios 2014c; Olympios 2014d, p 113–117; Papacostas 2014a; Paschali 2014a; Paschali 2014b; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c. ARDAC 1972, p 12.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: L'Anson, Vacher 1883; Enlart 1896; Jeffery 1904; Jeffery 1916; Soteriou 1935, fig 44 (also DOA D.494–495); Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a; Kaffenberger 2010
 Sections: Enlart 1896; Jeffery 1904; Jeffery 1916; Kaffenberger 2010
 Elevation, Reconstruction: Jeffery 1904; Kaffenberger 2012
 Profiles, detail plans: Kaffenberger 2010

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION:

31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 21.02.–20.03.2010; 22.06.2012; 01.03.2013

Saint George of the Greeks, Orthodox cathedral of Famagusta since its erection in the 14th century, was with a length of almost 50 m, an original height of over 20m one of the largest late medieval buildings in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁹ Furthermore, its elaborate architectural sculpture makes it one of the highest-ranking buildings in terms of artistic quality as well.

Not long after the completion of the older church of Saint Epifanios [68], the erection of Saint George began. It is described in chapter 4.3 and 6.2, which events lead to the erection of this sumptuous new building: the formal establishment of a Greek bishop in Famagusta provided the occasion, while funds might have been flowing in more easily in the times of plague around 1347–1349. Most likely, the church was completed by the 1370s, as the Genoese occupation of Famagusta would have created a rather unfavourable climate for the undertaking of large-scale building activities.

The integration of Saint Epifanios: remarks on the construction process

Saint George was erected according to a consistent plan and probably carried out without bigger interruptions. Furthermore, the lack of building joints in most parts of the remaining masonry makes it hard to discuss aspects of the building process. Nevertheless, a certain amount of information can be generated by investigating the masonry in the south-eastern part of the structure. Here, the northern wall of the transept of the old church was integrated into the southern wall of the new church, thus remaining visible from both churches.

The technically challenging process and the relic-like treatment of the wall certainly reflected the establishing of a new Epifanios-Memoria on this site, as discussed in chapter 6.2. The complicated process of integrating the old wall is visible in several places along the new wall [69.16–17]: In a first step, the northern wall of Saint Epifanios was pulled down, leaving the transept wall and the adjoining pilasters, and replaced by the southern wall of Saint George. The vaults and domes of the older church were supposed to be preserved as far as possible but the vaults of the secondary side rooms of the northern nave seem to have been renewed. An additional interference was created by the position of the access arch between the two churches, which was placed in the central bay of Saint George, exactly colliding with the arch between the old church's narthex and the next bay to the east. This

⁵⁹ This catalogue entry is a shortened and moderately revised excerpt from Kaffenberger 2014, p 180–189. Surely, it does not cover the many facets of the building, which will be discussed in more depth in a monographic study in the future (see also Kaffenberger 2010).

arch was carrying not only the groin vault over the nave to the west but also the dome over the old narthex, which both were intended to be kept. In consequence, the sophisticated technique of an *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement had to be applied. The top of the new arch, which connects the two churches, was aligned with the old arch and thus supported the vaults on both sides. To align the walls of narthex and nave, and perhaps also to strengthen the whole structure, the walls and piers received an additional layer of ashlar, which was probably ending on the level of the string course below the vault. In the same procedure, the northern barrel vault of the old narthex and the western half of the side room to the north of the nave were filled up with rubble and closed off with a shell of ashlar.

The focus, which was put on the integration of Saint Epifanios, is shown by a vertical joint some cm east of the façade of the old church, dividing the new wall in a western and an eastern half. The joint runs up only to the level of the vault of the old church, where a horizontal joint as well as a levelling course of ashlar is visible. This shows that in the second step of the building process, only the section of the new wall that had direct contact with the older church, was erected up to the vault level. To perceive the full set of problems caused by the proximity of the new wall to the existing masonry, an investigation of the masonry of the new church is helpful. The walls have the enormous width of 1,40 m and are made of two shells of ashlar, filled with an inner layer of rubble. The ashlar were cut in a slightly trapezoid shape, so that they could have minimal joints on the visible outside and the necessary binding mortar towards the inside of the wall. While this sophisticated technique contributes largely to the high quality of the new building, it was of a disadvantage for the connecting wall. Here the ashlar of the outer shell, facing the older structure, could not be set from their visible, perfectly cut side but rather from the 'inner' side. Thus, the masons were not able to check on the proper alignment of the ashlar until reaching the vault level of Saint Epifanios. Even if the deflection of the wall seems to have been minimal, small corrections – shown by the aforementioned joints – were necessary for the further building process.

Only after the successful integration of Saint Epifanios into the southern wall the rest of the building was erected – most probably from the east to the west.

Saint George before its destruction

The ruinous state of Saint George demands an investigation of the probable original appearance. The three-aisled basilica with three apses was erected in a regular and well cut

ashlar masonry, and, as discussed in chapter 4.3, many of its elements derived from the Latin as well as other contemporary churches of the city. The choir and the southern wall are almost completely preserved and give us a precise idea of how the destroyed parts of the nave looked like from the outside.

The sidewalls were almost completely plain and only pierced by richly profiled, pointed windows with tracery [69.12]. The clerestory windows, parts of which are still in place, showed a slightly simpler framing profile and were obscured by a row of flying buttresses, springing from the top of the aisle walls [69.13]. The tracery of one window was already reconstructed by Theophilos Mogabgab in the 1930s, who not only cleared the site but also investigated the cut stones among the debris in the collapsed church in 1936. As he never published his results, we cannot be sure what other observations he made and how much of the stone material has been lost since his excavation. This lack of information is partly compensated by the existence of a set of photographs taken by Mogabgab, which are preserved in different archives today. One of the pictures taken during the cleaning of the church shows that Mogabgab had attempted to reassemble the stones – in this case a series of stones belonging to an arch with a chevron profile [69.40]. Presumably, this arch formed a part of the completely destroyed northern portal, to which also a large marble beam with notches on two sides and a marble capital can be assigned [69.41–42]. Even if most of the keystones of the arch have vanished by now, the old picture delivers enough evidence for its original appearance. The portal must have generally resembled the northern portal of Saint Peter and Paul in Famagusta [A.88] but the arch with its chevron pattern was at the same time alluding to the more ancient southern portal of Saint Epifanios, thus underlining the importance of the place where the new church was erected.

The western façade was as plain as the sidewalls but pierced by at least two windows and three portals, which are partly preserved [69.22–23]. While the lateral portals were constructed as triple stepped columned doorways with dogtooth adorned archivolt and hood moulds, the main entrance was framed by a Gothic sequenced roll and hollow profile and a hood mould with foliage decoration. The recent re-examination of the cut stones still left in the church proved that the tracery of the upper window of the façade differed from the nave windows: following a number of earlier models in the town, it consisted of three lancets and three crowning circles. The rose window below cannot be reconstructed with certainty but the scarce remains of the tracery indicate a design similar to the eastern window of the refectory in the abbey of Bellapais, or the rose window in the Augustinian Church in Nicosia. Inferring from these examples, the tracery would have been composed of

a small circle with a quatrefoil in the centre, surrounded by curved triangles containing trefoils.

The complete destruction of the upper part of the façade makes any further assessment through the material evidence impossible – yet, two pictorial sources may indicate a rather unusual design. Camille Enlart already wondered, while looking at Gibellino's etching of the siege of Famagusta [A.2], if the gable drawn above the church is to be treated as *topos* or gives account of the real design. As Gibellino's map lacks any realistic details, this idea was for the most part rejected but the engraving of Cornelis de Bruyn from 1683 [69.5] seems to add another clue. To the right of the staircase tower, another unidentifiable part raises above the roof level – perhaps indeed indicating the remains of a gable. None of the façades of other large churches in Famagusta can deliver a model of how Saint George might have looked, as the differences are too large in many respects. Only the so-called Tanners' Mosque [75] might shed some light on a possible initial design. Even though this idea must be treated as a speculation and thus with utmost care, the raised middle part with triangular gable above the façade of this church – which was erected some decades after Saint George – could be a reflection of the design of Saint George.⁶⁰

Another church in Famagusta that is often referred to, when considering possible models for the reconstruction of the missing parts of Saint George, is Saint Peter and Paul. As described in chapter 4.3, the interior elevation is almost identical to that of Saint George. Plain round piers with flat capitals separate the aisles; on top of the capitals of the piers lengthy, round triple supports begin and carry the diagonal and the transversal arches of the rib-vaults. This coincides with the remainder of the vaulting in Saint George and is only different in the central bay, which has caused a controversial and long debated problem when it comes to whether it was covered by a cross vault or a dome.

Vaulting system: a dome over the central bay

The question, whether or not the church possessed a dome, was already of interest to the first scholars. While Edward L'Anson was rather certain that the square bay was surmounted by a dome, Camille Enlart did not specifically discuss the problem, as he was sure that each bay was covered by a rib vault. In George Jeffery, Theophilus Mogabgab and much later Athanasios Papageorgiou, the theory of a dome found prominent supporters, while more recently scholars such as Thierry Soulard and Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, argued

⁶⁰ Admittedly, this gable is a reconstruction of the 1930s and it is not sure to which extent it followed an original design or had to be invented.

against the existence of a dome. The most recent approach by Tassos Papacostas tries to console the somewhat conflictive evidence, by arguing for a later insertion of the dome in a Venetian period remodelling.

In summary, arguments brought up by the supporters of a rib vault were that a dome would typologically require a transept underneath – certainly not the case in Saint George –, that placing a dome on a structure this high would be structurally impossible or that a dome would be contradictory to the overall Gothic style. Yet, the arguments in favour of a dome always seemed to at least outbalance these objections. Remarkably, the central bay is decisively larger, thus forming the square plan required for the construction of a dome. Furthermore, sources and newly discovered material evidence corroborate the hitherto only assumed existence of a dome.

The most important source is again the 17th century etching of Cornelis de Bruyn, which clearly shows the church domed. Thierry Soulard's recent statement that the etching was not reliable can be rejected because of two reasons: First, the text written by De Bruyn in addition to the etching refers specifically to the dome:

*"De andere Kerk staat daar benevens, aan de slinker zyde, en pronkt op het midden met een Koepel, die boven rond is. Hier ziet men noch verscheyde gaaten van de Kogels, die 'er in geschooten zyn, en de Kerk wel ten halven overhoop hebben gesmeeten."*⁶¹

Second, the details of both churches, such as the wide buttress of Saint George or the gables of the Latin cathedral, as well as the position of its minaret, match the actual buildings very closely. Furthermore, the shadows display the original late-afternoon scenery described by De Bruyn earlier in his text, even if he states that he did the etching "metter haast" (with haste) and not "as carefully as possible", as it is claimed by the English translation.⁶²

Another pictorial source that remained widely unnoticed was Vasily Barsky's sketch of the city in 1730 [69.6.]. The drawing, from a bird's eye perspective, shows a cubic, domed building with buttresses behind the Latin cathedral. Surely, Barsky's drawing skills were limited, but his account of prominent elements like domes seems to be thorough in all his

⁶¹ Bruyn 1698, p 366 – It is important to go back to the Dutch text in this case, as the English translation is slightly differing: "The mosque called S. Sophia seems very fine: it must indeed be as grand as its reputation. The pointed tower, which crowns the building, is highly ornamental. On the left of it is another mosque whose dome makes it very conspicuous. One can see the holes left by the cannon balls: half the church was destroyed in the siege." (Quoted after Cobham 1908, p 236). The French version even omits the description of the dome, which might have misled Soulard and de Vaivre.

⁶² Bruyn 1698, p 365: "Na den middag vervoegte ik my [...] na de Staat [...], alwaar ik op een kleynen Heuvel ging nederzitten, om de Stad **metter haast** af te teekenen." The English translation quoted after Cobham 1908, p 236.

drawings. Furthermore, the almost illegible inscription next to the building reads “αγ Γεωργ[ιος]”, confirming that it is indeed the Greek cathedral depicted on the drawing.

While this proves the existence of a dome in the 17th and 18th centuries, nothing is said about this dome being part of the initial building. Papacostas’ recent approach takes account of the pictorial sources, which he deems reliable, but denies the presence of a dome from the beginning. He instead argues that the dome was added together with the still visible strengthening of the nave piers after the big earthquake of 1491 that must have left the church severely damaged. The dome would then have been a work of Venetian architects and masons, who were indeed experienced in the construction of domes on high naves. While this seems convincing, regarding the technological knowledge of the time and the unusual typology – there is no other large transept-less domed basilica in Cyprus –, the material evidence of Saint George indicates otherwise.

As the central part of the church is destroyed, we have to look at the cut stones, which can be found all over the site. Among them, one finds a wide variety of profiled stones, which can be assigned to a small number of groups like vault ribs, portal arches, capitals or nave/aisle supports [69.45]. For our problem, stones that belonged to the supports and the vault ribs are especially interesting. It is easy to trace a multitude of stones that belonged to the standard supports, as they are preserved on the aisle walls: a triplet of half circle profiles (A), each one corresponding to one rib of the vault (two diagonal and one transversal). In addition, the stones that belonged to the ribs and the transversal arches, most likely of the same pear-shape (B), are easily identifiable through the remains of the vault in the eastern aisle bays. There is no reason to believe that the standard system in the nave was any different from the aisles. Yet, two types of profiles are not traceable on the parts of the building that are still standing. One is composed of a smaller half circle profile, attached to the side of a much bigger half circle (C). The other is similar in that there is again a large half circle but here, two smaller rolls are attached at both sides, thus resembling an expanded version of the rib profile (D). The only possible explanation for these profiles is to assign them to the central bay, where the stones certainly formed part of the supports and transverse arches. The smaller circular profile of C matches the diameter of the half circles in profile A, which confirms its use in the support system. This in turn means that there was only a support for the diagonal rib of the adjoining bays but no support for another diagonal rib in the central bay. Instead, the enforced support carried the – also enforced – transversal arches of the central bay that belong to profile D. The use of two enforced transversal

arches with a simultaneous absence of diagonal ribs clearly proves a heavy, centralized superstructure, which can only have been a dome.

The assignment of the two 'new' profiles is further supported by two remaining *tas-de-charges* (I and II), both showing intersection points between profiles. Stone I is composed of the nave arch profile A and profile C, arranged in a right angle, thus it is originating from the lower courses of the central bay supports. Stone II shows the transverse arch profile D and, in a 45° angle the rib profile B, so the stone can be located in the first or second course above the clerestory capitals. Through these *tas-de-charges*, not only can the location of the Profiles C and D be asserted but also the general belonging of the investigated stones to the church of Saint George can be expressed.

The consistency of the support system strongly indicates that the dome was no afterthought. Furthermore, the remaining parts of the church show no sign of a later change in the vaults or the arcades. In addition, the vault ribs and nave arches were interlocked with the support system for the dome, which thus had to be part of the initial plan. The dome, which reached a height of nearly 30 m, made the finished church the highest sacral building in Cyprus in the Middle Ages.

Repair and decay: between 1400 and 1735

Apparently, the lack of experience with the combination of a basilica clerestory and a dome lead to static problems – thus somewhat confirming the doubts of the technical viability of the project cast by the opponents of the dome theory. The piers, originally of 1,40 m diameter, were therefore encased with an additional layer of ashlar, increasing the diameter to over 2 m [69.44]. The new shell was stabilized with iron clamps – so the enforcement was certainly part of a static improvement, probably reacting to signs of a weakening of the piers. The most probable date for this large-scale repair of the church is in the aftermath of the big earthquake of 1491, which certainly damaged the church. This in turn also confirms the presence of the dome from the beginning, instead of speaking for a later addition: would the builders have dared to add a heavy dome to an already weakened structure, which had to be strengthened with much effort after an earthquake?

The other changes made during the Genoese and Venetian period are of rather decorative and functional character: an enormous stone iconostasis was added between the 4th and the 5th bay and a wooden gallery, accessible through the first aisle window, was inserted in the southern aisle. The corbels on the outside, decorated with a Renaissance

ornament, supported a small balcony that connected the gallery with the stair tower [69.16]. None of these changes is dated precisely but a link with the restoration of the church after 1491 seems likely.

The last point remaining to clarify is the date of the destruction of Saint George. We know that the Greeks were allowed to keep their cathedral after the Ottoman conquest of 1571 from the report of Angelo Callepio, describing the occupation of Cyprus by the Ottomans.⁶³ But in which state was the cathedral, after numerous cannonballs hit it during the cannonade of the city? De Bruyn draws the church with an intact dome over a century later, in 1683, but describes the building as 'half destroyed'. The cannonballs that struck the complex are still visible today, stuck in the masonry of the southern and eastern walls of Saint George. While this led to the frequent belief that the church was destroyed already in 1571, it rather indicates the opposite: the wall thickness was strong enough to let the cannonballs only penetrate the outer shell. Only the vaults, which were much thinner, may have suffered more damage. As the dome persisted, the structural integrity of the vaults, which were necessary for the dome's stability, seems not to have been disturbed. Probably the Greek community continued using the church as long as possible but inevitably did not have the funds for the constant upkeep or a repair of the damages. This probably led to a partial collapse, as described by De Bruyn, after which the church was abandoned. The fact that no stones from the pavement of the church were found during the removal of the debris in the 1930s might suggest that the church was abandoned already before the dome and the clerestory caved in. After the large church was not usable anymore, the smaller church of Saint Epifanios probably took over its function as parish and episcopal church, which could explain its somewhat better state in the beginning of the 20th century.

Ultimately, it was the strong earthquake of 1735 that made the dome collapse as well. The definite ruin of the building has been described in a few prosaic words by the pilgrim Richard Pococke in 1738: "St George's, one of the most magnificent [churches], was thrown down by the earthquake".⁶⁴ Presumably, it was one of the northern piers of the central bay which gave in, as the northern aisle was almost completely destroyed and the debris shattered to the north, where it remained until the works of the 1930s, lead by Theophilus Mogabgab, started.

⁶³ Cobham 1908, p 160.

⁶⁴ Quoted after Cobham, *Excerpta*, p 236.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas of the Greeks
GEO-DATA: 35.123133, 33.944414		CAT. NO: 70
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the south-eastern quarter of the walled town of Famagusta		
TYPOLOGY: modified cross-in-square church with wide western bay and added northern aisle		
WINDOWS: round arched windows, that of the southern apse with a framing profile and horizontal drip mould		
PORTALS: two southern portals, both rectangular with corbels: the eastern one with recessed tympanum and thin hood mould, the western one itself set back and framed by a chamfered step and a deep hood mould on triple corbels		
VAULTING: dome on an octagonal drum above the central bay of the southern part; barrel vaults in the lateral bays and small corner compartments; groin vaults in the western bay and northern aisle		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders on four faces of the dome drum		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Edmond Duthoit (1862), in Bonato, Severis 1999, p 166; Soteriou 1935, pl 51; ca. 10 photographs of the 1930s in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive; DOA D.116 (1936); B.1192–1194 (1942); A.3886 (1952); A.4487 (1954); J.3916, 3935–3939 (1961); J.5916–5918, 5931 (1963); B.31.844–848, J.25.949–952 (1972).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late 14th century: erection of the southern part - 15th century: northern aisle, belfry (?) - after 1936: partial reconstruction of the southern portals - 1952–54: repair works to the fabric, no reconstructions 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Today three fragments (late 14 th / early 15 th century) are preserved: in the northern dome arch of the southern nave a standing saint; on the eastern face of the southwestern dome pier a Saint George on horseback, on the western face of the same pier two standing saints. Jeffery additionally reports a fragment of a 'descent into limbo', presumably an <i>Anastasis</i> scene, on the southern wall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 155; Carlier 1934, p 27; Gunnis 1936, p 97; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951, p 177; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 118; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 81–82; Papageorghiou 2010, p 60–62; Langdale 2012, p 391; Olympios 2014c, p 173–174. ARDAC 1954, p 12.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Papageorghiou 2010; Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 05.03.2010; 21.04.2012; 19.02.2013		

The church known by the Name of Saint Nicholas is perhaps the most intriguing smaller Greek church in Famagusta, but has been largely marginalized by previous scholarship. It is situated less than 100 m south of the Greek cathedral of Saint George, in vicinity of the small church of Saint Zoni, which lead to the assumption that this area of the city was the 'Greek quarter'.⁶⁵ This idea, however, bears a high danger of circular reasoning, as some churches, which seem to indicate a separation into quarters, are only assigned to a specific cult based on the quarter in which they are situated. In this case, the accumulation of Greek churches is indisputable, but might rather be seen as a clustering of churches around the Greek bishopric.

The origins of Saint Nicholas are as obscure as that of most other small churches of the city. The dedication was only promulgated by Enlart based on an Ottoman period map, so the lack of medieval sources referring to a Greek church of Saint Nicholas in Famagusta might not mean much for this specific building.⁶⁶

The church, erected from meticulously cut ashlar, consists of a southern half, showing a modified cross-in-square plan, and a later added northern aisle with groin vaults. While the latter is almost entirely destroyed, save for its apse, most parts of the southern half remain. The adaption of a cross-in-square plan is remarkable, as it was rarely used after 1300. Here, it is strongly modified. The outside of the church, instead of revealing the idea of a cross-shaped interior, is cubic, a plain rectangular bloc with flat triangular gables rising above the walls. The dome on its octagonal drum somewhat 'floats' on top of this bloc.

The interior is dominated by the central, domed bay, while the northern, eastern and southern cross arms are rather developed as deep arches. One might speak of a compression of the eastern end of the church: there are no singled out eastern dome piers. Instead, the vault-high apse, which is merged with the eastern cross arm, visually moves close to the domed bay, if looking along the nave. The apse is adjoined by two small rooms in the angles between lateral cross arms and apse. These rooms, both equipped with apses hidden in the wall thickness, reveal the original cross-in-square idea, where these rooms would have connected to the eastern part of the nave.⁶⁷ Here, they possess low openings towards the cross arms and into the deep apse, presumably used as the bema area. Surprisingly, the barrel vaults of these rooms are located on the level of the vault springers of the cross arms, much higher than the low entrance arches would indicate. As a result,

⁶⁵ On the idea of city quarters sorted by ethnic identities see for example Langdale, Walsh 2007. The idea goes back to Enlart 1899, p 250–267.

⁶⁶ Enlart 1899, p 257.

⁶⁷ The southern side room shows deep horizontal notches in the apse, indicating a (later?) use as storage space.

small slit-like windows were placed in the upper level, towards the northern and southern cross arms.

Unlike their eastern counterparts, the western piers of the dome are structurally present. As the western bay of the church is as wide and high as the domed bay and the cross arms together, they are developed as deep, engaged piers. Archways pierce their lower zone, corresponding to the entrance archways of the small rooms in the east. This solution is unique: the archways suggest the presence of lateral aisles or corner rooms, as in a cross-in-square church, but this is contradicted by the vault that spans the whole width of the western bay. If this had functional reasons or was a purely aesthetical decision has to remain open.

The western end of the church was partly destroyed, apparently when the north-western pier of the western bay collapsed. The evidence that remains is hard to interpret. The simple, chamfered vault impost runs around the remaining south-eastern pier and also appears on its front. Furthermore, the first voussoirs of the transversal vault arch remain, indicating that the vault did not end at a wall here. The western face of the pier does, however, not show any *pierres d'attente* for a continuing wall, neither does the south-western corner of the church. The only architectural explanation for this would be that the western façade of the church was occupied by a vault-high, open arch. Beside the three voussoirs of this arch, there is a small vertical notch, which could indicate that here a wooden construction was connected to the masonry of the church. Was there indeed a wooden narthex placed in front of the building? This solution would have been as unique as the interior structure of the church. Only excavations, which could uncover possible foundations west of the current building, might help to shed further light on this part of the structure. Anyhow, it is certain that Jeffery's suggestion of a second dome above the western part of the southern nave, repeated again by Gunnis, has to be rejected.

The fact that the northern aisle is a later addition becomes obvious in all points of junction, where conspicuous vertical joints separate the two building phases. The ashlar masonry of this aisle is partly of lower quality; in the vault the joints are wider and the alignment less precise. Of the few parts of masonry, which remain, we can conclude that the complete northern wall of the original church was taken down and engaged piers erected to mirror those of the southern part. The vaults of the aisle were adapted to reach the same height as those of the southern counterparts. Presumably, there were two bays of the same type of groin vaults, as in the western bay of the southern nave, with the groins forming an approximate square, merged with barrel-vaulted segments. In the aisle, the bays

were separated by a flat chamfers transversal arch. It is interesting to note that also a small archway towards the former northern side room was created, making it accessible from both apses. As we do not know the reason for the addition of the aisle, possible implications of this for liturgical questions must remain open. The same is true for a low rectangular opening in the southern half of the northern apse – an unusual position for a doorway.

Presumably in the same renovation phase, the belfry above the south-western corner of the building was added. Its upper part, which might have resembled the belfries of the Panagia Melandrina [7] or Saint Paraskevi in nearby Agios Sergios [12], is missing today. What remains are the bearings for the crossbar of the bell, demonstrating a rarely preserved functional aspect. A number of unusual detail observations points towards further questions of the use of the church. Already Allan Langdale has described the resonant cavities inserted in the pendentifs of the dome and suggested to connect this aspect with the role of chant in the Byzantine liturgy.⁶⁸ He also pointed out unusual signs of abrasion below the eastern dome window, reminding of skid marks caused by the rubbing of a rope. On the outside, the same window shows further marks on its southern jamb. What this rope was used for is uncertain – it could hardly have served to ring a bell, as suggested by Langdale, as the belfry is situated at the opposite end of the church. Perhaps, it should be seen in context of the four flagstaff holders placed on the faces of the dome drum.

A look at the architectural detailing can help to narrow down the date of building of the southern half of the church.⁶⁹ The overall dependence on the older cathedral complex of Saint George is blatant. The plain, cubic exterior with gables rising from the perimeter walls, the unarticulated semicircular apse, the octagonal dome – all resembles the southern expansion of the church of Saint Epifanios. The parallels also include the two portals, strangely placed alongside in the southern wall. The western one of these entrances is close to a faithful copy of the south-western portal of Saint Epifanios: a rectangular chamfered doorway with simple quarter circle corbels, set back from the wall surface by one chamfered step. This outer step is surmounted by a significantly protruding arch, which rests on a sequence of stacked corbels. The lowest corbel shows the same roll-hollow-roll profile as in Saint Epifanios, with the upper roll partly cut to form a chamfer. The two upper corbels are of the quarter circle type, the third one forming the first voussoir of the arch. The second portal, leading into the central domed bay, is a simpler rectangular doorway with quarter circle corbels carrying a monumental, monolithic lintel. The recessed tympanum above is framed by a slim hood mould.

⁶⁸ Langdale 2012, p 391. For the use of resonant cavities in general see Arns, Crawford 1995.

⁶⁹ For this aspect, see the stylistic discussion in chapter 4.4 as well.

It is necessary to remark that both portals were in a heavily decayed state by the 1930s and many stones have been replaced in the subsequent restoration. The use of old ashlar in this process makes it hard to decide, whether the design was changed or the portal is faithful to the original, but the drawing of Edmond Duthoit, executed in 1862, seems to corroborate the latter. Furthermore, vertical joints to both sides of the jambs of both portals might indicate, that they were placed here only in a later phase. The origin might have well been the same church, considering that we neither know of the original northern portal that had to be taken down with the addition of the aisle, nor if there was an original western portal. Be this as it may, the overall accordance with the buildings from the first half of the 14th century is so striking that only minor details indicate a later date. The most revealing is the cornice of the building, which shows a quarter-circle profile topped by two small steps. This corresponds closely to that of Saint George of the Greeks, where this profile type was for the first time used for a whole cornice, not only as corbel for a vault rib. The fact that the cornice seems to integrate the second building phase does not mean that it is a product of this phase in its entirety, as the cornices of apse and dome are designed identically. It seems, as if the cornice of the destroyed northern wall was reused to create an aesthetically pleasant visual continuity towards the new part of the church.

The windows are predominantly round arched but varied in detail: unframed ones in the dome, smaller ones with horizontal drip moulds in the apses, but rectangular chamfered slits, which become wider towards the inside, in the southern wall. None of these window types accord to previous standards and, admittedly, rather remind of window types in use in the Venetian period. The lack of pointed windows surprises at first – however, this is again a parallel to Saint Epifanios, where none of the preserved windows shows a pointed arch.

In general, the evidence of the style indicates a date in the last quarter of the 14th century, even if more elements bear on the model of the 1320s/1330s church of Saint Epifanios, than of the more current cathedral of Saint George. The northern aisle and the belfry may have been added shortly after, but the worse quality of the masonry could also point towards a later date, perhaps in the early 15th century. The fragments of paintings, tentatively dated to the late 14th or early 15th century by Annemarie Weyl Carr, could be a product of the same renovation phase.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Olympios 2014c, p 174.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Zoni (Holy Girdle)
GEO-DATA: 35.122719, 33.944154		CAT. NO: 71
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the south-eastern quarter of the walled town of Famagusta		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular / rectangular with blind round arch		
PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular doorway with profiled corbels, monolithic lintel, recessed tympanum in shape of a pointed horseshoe arch		
VAULTING: central dome, eastern and western barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Edmond Duthoit (1862), in: Bonato, Severis 1999, p 166; DOA B.1278–1279 (1943); B.2133 (1944); A.4999 (1957); J.3852–3854, 3913–3915 (1961); J. 5919–5920 (ca.1970).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 14 th –15 th century (?): erection of the church		
- 18 th century (?): addition of a narthex to the west		
- 1957–60: restoration, south-western door and western arch walled up		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the northern wall fragments of a large Archangel Michael of the 16 th century? (Papageorgiou 2010: 15 th century; Chotzakoglou 2006: ca. 1500).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 154–155; Carlier 1934, p 27–28; Gunnis 1936, p 97; Mogabgab 1939b, p 105; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 118; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 83; Papageorgiou 2010, p 63–64; Langdale 2012, p 393; Olympios 2014c, p 177–178.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 05.03.2010; 21.04.2012		

The church of Saint Zoni, so of the Holy Girdle, lies in direct vicinity of Saint Nicholas of the Greeks. If not for this prominent position in the centre of Famagusta, presumably the scholarly interest in this church had been even more superficial. Erected from irregular ashlar, it follows the common 'layered' type of rural dome-hall churches. Low corner compartments, triangular gables above each wall, a square dome base supporting the (strongly asymmetrical) round drum, and a wide flat semicircular apse display the interior division already on the exterior. Consequently, the interior follows the traditional structure as well: the corner compartments are formed by round arched niches, the vault consists of the usual sequence of barrel vault, dome and barrel vault. The proportions, however, differ from the majority of (older) rural dome-hall churches. The interior appears spacious and lofty considering the small size of the building and the dome dominates the room, giving it an almost centralized character.

Thus, while the crude workmanship does stand in harsh contrast to the usual 14th century architecture of Famagusta, it certainly does not betray a pre-14th century date. This is partly also corroborated by the architectural details. The windows are simple slits, in the apse round arched, in the dome rectangular with small blind arches above – an element usually found decorating the apse windows of rural churches but not necessarily indicative of a post-14th century date. The only preserved portal of the church, placed in a random spot of the southern wall, east of the central axis, consists of a rectangular doorway with profiled corbels, a monolithic lintel made from a marble *spolium* and above this a recessed tympanum. The latter has the unusual shape of a pointed horseshoe arch, of which only one other example in Cyprus is known, adorning the western portal of the late 14th century church of Saint George in the nearby village of Vrysoulles [241]. The painting of the Archangel Michael, partly preserved on the northern wall of the nave, should rather be dated to the 16th century, so it does not help in narrowing down the date of the building itself.

Olympios is certainly right in pointing out the puzzling questions, which the building raises. If indeed erected in the late 14th or early 15th century, as the evidence seems to indicate, how can a building of such rusticity be explained in the well-developed urban architectural environment? There was surely no lack of skilled masons and the poor quality of the masonry becomes even more evident in view of the nearby church of Saint Nicholas, with which Saint Zoni only shares the design of the moulded cornice of the dome drum. While the more traditional design, refraining from adapting the virulent 'Crusader style', might with some caution still be explained as a conscious decision, the simple execution of

masonry and details surely indicates the wish to erect an inexpensive church in a rather short time.

Perhaps we must assume a higher number of similar churches within the walls of Famagusta, destroyed in the frequent earthquakes and not repaired afterwards due to the abundance of other available churches? In any case, the church of the Holy Girdle seems to have been kept in a good state of repair throughout the Ottoman period, during which a narthex (still visible in a ruined state on a drawing of 1862 of Edmond Duthoit) and a wooden porch to the south (evidenced by the beam holes above the portal) were added. The restoration campaigns in the mid-20th century, between 1957 and 1960, removed all remains of the narthex, closed the large arch that had been opened for the expansion, and walled up a small door in the south-west, which had also been opened in the Ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Unknown (‘Bishops’ Chapel’)
GEO-DATA: 35.125225, 33.943355		CAT. NO: 72
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the Latin Cathedral of Saint Nicholas		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: lateral windows		
PORTALS: rectangular, chamfered, with corbels		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches, resting on trapezoidal corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders on all building corners		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: ca. 30 photographs of the 1940s in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive; DOA B.1200 (1942); B.2100–2104, 2215, 2222, 2498–2501, 2525, 2598 (1945); A.3254 (1947).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- early 16 th century: erection of the church in the context of a larger (monastic?) building complex		
- 1945: replacement of large parts of the southern wall ashlars, reconstruction of the portal		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 633–634 [Enlart 1987, p 461]; Jeffery 1918, p 157; Pilides 2009, p 456; Langdale 2012, p 375.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 24.02.2010; 21.04.2012; 22.06.2012		

East of the apse of the Latin cathedral of Saint Nicholas, today facing a large empty square, stands a small single nave church with semicircular apse. Enlart was the first scholar who mentioned the building, attributing it to the Latin bishop's palace and identifying it as his private chapel. This was, correctly, rejected already in 1918 by George Jeffery, who assumed that it once served for the Orthodox rite (later he seems to have hesitated, if it might not be an Armenian church, without disclosing the reasons for his thoughts).

The building is made from the usual regular ashlar masonry, with a plain, cubic exterior. The portals are simple rectangular doorways with originally profiled corbels and a protruding hood mould resting on pyramidal corbels. In the west, a large pointed arch takes the place, where one would expect a western portal (similar to, for example, Saint Nicholas near Deryneia [62]). Of the windows, in particular the two rectangular ones flanking the portals to the east are interesting. They have continuous framing profiles and are covered with a horizontal drip mould. The large oculus in the gable of the western façade possesses a similar stepped roll moulding and is filled with an irregular quatrefoil tracery (perhaps still original). Numerous corbels, part of flagstaff folders, are placed below the cornice; those on the eastern side are shaped like opened books, a late variation of the quarter circle corbels. The cornice itself is replaced for most parts, but that of the apse still shows the original profile, curiously decorated with a dogtooth pattern.

The interior is not very complex in terms of layout and structure: a simple barrel vault on two transversal arches covers the undivided nave. What interests is the design of the corbels and the arch profiles. The latter consists of three parallel rolls, ending in small stacked imposts (this is a simplified variation of the older transversal arch in the so-called *Tanners' Mosque* [75]). The imposts rest on the cranked string course, which marks the vault springer. The corbels below are trapezoidal in shape and covered in flat ornamental reliefs; around the top runs a dentil frieze.

The sculptural decoration of both, exterior and interior, strongly indicates a date in the 16th century, presumably during the first two decades of the Venetian period. While the idiosyncrasy and abundance of forms reminds of the 15th century *Tanners' Mosque*, details such as the continuous window profiles, the book shaped, pyramidal and trapezoidal corbels and the dentil frieze of the latter are typical elements for 16th century churches. The presence of a cranked string course inside corroborates this thought, if compared with the similar one in the 16th century church today known as *Mustafa Paşa Mosque* [74].

Finally, a few observations on the structural history of the building should be added. While evidently erected in a single phase, the passage of time had heavily damaged the church by the early 20th century. In 1945, large parts of the outer face of its southern wall had to be replaced, and with them, the southern portal was rebuilt. It seems, however, that (unlike in the case of the eastern apse of Saint Epifanios) not only was the original building material reused as far as possible but also placed faithful to the original design. Even the beam holes of the wooden southern porch, which are placed in a horizontal line above the portal, were maintained in their original positions.

The western façade is more complicated to interpret. Again, the beam holes indicate the presence of a wooden roof in front of the façade, leaving only the upper gable with the oculus visible. Here, *pierres d'attente* on both sides of the façade indicate that the lateral church walls once continued towards the west. This is interesting in the context of the large arched entrance. While its voussoirs seem to be largely replaced, the opening itself might well be part of the original plan, connecting the church with a small narthex. This is corroborated by the two corbels placed beside the arch apex, which surely carried a transversal beam that intended to take the vertical thrust of the roof off the arch. The smaller but wide corbels, which crown the top of the façade, are an unmistakable sign for the original presence of a belfry, today reduced to two rectangular blocks sitting on top of the barrel vault.⁷¹

To come back to the initially outlined question of the context of this church – in the surroundings of the church we find, apart from various remains of low walls of uncertain age, the lower courses of a once richly decorated stepped columns portal. This portal was placed towards north, opening onto a street that surely follows the medieval grid and is still flanked by a structure that was interpreted as 'cells' further to the west. The decoration of this portal with a vertical dogtooth frieze between the columns and rectangular, stacked imposts matches the character of the church decoration. Furthermore, the portal is on the same axis as the presumed narthex of the church. Thus, one can assume that the church was once part of a probably monastic complex, which surrounded the church on three sides. The narthex was presumably part of a low, cloister-like wing of the domestic buildings and the belfry the only part that rose above the surrounding structures. From the street to the

⁷¹ The arrangement of a lower wooden roof and a belfry rising above the façade somewhat reminds of the 14th century church of Saint Anne in the north-west of Famagusta (see most recently Langdale, Walsh 2007, p 110–111 and Plagnieux, Soulard 2006a, p 261–265).

east, the church would have always been visible, which could explain the more richly decorated corbels of the flagstaff holders as well as the lavish string course (even if we do not know, if the western façade once possessed a string course as well). Which monastery this might have been has to remain open, unless future excavations or the discovery of further sources produces new evidence. The vicinity to the Latin cathedral would, if following modern paradigms of urban planning, indeed rather suggest a Latin complex of some importance. On the other hand, by the 16th century, the urban texture of Famagusta was certainly well mixed and at the same time the Latin bishopric impoverished to some extent, so that erecting a Greek monastery on a plot, which might have indeed belonged to the cathedral chapter before, would not surprise as much.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Unknown (‘Mogabgab Church’)
GEO-DATA: 35.126844, 33.937732		CAT. NO: 73
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the north-western quarter of the walled city of Famagusta, 50 m east of the Tanners’ Mosque [75]		
TYPOLOGY: nave and two lateral aisles, ending in three semicircular eastern apses		
WINDOWS: [destroyed]		
PORTALS: northern portal: stepped columned portal; [rest destroyed]		
VAULTING: barrel vaults and central dome [?]		
MISCELLANEOUS: central columns on spoliated marble bases		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Photograph in the Kew National Archive (CO 1069.694), ca. 1900; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (3 images, ca. 1935); ca. 20 photographs in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late 14th century: erection of the church - early 16th century (after 1491?): renewal of the vaults - after 1571: ruined - 1936: excavation of the foundations and floor by Theophilus Mogabgab - after 1974: largely destroyed by the installation of an Atatürk monument within the walls 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Mogabgab reports remains of a painted decoration in all remaining parts of the masonry, evidently only the lower frame in olive green and reddish brown. On the southern bema pier “the feet of a human figure [... and] a band of reddish-brown medieval scroll work [...]. Fragments of an inscription and traces of a second painted layer were found as well. (Mogabgab 1939a, p 91)		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Mogabgab 1939a; Langdale, Walsh 2007, p 109–110; Langdale 2012, p 317–318; Kaffenberger forthcoming-f.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section (remaining fabric): Mogabgab 1939a, fig 1; ground plan (reconstruction): Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 14.02.2010; 18.03.2010		

Little remains of the small three-aisled church east of the Tanner's Mosque, the foundations of which today surround an Atatürk monument. If the church is nevertheless included in the main catalogue of this study, this is because of the unusually detailed evidence, which the excavation of the site in 1936 produced. Unlike in the case of many other excavation projects lead by Theophilus Mogabgab, Antiquities Officer of Famagusta, in the 1930s, the results of this excavation as well as a limited number of photographs have been published. Additionally, there remain three photographs taken by John Hilton, first Director of the Department of Antiquities.

The church, erected on a small outcrop, which is pierced by a large cave, was already completely ruined in the early 20th century. Only the semicylinder of the northern apse protruded from the mound of debris. Mogabgab recounts that until the 1910s, this apse, made from well-cut ashlar masonry, still possessed a "gothic lancet window" and part of the semidome. When work started in 1936, only the five to seven lowest stone layers were preserved. Of the remaining walls, which were uncovered subsequently, only the first two or three layers remained in the original position, while the rest had collapsed or was taken away by stone robbers.

The ground plan discovered was rather unusual: the central nave was flanked by two aisles of approximately the same width. Four column bases divided the square western part of the church into nine approximately square bays, while rectangular piers, placed on a raised step in the east, delimited three rectangular bays in front of the three semicircular apses. To the eastern piers, strongly protruding engaged piers on the lateral walls corresponded. Engaged piers of the same slim dimensions were placed in the axis of the column bases on the southern wall, while the corresponding places in the northern and western walls were occupied by wider engaged piers, which formed the slightly stepped inner frames for the western and northern portals. Of the northern portal, the southern jamb impost had been preserved: it showed that it was of the single stepped type with an engaged colonette occupying the inner step. The preserved base was formed by a steep, doughy roll above an octagonal pedestal with small trapezoidal corbels. The corners of the jambs were chamfered. The western portal was entirely destroyed but might have been of a similar design. A portal in the south, apparently placed in the wall as an afterthought, was smaller and not sculpturally decorated, as far as the jambs are concerned. Next to this southern portal, in the central bay of the southern aisle, an opening in the floor lead to a flight of steps, connecting the church with the cave in the outcrop. The original floor had been preserved in large parts, even if Mogabgab discovered that the marble and other stone

slabs must have been reused to for the second or even third floor of the building. The raised floor in the east, of which little was preserved, had been altered as well. Here, foundations for altars were found in the northern and central apse, while the southern one remained empty.

Most questions connected to this intriguing evidence have been raised already by Mogabgab. How did the vault look, when was the church built and destroyed, and how was it originally used? For the vault, Mogabgab suggests the Byzantine cross-in-square type, where a central dome is surrounded by four barrel-vaulted bays in cruciform arrangement, with lower corner compartments. As the four column bases, which he found, were evidently reused and differed in shape and presumably also age, he concluded that the masonry imposts below the bases were in fact remains of the original rectangular vault piers, which had been replaced by the bases (and later removed columns) in a second phase. While the second suggestion seems certainly convincing, the proposed vaulting concept is somewhat problematic. Indeed, the separation of the western part into nine bays of approximately identical size, with a smaller eastern bay for the bema area, corresponds exactly to the most common type of cross-in-square churches in Byzantium. However, this type was already virtually unknown in Cyprus during the Middle Byzantine period, while from the centuries of the Latin occupation not a single classical cross-in-square building is preserved. Thus, in any case the church uncovered by Mogabgab presents a unique case. An additional problem are the lateral walls, which are extremely thin, with around 40 cm. Furthermore, they lack any sign of external buttressing, which makes the internal engaged piers structurally decisive parts. Of the other possible vaulting options, a longitudinal barrel vault above nave and aisles can most likely be excluded: the diagonal and horizontal thrust of this vault would not have been restricted to the enforced corners of each bay, but would have weighed heavily on the thin walls in between. Also a central dome with surrounding cruciform barrel vaults would be structurally problematic, but more probable: here, the diagonal thrust would have been countered by the lower vaults of the corner compartments. These must have been centralized, either forming sail vaults (entirely uncommon in Cyprus) or groin vaults. These would have had the slightly cruciform bay plan caused by the enforcements of the bay corners – a very frequent vaulting type in medieval Famagusta. So, if the groin vaults are certain for the corner compartments, and we also assume the central dome to be a given fact, we might also consider the four remaining bays to have been groin-vaulted. In fact, this seems to be the least problematic vault above very thin exterior walls with only punctual

strengthening. A comparable groin vault might have been found in the (vanished) aisles of the Unidentified Church 18 [76].

While the nave of the latter was vaulted differently, it is nevertheless a good *comparandum* for the Mogabgab church in terms of dating evidence. The only element of sculptural decoration remaining, the impost of the northern portal, indicates that this portal was very similar to the western portal of Church 18. The shape of the base is identical, even if the execution is clumsier in the case of the Mogabgab church. Both buildings are very likely datable to the last decades of the 14th century. This is to some extent corroborated by coins found among the (relocated (?)) burials in the cave below the church: two of them were identified as of Henry II (1316–1324) and James I (1382–1398). Unfortunately, the find context is not clear, so we can only generally speak of burial activities in the late 14th century. Indeed, further burials were found within the church and next to its walls on the exterior. Placing the church in the late 14th century would also match the overall style of the building: the plain exterior walls and in particular the three semicylindrical apses in the east could be seen as a direct reaction to the 'Crusader Revival' of the 14th century urban architecture in Famagusta, culminating in Saint George of the Greeks.

The replacement of the central piers were certainly result of a collapse of the vault. The fact that for the rebuilding marble bases (and columns?) were used would speak in favour of a date in the Venetian period, when the site of nearby Salamis was more and more used as supplicatory of spolia, be these used as elegant building materials or with symbolical implication. Perhaps, the earthquake of 1491 had brought down the original vault and the reconstruction can be dated to around 1500. If ever a second vault was erected or due to the structural fragility a wooden ceiling installed, has to remain open.

The final collapse must have come at a time, when the church was still used: the floor was still in the church during the destruction. Had the church been disused, would not the floor have been removed for its material value? Thus, it seems more likely that another earthquake, perhaps that of 1735, brought the building down, and not neglect or disuse as a consequence of the Ottoman conquest.

Finally, some thought on the original use seem necessary. The uncommon layout of the church and its direct connection with the cave below is somewhat reminiscent of a number of sanctuaries in the Holy Land. In particular in Famagusta, there were other churches built over caves as well, most prominently the Panagia Chrysospiliotissa, a famous shrine venerated by Latins and Greeks alike.⁷² There, however, the cave possessed liturgical

⁷² Bacci 2009a, p 442–443.

niches in its western wall, clearly making the cave itself usable as sacred space. The cave below the Mogabgab Church does not show such niches: while clearly not a natural cave but carved from the rock, there are no signs of a liturgical use. Perhaps, the "mass burial" uncovered by Mogabgab (and interpreted as a 'mass grave' of people killed in the Ottoman conquest of 1571 by Langdale) indicates that the cave was used for burial purposes from the beginning. Similarly unclear is the situation in the church itself. The two altars in the central and northern apse have been (very carefully) linked by Mogabgab with a possible shared use of the church by Latins and Greeks. According to him, the Latins 'would have been allowed to celebrate mass' in the generally Greek church. While there is plenty of evidence for shared shrines, there is no evidence to prove Mogabgab's suggestion in this case. One might also think of the second 'altar' in fact being the prothesis table of the church. While usually a small niche beside the apse was sufficient, the enhanced structure here might have been connected to a special celebration of the rite of preparation. Again, since it is even impossible to identify the church, all suggestions about its liturgical use must remain speculative until future discoveries of further sources might shed more light on the historical context.

LOCALITY: Famagusta

DISTRICT: Famagusta

DEDICATION: Unknown
(‘Mustafa Paşa Mosque’)

GEO-DATA: 35.123160, 33.942055

CAT. No: 74

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: west of the Greek cathedral of Saint George

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with polygonal apse (5/8)

WINDOWS: three pointed windows in the apse; biforate window with hood mould in the western façade gable

PORTALS: western portal: stepped columned portal with pointed tympanum and double archivolt, dogtooth moulding and book corbels in the rectangular doorway; northern portal: profiled, pointed arch framing the rectangular doorway with book corbels, jambs decorated with rectangular panels; southern portal rectangular with quarter circle corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches on trapezoidal corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: zoomorphic gargoyles

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.2638–2639, 2748, 2757, 2835, 3950–3951, A.2209 (1945); A.2339 (1946); A.2710–2712 (1947); Mogabgab Photographic Archive, 8 sheets CES J (1945–1947).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- mid-16th century: erection of the church
- after 1571: transformation into a mosque, erection of a minaret, destruction of the belfry
- around 1945–1947: restoration, opening of walled up doors and windows

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 392–394 [Enlart 1987, p 302–303]; Jeffery 1918, p 155–156; Gunnis 1936, p 97; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 84–85; Bağışkan 2009, p 221–222; Langdale 2012, p 397.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 11.04.2009; 04.03.2010; 06.04.2012

The small church, which is today used as Mustafa Paşa Mosque, is situated 200 m west of the Greek cathedral of Saint George. Once more, original context and dedication are uncertain. Gunnis describes it as church of the Holy Cross, without disclosing his sources for this idea.

The church is of a single, rectangular nave with a polygonal eastern apse of 5/8 shape. The outer walls, erected from nicely cut ashlar masonry are plain except for the portals and windows. Three pointed windows illuminate the apse, placed in the central faces of the polygon. The only window of the nave is placed high up in the western façade gable. It is composed of two chamfered lancets, separated by a slender colonette and sharing a double arched hood mould.

Two monumental portals are placed in the northern and western façade. The western one is a rather classical stepped columned portal, which surprises mainly with its decorative details. Dogtooth friezes separate the colonettes of the portal jambs, run along the chamfers of the doorway and, just as in Saint George of the Greeks, occupy the hollows of the archivolt profile. The capitals are plain except for boss-like knobs. The imposts on the level of the capitals are decorated with small rose motifs, similar to those occupying the hood moulds of the 'Tanners' Mosque'. The book-corbels of the doorway are surrounded by a dentil frieze and carry a monolithic marble lintel with an empty blazon in the centre. The second portal, in the north, is larger and of a different design. Here, the rectangular doorway (with the same book-corbels as the western portal) possesses jambs with rectangular framed 'panels'. The outer frame is formed by a pointed arch with a continuous roll and hollow profile, similar to the main western portal of Saint George of the Greeks. The entrances on the southern front are slightly puzzling: a simple rectangular doorway with corbels is placed in the centre, further to the east a low round arch and, next to the eastern corner, another rectangular doorway. Oddly, Enlart claims that the southern doorway is of identical shape as that in the north – surely an error, as photographs of 1945–47 show the same doorway as today, but walled up. The same set of photographs does indicate, though, that the round arch of the second doorway was reconstructed in 1946, presumably following the original design.

The western façade was, as already Enlart remarked, once surmounted by a belfry, of which only the pedestal remains. The remains of the cornice do not indicate whether it is original or a later replacement. The two gargoyles of the northern façade, however, seem to be original. The western one has the shape of an extended corbel, while that on the east is of zoomorphic character and perhaps once resembled those of the Greek cathedral of the

Odigitria in Nicosia. A wooden porch seems to have once sheltered the northern side of the church, but this was a later addition, as the beam holes piercing the portal hood mould indicate. A rectangular hole above this portal might mean that once there was a relief (of the patron saint?) placed here.

The interior is surprisingly spacious, among others due to the fact that the apse is aligned with the lateral walls of the nave. The barrel vault is supported by two transversal arches, which spring from pyramidal corbels with stacked imposts. Uniquely, a third arch forms the formeret of the apse vault: it rests on slightly simpler but similar corbels. A string course runs along the level of the vault springer, but its profile differs from the stacked upper part of the corbels, which it pierces. In this element, it becomes obvious that this church stands in some relation to the so-called 'Bishop's chapel', where the vaulting system is almost identical. The relative chronological relation is rather obvious: there, the corbels are much less accurately carved, but the string course continues across the corbels without changing its profile. It seems that, even if employing better skilled masons, the original model was misunderstood in the Mustafa Paşa Mosque, resulting in a string course rather piercing the corbels instead of being cranked around them.

One of the unusual elements of the interior is without previous model: the polygon faces of the apse appear on the inside as well and are additionally separated by horizontal shafts, all ending in the bell moulded apse string course. This is remotely reminiscent of the Greek cathedral of Nicosia, only other occurrence of an inwards polygonal apse, where similar shafts occupy the polygon corners, but carry the ribs of the vault above. Here, the apse is vaulted with a usual conch.

Langdale furthermore refers to a "cluster of three engaged colonettes" near the apse in the north wall, interpreting them as a sign that a rib vault was executed and later replaced or planned and never executed. In fact, these engaged triple shafts, reaching a height of the first seven stone layers, also appear towards the western end of the church, opposed to each other at about 1,5 m off the western wall. Presumably, a fourth specimen would have been placed towards the eastern end of the southern wall but was removed later on. What could we make of these? There is absolutely no sign in the ashlar layers above the interrupted shafts for a later change of the vault – a process that inevitably leaves traces in the masonry. Trying to imagine a rib vault developing over these shafts is not easily possible, as the shafts are placed very close to the eastern respectively western end of the building. This would cause a large, longitudinal bay in the middle and two very narrow bays in the east and west. These could have only been vaulted with barrel vaults, making the

triple shaft, preparing for two diagonal ribs and one transversal arch, as in Saint George of the Greeks, unnecessary. Hints for a change of plans are scarce as well. Solely the smaller format of the ashlar above the seventh stone layer could perhaps indicate an interruption of the building process. However, while this can explain the abandonment of the shafts, it does not indicate, how the first plan could have been completed.

Further idiosyncrasies are presented by the string course and vault corbels in the eastern bay. Whereas in the western bays, the string course is matched in height (albeit not in its profile) with the impost of the corbels, in the eastern bay it sits slightly lower and consist of a simple inverted chamfer in the type of a drip mould. No attempt was made to connect it with the corbels of the eastern transversal arch, which fronts the apse vault. The latter rests on the somewhat awkwardly bent string course, which is supported by the vertical shafts of the apse polygon, all reaching a higher level than the corbel impost. As a result, the eastern corbels are jammed between the last shafts of the apse polygon, the end of the apse string course above and the mismatching nave string course to the west. While it is not obvious, what was part of an original idea and what a result of later changes (presumably simplifications), these idiosyncrasies as well as unique solutions point towards a rather spontaneous change of ideas during the building process.

Another important element of the interior, the floor, is not perceivable today due to the carpet laid out to serve the needs of the new function of the building. Historic images from the mid-20th century show that the Mustafa Paşa Mosque is one of the few churches of Famagusta, which retained their original floor made of irregular stone slabs (similar to that, which was preserved in the 'Mogabgab Church' [73], before it was turned into an Atatürk monument). Presumably, this is a result of the continuous use of the building, even if by the mid-20th century, it seems to have served as a granary.

Finally, a curious decorative element should be mentioned. In each bay of the church, two small crosses (cross *pattée* in a circle) carved in flat relief are placed right below the northern and southern string course, making a total of six crosses. These are remotely reminiscent of the crosses adorning the Armenian church, even if there the crosses are surely pilgrims' graffiti and not as regular as those in the Mustafa Paşa Mosque. Perhaps it is from these crosses that Gunnis developed his idea of the original dedication to the Holy Cross.

The date of erection of the building was up to some debate already during the early stages of research. When Enlart saw the church in 1896, he decided to include it among his 'Gothic churches', of course not missing the chance to describe it as belonging to a "très

basse époque et à un art qui retombe en enfance, mais qui garde cependant des souvenirs de sa maturité”.⁷³ According to him, this backfall into ‘childhood’ took place in the 15th century. Already Jeffery suggested the 16th century, followed by Gunnis in this aspect. Langdale, without presenting new evidence, opts for the 14th or early 15th century. In fact, this diversity of dates seems to be a result of the excellent quality of execution of the architectural details, combined with a somewhat puzzling idiosyncrasy. The latter can also be found at some 15th century churches, such as the Tanners’ Mosque [75]. However, small details such as the dentil friezes around all corbels and the book-corbels of the portals strongly indicate a later date. Furthermore, if we date the ‘Bishop’s Chapel’ to the early 16th century, this building is in all likelihood later. This is corroborated by a decorative detail of the northern portal, the rectangular panels of the doorjambs. They resemble those found on the jambs of the gatehouse windows in Agia Napa [4], commonly considered to be of around 1530. In addition, the pyramidal corbels with dentil frieze might well go back to those in the southern nave of the Agia Napa monastery church. Thus, a mid-16th century date is very probable.

Finally, a last thought about the strangely unarticulated southern front with its multiple doorways seems necessary. One might hypothesize, if the church was once part of a monastic enclosure, similar to the ‘Bishop’s Chapel’, just that the residential buildings were placed south of the church? This would have meant that there was no need for elaborate portal decoration to this side. But it still does not explain the additional doorways. Did one of these lead into the naos, the other into the former bema of the church? Was one of them connected to a staircase in the wall thickness, leading up to the roof (just as in the ‘Tanners’ Mosque’)? There are, in fact, stairs attached to the top of the barrel vault on the southern side, leading further up to the back of the (vanished) belfry. Moreover, was the third doorway simply a storage space and no access way at all? Once more, only excavations in the precinct might deliver further insight into the built context of this interesting monument.

⁷³ Enlart 1899, p 392 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 302: “[...] a very late period when art was lapsing into its second childhood though not without a few memories of its maturity [...]”.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Unknown (‘Tanners’ Mosque’)
GEO-DATA: 35.126653, 33.937000		CAT. NO: 75
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the north-western area of Famagusta, 50 m south of the Carmelite church		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with polygonal apse (5/12)		
WINDOWS: slightly pointed, with hood moulds and simple cusped tracery		
PORTALS: western portal: stepped columned portal with stacked roll capitals, chevron archivolt, hood mould; lateral portals: profiled jambs, foliage capitals, double archivolt, hood mould		
VAULTING: groin vault on corner corbels, separated by a transversal arch on elbow corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: engaged shafts on the four corners of the nave		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Edmond Duthoit (1862), in: Bonato, Severis 1999, p 198; Photograph of Camille Enlart (1896), in : De Vaivre 2012, p 177; DOA A.618, 635, 650 (1936); A.44662 (1955).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century: erection of the church		
- 1904 and before 1936: restored, belfry reconstructed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Several fragments of a once larger Christological cycle (of the 15 th century?) on the southern and western wall of the western bay. Discernible is mainly the Resurrection of Lazarus in the upper register, left of the window. The depictions of Saint Michael and Saint George, still seen by Enlart, are lost today – perhaps the indiscernible fragments of the northern wall of the eastern bay.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 386–391 [Enlart 1987, p 299–302]; Jeffery 1918, p 155; Carlier 1934, p 30; Langdale, Walsh 2007, p 108–109; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 123–126; Bağışkan 2009, p 389; De Vaivre 2012, p 176–177; Langdale 2012, p 307–309; Walsh 2012, p 209; Bacci 2014b, p 226.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and longitudinal section: Kaffenberger 2012.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 26.02.2010; 26.06.2012		

The building, which is known as 'Tabkhane' or 'Tanners' Mosque' since the Ottoman period (albeit used as a grain store by the 19th century), is situated in the north-western quarter of Famagusta. Even if it is certain that it was built as a church, its original function is as obscure as that of most other minor churches in the old town of Famagusta. Langdale identifies it as Jacobite church, but this assumption is mainly based on the location of the church in what has been considered the 'Syrian quarter' of the city.⁷⁴ The proposed dedication to Saint Catherine, mentioned by Bağışkan (referring to a note in Given et al. 1995, p 32), seems not to be based on any archival evidence.

The church is of the same character as most smaller churches in Famagusta, erected in regular ashlar (albeit of smaller cut as in most other buildings) and of a box-like, plain outer silhouette with low gables rising above the lateral walls.⁷⁵ The western façade is dominated by a large, richly decorated portal, above which a rectangular, framed window, flanked by two smaller lancets with cusped blind arches is placed.⁷⁶ This arrangement is surmounted by a belfry, which in its details is a reconstruction of the 1930s, but was erected above the remains of its medieval predecessor. The oldest drawing, which is preserved of the church, showing the state in 1862, confirms that also the unusual access to the belfry and vault is original. Access is gained through a staircase starting in the wall thickness of the northern wall of the western bay and continuing above the western portal, to reach the vault at the southern face of the belfry.

The portal of the western façade is one of the most inventive creations of medieval Famagusta. The jambs are of the classical stepped columned type, the engaged shafts forming part of the jamb stones. They carry capital friezes formed of stacked rolls and hollows of identical diameter. These capitals connect the jambs with the archivolt above in a rather ungainly manner: the latter springs from a rectangular abacus plate that projects over the deeper lying capitals. The single archivolt is dominated by a sharply cut chevron moulding with roll and hollow profile, a hardly systematic sequence of a central roll, flanked by what could be called a spiked hollow and two further rolls of decreasing diameter.⁷⁷ Carved on the same voussoirs, the archivolt is concluded by two ornamental friezes, one with square rose reliefs, the outer one an oscillating tendril ornament with triple leaves.

⁷⁴ On the non-viability of the ideas of ethnically sorted quarters in Famagusta see the catalogue entry of Saint Nicholas of the Greeks above [70].

⁷⁵ This church is discussed in some detail in chapter 5.1 as prominent example of the 15th century style, the information thus partly repeated here.

⁷⁶ These lancets are surely original and not added in the Ottoman period, as suggested by Langdale, who interprets the blind arches as 'muqarnas' (Langdale 2012, p 309).

⁷⁷ The profile drawing given by Enlart 1899, p 391 is somewhat inaccurate.

This design differs from that of the almost identical lateral portals, which are of the simple stepped type, where an arch on the surface level of the wall frames a deeper lying rectangular doorway and recessed tympanum. The capital-like blocks on the level of the doorway lintel evoke a certain memory of stepped columned portals, as the flat, heavy roll and hollow profile is not only used for the archivolts but also for the jambs, imitating an engaged colonette. The ornamental decoration is reduced to flatly carved, isolated leaves and roses, which seem to float on the plain capitals. The chamfers of the doorways are occupied with a continuous dogtooth frieze. The corbels of the doorways are decorated with an inverted attic profile forming an upwards pointing chevron. The hood mould is formed of an unusual cavetto moulding. A small rose relief decorates the apex of the northern portal hood mould, while that of the western portal shows three such rose motifs, in the apex and on the horizontal returns. The one of the northern portal is additionally adorned with a badly weathered finial, most likely of the foliage kind and not showing a figure of an angel, as suggested by Langdale.

Apart from the side portals, the lateral walls are each decorated with two pointed windows with cusped tracery, the hood moulds of which reach up into the triangular gables. The apse window is of the same design. The apse itself is of unusual polygonal shape and formed by five sides of a dodecagon. The fragmentary remains of the cornice shows a deep hollow profile ending in vertical returns on the building corners. The cornice of the nave is all but gone, but peculiar gargoyles with flat mask reliefs remain – one of the very few occasions of figural sculpted decoration outside of the Latin churches.

The interior is divided into two bays, a fact that is already visible on the exterior through the two lateral gables on each side. Each bay is covered with a domed groin vault, which rests on trapezoidal corbels in the lateral corners and on engaged triple shafts in the centre, between the two bays. Here, the vault is underpinned by a transversal arch, which separates the bays visually. The arch rests on elbow corbels, similar to those in the church of Saint George Exorinos nearby. Two shallow niches occupy the space to the west of the lateral portals, the one in the south reaching down to the floor, the one in the north sitting on top of a horizontal frieze with cavetto moulding. Both are framed with triple roll profiles. Two small, round arched niches occupy the faces of the apse wall. Remarkably, their conches are carved from monolithic, large ashlar, which are part of a layer of such large ashlar within the smaller cut masonry.

The latter aspect is surprising, as it is questionable, if the ashlar remained visible. Fragments of a painted decoration still adhere to the southern and western walls of the

western bay, indicating a Christological cycle, even if only a Raising of Lazarus and the halos of three or four other scenes remain. Further fragments can be found surrounding the northern niche in the eastern bay, which indicates a full decoration of the walls. The vault seems not to have carried paintings. In the eastern bay, a grid of fake joints, carved into the irregular ashlar of the vault, suggests the original presence of a regular, painted masonry imitation on the vaults.

While no archival sources help to date the building, it is easy to follow Camille Enlart's suggestion to place the church in the 15th century (the 14th century date given by Langdale is certainly too early). As outlined in chapter 5.1 of this study, one of the characteristics of the early 15th century architecture was the creativity, with which the elements of 14th century architecture were remodelled and placed in new contexts. The portals, which in a truly inventive but modestly skilful manner use the whole repertoire of available forms and ornaments, show this perfectly. Chevron arches, dogtooth moulding, and rather crude imitations of foliage are combined with a minimum of novel elements: the stacked roll capitals and parts of the archivolt ornament are known from 15th century Rhodes. The profiles of the portal arches could also be seen as a late interpretation of more classical roll and hollow mouldings. In all three portals, they are not deeply undercut – as was common in the 14th century –, but the hollows remain close to the surface level. The interior matches this tendency as well. The arch profiles are shallow, mostly consisting of flat rolls. Elbow corbels and triple shafts, both elements of the 14th century architecture, are combined in an unorthodox way; the diagonally placed pyramidal corbels in the corners are unique. Finally, the character of the vault, less skilfully assembled than its 14th century models, differs from those: the almost domical shape contrasts the horizontal apex lines of the 14th century groin vaults and gives the interior its own characteristic atmosphere.

LOCALITY: Famagusta	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Unknown (‘Unidentified Church No 18’)
GEO-DATA: 35.123200, 33.940327		CAT. NO: 76
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the walled city centre of Famagusta, south of the church of Saints Peter and Paul, towards the Land Gate		
TYPOLOGY: nave with aisles and three semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: pointed windows throughout; the large lancets of the central bay with simple cusped tracery; in the façade an oculus with quatrefoil filling		
PORTALS: central western portal: stepped columned type, surmounted by a triangular blind gable with foliage finial [archivolts and tympanum destroyed]; [other portals destroyed]		
VAULTING: in the western and eastern bays of the main nave pointed barrel vaults, a central dome with octagonal drum, in the aisles groin vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: various flagstaff holders; above the main portal a small niche with cusped arch above, presumably for a small statue		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Edmond Duthoit (1862), in: Bonato, Severis 1999, p 196; 1 photograph of Camille Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 181; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (1 image, ca. 1935); ca. 20 photographs in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive; DOA D.98 (1935); A.41, 49 (1936); A.677–681 (1937); A.1284 (1938).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- late 14 th century: erection of the church, as part of a monastic compound (?)		
- 15 th century (?): strengthening of the nave arcade		
- 1936: collapse of the last nave pier and the remains of the clerestory, subsequently restoration of the west front		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 385–386 [Enlart 1987, p 298–299]; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951, p 177; Mogabgab 1951, p 189; De Vaivre 2012, p 180–181; Langdale 2012, p 402; Kaffenberger forthcoming-f.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and sections: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2008; 11.04.2009; 01.03.2010; 19.02.2013		

One of the most complex and spacious among the numerous unidentified ruined churches of Famagusta, is the so-called 'Unidentified Church No 18'.⁷⁸ There is no source, which would help to identify the original context and function of the material remains on site, so an investigation of these remains is the only promising way to obtain new results.

The church faces a small road leading from the area of the Royal Palace and Ss Peter and Paul towards the south gate and Ravelin. Today, the site comprises of the so-called Unidentified Church 17 to the north, an empty field with a rather high eastern precinct wall and remains of a western wall towards the road, and Unidentified Church 18 as southernmost medieval structure. With a length of ca. 16 m and a width of 17 m, Church 18 is a rather wide but very short building, a fact that points towards a dense occupation of the area with older buildings by the time of the church's erection. It is the most complex and best-preserved structure of the building group, even if only the western façade and large parts of the eastern apses remain (as well as few traces of the nave foundations). The church was in a ruined state already in the 1860s as is shown by a drawing of Edmond Duthoit – but suffered further damage only in 1936, when the whole rest of the nave collapsed. This event is mentioned in the RDAC of 1937, as the collapse resulted in some repair works to the remaining west end, and even briefly described in a private letter of John Hilton, then director of the Department of Antiquities, who was called on site the following day to inspect the damage.⁷⁹

Due to the heavily ruined state of the building, it should be attempted to reconstruct the original appearance of the building, in particular of the entirely vanished nave. As fragmentary as the evidence might be, the main structural features of the church are easily discernible on first sight. It was an extremely short building, composed of three naves, as indicated by the tripartite design of the western front (with springers for the nave vaults) and the three apses. The lateral aisles were evidently much lower than the main nave and separated from the latter with an arcade.

Many ruined churches of Cyprus did not change fundamentally since the 19th century, unlike Church 18, for which the pictorial and descriptive sources from this period are essential. Albeit most travellers and scholars passed the building without taking notice, there are important sources for the state of the church before its final collapse in 1937. The Duthoit drawing of 1862 is in fact the earliest known mention of the building [76.5]. He drew

⁷⁸ This catalogue entry is a shortened and moderately revised version of the yet unpublished article Kaffenberger forthcoming-f.

⁷⁹ The private correspondence of John Hilton is preserved in the King's College London Archives, Cat.ID 2048, Ref.Code GB0100KCLCA K/PP94.

only the western façade, which was at that time certainly more complete than today. Some 35 years later, in 1896, Camille Enlart described the building and even took a picture of the church, which has only recently been published [76.7]. The viewpoint of the picture, including the west façade as well as what remained of the nave, and the meticulous, detailed character of the description make these sources the most valuable ones. Another picture, taken probably in the early 1930s, shows the nave from the south shortly before the final collapse [76.6].

The exterior: the western façade

Today, the best-preserved part of the church is the tripartite western front. It is composed of a raised central part, which is supported and framed by two heavy buttresses with sloped tops. The buttresses seem to be a later addition, as the ashlar layers do not correspond to those of the façade behind. Two lower plain walls to the sides, which were pierced by lateral portals, flank the raised central part. Only the lower stone courses of the portal jambs are preserved – the masonry above is missing altogether, leaving gaping holes in the lateral wall compartments. The central portal, clamped by the massive buttresses, also lost its tympanum and archivolt, but the stepped jambs with inserted shafts and the triangular *wimberg* are discernible – albeit most of the latter is lost today as well. Its frame shows a well-cut roll and hollow profile and ends in a finial decorated with foliage (rather doughy in its execution) [76.11]. This finial curiously forms the 'platform' for a small niche with a cusped, pointed arch with dogtooth moulding right above. In the upper part of the wall, a chamfered oculus with quatrefoil tracery is still in place, as well as the bottom half of a flagstaff holder. On Duthoit's drawing, the archivolt of the central portal are already missing, but the *wimberg* is still intact. Even more, a coat of arms with a cross on it clearly adorns the area above the portal. Enlart's description of the western façade generally confirms the evidence of the Duthoit drawing, even if the coat of arms had vanished by the 1890s, but adds the observation of a small statue within the niche below the oculus. This statue is well visible on Enlart's photograph, as is the top part of the flagstaff holder. Furthermore, both pictorial sources show remains of rounded openings above the (destroyed) lateral portals. It is unclear, if these were the tops of round arched windows or rather oculi similar to that above the main portal. Finally, Enlart also mentions an even older

photograph from the early 1860s that supposedly showed an arcaded belfry above the centre of the façade.⁸⁰

A further curious element of the façade has not been mentioned by Enlart, even if it is clearly visible on his photograph as well as on Duthoit's drawing. On the inner faces of the buttresses, there are two arch springers more or less on the level of the portal gable [76.9]. Apparently, these were parts of a plan to shelter the portal under a deep arch – a project that was given up subsequently, as indicated by a couple of protruding stones above the arch springers, which were meant to interlock with the arch. If we indeed assume that the buttresses are a later addition, perhaps by that time the portal had shown weather damage. For the protective sheltering, however, it would have been necessary to cover up the top of the gable and statue niche with the new arch – an aesthetically suboptimal solution and apparently reason enough to decide against finishing the arch.

The interior: partition, vaulting, east end

As mentioned above, the interior consisted of three naves, separated by an arcade. The inner face of the western wall still shows the imprint of this layout [76.16]. Lower lateral arches mark the beginning of the aisle vaults, while the higher central arch corresponds to the central nave. Curiously, the main portal is flanked by two narrow, shallow round arched niches and was surmounted by a probably wooden tribune (only the stepped corbels are preserved). Otherwise, the wall was plain – the string course marking the vault springer on the lateral walls did not continue on the western wall. The string course and the arch springers of the arcade indicate the height and proportions of the nave walls, while rectangular foundation stones mark the place of the two only arcade piers. In consequence, the arcades consisted of two wide and rather squat arches each. The arches were not identical in size, the eastern one being shorter [76.3].

On Duthoit's drawing, the nave remains invisible, due to the chosen angle. Nevertheless, it is clear that the church was already heavily ruined and still filled with high heaps of rubble and soil. More valuable information on the vaulting system can rather be gained through a review of Enlart's description. His account draws a highly unusual image, in particular of the main nave: above the two nave arches, which would usually indicate a

⁸⁰ Enlart 1899, p 386: „[...] la façade ruinée, que couronnait un clocher-arcade reconnaissable sur une photographie prise vers 1860 par M. L. de Clercq.” It was unfortunately impossible to trace down the whereabouts of this photograph, which was probably taken by the French photographer Louis de Clercq on the way from Jerusalem to Spain in 1859 (on De Clercq's life and work see Mayer 1989).

two-bay division of the vault, Enlart saw a tripartite vaulting. According to his description, there was a central dome, flanked by two short pointed barrel vaults. The dome rested on transversal arches carried by corbels of the double quarter circle type. The corbels would have sat right above the keystone of the arch below. There is a certain inaccuracy in Enlart's rather short description: his claim that the side aisles would have terminated in straight walls, is proven wrong by the preserved apse of the northern aisle. Furthermore, he does not talk about the presence and shape of windows or the design of the dome. Thus, the description requires a further confrontation with the pictorial and built evidence. The dome in the centre of the church is undeniable: one corner of the drum with a fragment of the dome miraculously survived long enough to be present, albeit in precarious state, on Enlart's photograph. The picture indicates that the drum was of the octagonal type and that there were mitred windows in each face of the octagon. While of the barrel vault in the western bay the south-west corner remains, nothing is left today of the eastern bay. However, its barrel-vaulted shape is confirmed by Enlart's photograph: there, the vault imprint on the wall above the main apse, which has also collapsed sometime after 1900, is visible.

The photograph also confirms that there were windows in the western and central bay – a surprising fact, considering the lack of a clerestory above the nave arcade. In the western bay, the windows apparently pierced the vault, thus creating small lunette caps. A similar solution could be imagined for the eastern bay, but unlike for the western bay, where a fragment of one lunette cap is preserved, nothing remains in the east. These smaller windows were filled with gypsum panelling, which was found during small excavation works in 1937.⁸¹ In the central bay, there was a large pointed window right below the dome. The 1920s photograph shows that it was not only immense in its size but also decorated with (cusped?) tracery, even if the precise pattern is indiscernible [76.6]. Overall, this row of windows must have created a similar effect to a normal clerestory and resulted in a well-lit central nave.

The side aisles, much lower than the ambitious main nave, are described by Enlart as vaulted with two bays of uninterrupted groin vaults. The material evidence confirms this: the south-western corner of the southern aisle preserves the springer of the groin vault of the first bay. On the 1920s picture, the vault of this bay is mainly intact – it only collapsed in 1936, when the last remaining pier succumbed as well. The vault emerged from the walls seamlessly and, due to recessed walls, each bay must have had the characteristic cruciform

⁸¹ Visible on a photograph in the Mogabgab Photographic Archive, A.8946–8948.

appearance of two interpenetrating barrel vaults that was already identified as typical Cypriot by Enlart.

Another well-preserved part of the former interior is the east end. The main apse, still complete in 1898, still stands up to vault level. It is semicircular and rather narrow in its proportions; a single rounded window is situated in the centre. Above the string course, which unlike in the west continues across the apse, it possesses a slightly pointed semidome. Of the lateral apses, only the northern one is partly preserved. It is only half as high as the central apse, giving it rather squat proportions. Here, the string course shows an extremely simple profile and it seems that there was no window. Interestingly, there is a multitude of small niches in the western face of the piers between the apses. Smaller niches flank the northern apse to both sides; a larger niche is placed to the south of the main apse. The latter is partly covered by a strip of masonry, a later arcade strengthening, which presumably also covered up the smaller niche to the north of the main apse. This might have made the construction of the present larger but less nicely worked niche right next to it necessary.

Structural issues, later interventions and adjoining buildings

The unusual layout and proportions of the church posed significant aesthetic and structural problems to the builders. If we consider the hazardous structural concept, it is by no means a surprise that the church did not resist time and earthquakes and fell into ruin. The most critical point was, naturally, the nave vault with the dome. The latter not only seems to have rested on the two transversal arches described by Enlart, but also on lateral ones. This can be concluded from the evidence of Enlart's photograph, where the upper nave wall is not aligned with the drum of the dome above. The octagon seems to be set off by a metre, probably the depth of the lateral arches of the interior. The reason for this unusual solution might be the idea to take weight off the large windows in the wall below. The result is, however, that the whole thrust of the dome would have rested on the four small corbels and, in consequence, on the top of the nave arches [76.4]. It cannot be ruled out entirely that this strange feature was the result of a change of plans and that at first groin vaults had been planned for the main nave as well.

In any case, the vertical thrust of the dome and its drum must have exceeded the capacity of the not ideally shaped arches, so that the strengthening with a second, inner arch became necessary. The similarity of stone material and technique suggests that this

strengthening still took place in the medieval period. The immense buttresses added onto the western façade have to be seen in the same context, as they also prevented the nave arches from being pushed apart. There is less horizontal thrust emanating from a dome, so that in the central bay the apparent lack of flying buttresses would not have caused the main problem. The western and eastern bays, however, were more critical, as the horizontal thrust of barrel vaults is much higher, requiring a stable support system. In this context, the additional buttresses were rather ineffective, as they supported the structure only in east-west axis, while the main thrust went to the north and south. There, the aisle vaults functioned as counter weight for the nave. As these were groin vaults, their structural integrity was more easily achievable. Groin vaults function similar to a canopy, relying mainly on the support of the four corners – thus only those needed to be strengthened. The evidence of the façade underlines that the vaults, fragmentary parts of which remain, were not depending structurally on the western wall. Nevertheless, the lateral aisle walls seem to have been incredibly shallow: only one vertical line of interlocking stones emerges from the remains of the western wall. Thus, the lateral walls were only 25–30 cm thick and structurally irrelevant, except for larger protruding wall piers that corresponded to the arcade piers.

The single-shell design of the walls lets us think of interior walls rather than of exterior walls of a larger church building – a potential hint towards the original setting of the surroundings. It seems likely that single storey (monastic?) buildings once flanked the church on the north and south sides. These would have stabilized the structure and functioned as counter-weight for parts of the horizontal thrust. While there are no remains of interlocking stones at the remains of the east end, the western façade indeed continues a few metres to the south and ends in an odd rounded shape, pierced by a doorway. A second doorway, or a large arch, seems to have lead from this southern annexe space into the western bay of the southern aisle.⁸² The northern end of the façade cannot be investigated further, as the masonry is extremely weathered and damaged here.

A further argument for the presence of adjoining buildings is the arrangement of windows in the nave. In fact, these large windows in the central bay caused many of the structural problems of the building. If there had been a possibility to illuminate the church through the aisles as well, perhaps the builders would have opted for considerably smaller openings in this critical place.

⁸² Remains of jambs are visible on images A.8721 and 9220 (1937) in the Mogabgab Photographic archive. Unfortunately, the archive is currently not accessible, obtaining good-resolution scans is impossible.

Artistic context, date of erection and possible function

It is described in chapter 4.4, how the Unidentified Church 18 is one of the most remarkable results of the impact of the Greek cathedral complex on the urban church architecture in Famagusta. Overall, the church presents a pastiche of elements and forms from different origins. A traditional, local vaulting system – a dome flanked by barrel vaults – is combined with groin vaults in the aisles. The plain exterior received various decorative elements from a 'Gothic' context, everything was executed in fine ashlar. This variety of elements, most of which are in use since the first half of the 14th century, can be seen in the context of a certain 'Crusader Revival'. This suggests a date in the second half of the 14th century.

Concerning a possible original context of the church, the presence of a dome proves to be rather revealing on a general level, as it is closely linked to Greek churches within the urban fabric of Famagusta. None of the surely Latin structures makes use of this element, which was widespread in the Levantine territories. Few further, admittedly more conjectural, arguments might support this. First, the vaulting of the central nave refers to a traditional Cypriot standard, the dome-hall church. This somehow subtle sense for including local building traditions is very common for Greek churches in Cyprus in the later middle ages. Second, the technically challenging inclusion of windows in the main nave might be, in addition to practical necessities, an attempt to imitate the Greek cathedral of Saint George, of course without reaching its level of sophistication. This would be a subtle hint at a religious authority in the city, which stood for a long-lasting tradition.

If we accept the identification as a Greek church, there remains a last path of research to be followed: the original dedication of the church. There are several church buildings, which appear in sources rather frequently throughout the Middle Ages and have not been linked with certainty to a specific building yet. One of these is the monastery of Saint Symeon, first mentioned as a *metochion* of the Sinai monastery in 1334, when the monks were granted the right to operate a cemetery.⁸³ In the 1360s, several deeds mention a church of Saint Symeon as designated burial place of the deceased, while further evidence from the 15th centuries establishes a link to Saint George of the Greeks through a common procurator. Finally, after the Ottoman conquest of the city in 1571, Angelo Calepio reports that the Greeks were only allowed to keep their cathedral (Saint George of the Greeks) and the small church of Saint Symeon. Since the early 20th century, this close link of these two

⁸³ For a more comprehensive discussion of the sources and their implications see Papacostas 2014b, p 43–46.

buildings prompted the identification of the older church adjacent to Saint George as Saint Symeon, a hypothesis rejected in the context of this study.⁸⁴ This would mean that the Symeon monastery should be sought elsewhere. If we now assume that Unidentified Church 18 was a Greek building and that it even shared some visual features of the Greek cathedral – could not **this** have been the Symeon monastery?

The sheer fabric of the ruin does not speak against it: the church was apparently important enough to be refurbished at least once during the medieval period. The precarious state of the dome fragment in 1896 suggests that the rest cannot have fallen already in the aftermath of 1571, but most likely during the earthquake of 1735. Furthermore, a monastic origin of the church is well possible. As we only know of a large doorway between the southern annexe and the church, it is unclear if the buildings to the north belonged to the church as well. The southern annex, however, could be interpreted as some sort of narthex (moved to this odd place due to the restricted ground space) – which would accord with the identification as a monastic *metochion*. The source of the early 14th century would then have referred to an older building on the same site, while the increasing amount of bequests from the 1360s might indicate that the erection of the 'new' church, the remains of which we study today, took place during this decade. Of course, the purely conjectural character of this identification must be underlined – a tempting conjecture, nevertheless.

⁸⁴ See chapter 6.2 and catalogue entry [68].

LOCALITY: Fasoula	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.765783, 33.028108		CAT. NO: 77

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north-east of the village centre of Fasoula

TYPOLOGY: [ruined] single nave structure with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: southern portal: simple pointed arch; [rest replaced]

VAULTING: barrel vault on (lost) transversal arches, double quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA J.58.024–032 (1988); J.72.141–146, 74.726–766 (1993).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (?): erection of the original church
- 18th century: western expansion, renovation of the apse (?)
- 1859, 1884: repair works, new western façade
- 1988–93: partial collapse of the vault, subsequent demolition of the rest of the vault

PAINTED DECORATION:

On the northern wall, a saint's face with a raised ornamented halo (16th century?)

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 383.

ARDAC 1993, p 25 [18th century date proposed].

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012; 08.03.2013

The old parish church of Fasoula, dedicated to the Panagia Chryseleousa, remains as a deserted ruin since the vault cracked and was subsequently taken down in the late 1980s. Numerous rebuilding phases and repairs testify to a rather troubled history of the building already before this deliberate demolition of the vault.

Today, the church is an elongated building of a single nave with a semicircular apse. The very common building type was complimented by a similarly common barrel vault, supported by three transversal arches on corbels. The western of these are of the quarter circle type, the eastern ones are formed of double quarter circles, in this case indicating the two main building phases in the medieval period (east) and the 19th century (west). Due to the 19th century changes of the building, nothing else remains of the original sculptural decoration, save for a very simple pointed southern portal in the third of the four bays (its smaller northern counterpart has been replaced by a window). Once, the church must have possessed considerable amounts of paintings, but already in 1936, when Gunnis described the church, only a large angel's head with raised halo on the northern wall remained. More might have been hidden under the whitewash of the slowly decaying plaster.

Due to the character of the masonry, rubble of poor quality, partly interspersed with reused antique material (*cippi*, column drums), it is not easy to decide if a disturbance of the fabric is result of the progressing decay or indicates building phases. It seems as if the original building was a single nave church of three bays, still forming the three eastern bays of today's nave. The apse could be part of this original building. Beam holes along the northern façade indicate a wooden porch on this side, which was surely taken down in 1859, when also the northern doorway was transformed into a window. Both, northern and southern walls, seem to indicate two parallel layers of masonry, the inner one rising slightly higher. This does not necessarily confirm multiple phases, but might just be an attempt to stabilize the poorly abutted barrel vault at an early point. There were no buttresses from this first building period; only small stripes of masonry rise from the top of the outer wall layer and reach the height of the roof. As they are aligned with the transversal arches on the inside, these surely belong to the abutting system. Considering that the fragmentary painting adheres to the inner northern wall, this phase surely goes back to the 16th century at the least, forming the oldest part of the church.

The next phases before the 19th century are entirely obscure. Gunnis reports that once there was a southern aisle, of which two arches remained in 1936. This verdict is somewhat questionable, as there is only the southern doorway, which could have connected the two naves. It is more probable, that at some point during the Ottoman period, perhaps in the

18th century, the church was enlarged towards the west for a first time and at the same time received a porch to the south as well, supported by stone arches. Two dates, 1859 (on the lintel of the northern nave window) and 1884 (above the right corner of the western portal) commemorate two of the last interventions, during which among others a new façade, made of ashlar in the lower courses, was erected. A vertical building joint separates this ashlar-made part from what looks like a massive rubble pier, which forms the north-eastern corner of the building. If this is a product of a later patching of the fabric, or remaining from an earlier intervention has to remain open – in any case, it is certain that the entire western end of the building is post-medieval.

LOCALITY: Fini	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saints Cosmas and Damian
GEO-DATA: 34.895680, 32.822123		CAT. No: 78
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: west of the village of Fini, on the site of a vanished monastery		
TYPOLOGY: double nave shed-roof structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: jambs with engaged colonettes, horizontal impost, archivolt with chevron moulding		
VAULTING: –		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Barsky visits the monastery in 1735, but does not give a detailed description of the church (Grishin 1996, p 65).		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.2429–2432 (1944); A.3336 (1950); A.3440–3441 (1951); B.6052 (1955); B.13.590–592, J.4622 (1962).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- mid-16 th century: erection of the original church		
- 18 th century: southern aisle added		
- 1962: destroyed by fire, subsequent renovation		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 384–385.		
ARDAC 2003, p 32–33, fig 6–7; 2006, p 34, fig 43–44.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 19.12.2014		

The church of Saint Cosmas and Damian near Fini, once church of a monastery that had already been deserted in the 1930s, is one of the few barn roof churches included in this study. The reason for this is the monumental western portal, entirely uncommon for this most simple form of Cypriot church architecture.

The portal takes up around half of the surface of the western façade of the main nave (the southern nave is an 18th century addition). It consists of a large, slightly pointed doorway, framed by profiled jambs and a single archivolt with attached hood mould. The jamb profile is a sequence of deeply cut hollows framing a roll at the corner, topped by heavy rectangular impost, framed with a small roll moulding. The most distinctive element is the chevron moulding of the archivolt. It is of the 'lateral chevron' type and resembles that of the southern portal of Saint Marina in nearby Potamiou [189]. However, the profile in Fini seems to be adapted to a reduced wall strength, making use of the outer roll and hollow sequence only, placed against the background of a flat surface, carved from the same voussoirs.

It seems obvious, that here the portal of Potamiou, dated to 1551 through an inscription, stood model, making a date shortly after the mid-16th century for the portal in Fini very probable. If assuming that the portal was part of the church from the beginning, the same date could be considered for the erection of the church. In any case, the building is an interesting example for the overlapping of otherwise mainly separate building traditions of the Troodos region and the other areas of Cyprus.

LOCALITY: Flamoudi	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint John
GEO-DATA: 35.373084, 33.855473		CAT. NO: 79

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the wood above Flamoudi, next to the road leading to Kantara

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arch

MISCELLANEOUS:

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th century (?): erection of the church

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Yapicioğlu 2007, p 313.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]

The small church of Saint John is located in the woods above Flamoudi, on the Pentadaktylos ridge. One might speculate if it served as *katholikon* of a small monastery or as a wayside church, as the location would be rather unusual for a village.

The building consists of a single nave with a small apse, lower and narrower than the nave. The barrel vault rests on a single transversal arch, the springers of which are set back by one step and rest on very low corbels. There is no other element of architectural detailing, as the western portal is destroyed.

The date of the church is hard to determine, due to its very plain character. The pointed vault does not necessarily indicate a date in the Latin period, but the way in which the transversal arch meets the walls would suggest it. One might thus hypothesize that the church was perhaps built in the 14th century.

LOCALITY: Frenaros	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.042634, 33.923187		CAT. NO: 80
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Frenaros		
TYPOLOGY: wide dome-hall structure with domed narthex and (formerly) open, domed porch		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: naos and narthex: barrel vaults flanking the central domed bays; porch: sail dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.38.624–625 (1974); B.39.964–966, 40.067 (1975); B.65.250 (1983); J.53.726–736 (1985); J.54.746–753, 791 (1986); B.78.947 (1987).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 11th-12th century (?): erection of the naos- 12th or early 13th century (?): addition of the narthex- late 14th century (?): porch- 1883: renovation, new windows/portals, porch transformed into closed space?		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Remains of an original decoration overpainted in 1883; in one of the dome arches a fragment of an Annunciation (12 th century?).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 385; Papacostas 1999, II, p 16; Prokopiou 2006, p 113–125 (with a focus on the pre-14 th century phases); Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.		
ARDAC 2001, p 35; 2003, p 30–31.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, longitudinal section, cross section: Prokopiou 2006, p 117–120.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012		

The village of Frenaros is one of the settlements immediately to the south of Famagusta, in which a multitude of rural churches demonstrate a veritable wealth during the Middle Ages. The old parish church of the Archangel Michael illustrates the relative importance: built around the 12th century, the dome-hall church of considerable size received a western narthex with a central dome during the following century.

In the context of this study, only the second western extension is of interest, a once open porch. This porch, around 4 m by 4 m in size, was constructed in the shape of a heavy canopy, with four pointed arches, the eastern of which attached to the older narthex, carrying a domical sail vault. The corners are strengthened by heavy buttresses, those in the west showing a step and a drip mould. There is no sculptural decoration and the masonry, roughly cut ashlar of varying sizes, can hardly compete with the fine ashlar buildings of nearby Famagusta. Nevertheless, the shape of the buttresses in combination with the pointed arches, as well as the general idea of an open, vaulted porch, seem to strongly indicate a post-1300 date, betraying vague influences of Latin architectural ideas.

The porch is a very unusual architectural feature for Cyprus. The only other single bay porch with a sail vault can be found on the Karpas Peninsula, at the church of Saint George Sakkas in Gialousa, there presumably originating in the Middle Byzantine period.⁸⁵ Today it is walled up and used as narthex as well. A similar domed canopy in the courtyard of the Agia Napa monastery was built only in the Ottoman period and possesses a normal dome instead of the sail vault, but no buttresses. Furthermore, its function, sheltering the central fountain of the monastery, differs. The lack of comparable porches might testify to a unique, site specific solution, but could also mean that other porches were taken down during the Ottoman period instead of being walled up and used as an additional room, as is the case in Frenaros.

⁸⁵ On Saint George of Sakkas see Papagiannis, Smagas 2010, p 170–171; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 444–445; Papageorgiou 2010, p 453–456.

LOCALITY: Frenaros	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Asprovouniotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.056718, 33.878904		CAT. NO: 81
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields between the villages of Frenaros, Avgorou and Acheritou, not far from the monastery of Saint Kendeas [48].		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse and two buttresses to the north and south; narthex		
WINDOWS: apse window rounded		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed arch; southern and northern portal: round arch		
VAULTING: naos: barrel vault on two transversal arches, quarter circle corbels; narthex: barrel vault (slightly higher than in the naos)		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Mogabgab Photographic Archive: A.4757–4758 (1940).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century (?): erection of the original church		
- 16 th century (?): narthex		
- 2001: renovation		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the west wall of the naos fragments of a Crucifixion , on the south wall a damaged Koimesis, on the north wall a standing male saint (with ship graffiti) and fragments of a Saint George; in the narthex two standing female saints flanking the doorway to the naos. Especially the Crucifixion can be dated to the early Venetian period (late 15 th or early 16 th century).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
ARDAC 2001, p 34–35; 2002, p 33–34; 2003, p 30.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012; 04.03.2013		

The Panagia Asprovouniotissa is situated in a largely unpopulated area between the villages of Frenaros, Avgorou and Acheritou, not far from the Kendeas Monastery [48]. Perhaps it was once the katholikon of a monastery as well – the latter might have fallen into disuse, the church remained.

The building is a squat, elongated single nave structure with a semicircular eastern apse. Built from rubble, large ashlar only accentuate the building corners and two buttresses on each side, flanking the simple round arched northern and southern portals placed in the eastern half of the walls. In the western façade, there is a simple pointed portal. The step in the upper façade part might have served to carry the wooden roof of a porch. A slit window is grouped together with a simple flagstaff holder in the gable. The differing height of the vault in the western and eastern half of the building indicates two separate spaces of the interior already from the outside. The vault of the narthex is a plain barrel vault, slightly higher than that of the naos. The latter rests on two transversal arches with simple quarter circle corbels.

The most remarkable feature of the church are the paintings on the inside, a number of saints, a Koimesis on the southern wall and, occupying the entire western wall of the naos, a Crucifixion. The latter can be dated to the Venetian period, which determines a *terminus ante quem* for the church. The heavy proportions and the simplicity of the architecture have a certain ageless character, but details such as the vault corbels suggest that the paintings are not much younger than the church, which should be a 15th century building. The narthex was added either in the same century or at the latest in the 16th century.

In the surroundings of the church, several building fragments are preserved, most notably a column base and a profiled arch voussoir. Their size and decorative profiles seem not to match the modest architecture of the church, but where they come from is unclear.

LOCALITY: Frenaros	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 35.045250, 33.937551		CAT. NO: 82
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields between the villages of Frenaros and Deryneia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: slightly pointed apse window		
PORTALS: western and southern portal: segmented arches		
VAULTING: barrel vault on one transversal arch, double quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: two recesses in the northern and southern walls (pointed arches); coat of arms with cross above western portal; ship graffiti on the outside of the northern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.877 (1941); J.21.458–460 (1970); B.37.583–585, 38.320–321, 630–632 (1974); J.72.154–156, 73.762.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- mid-1970s: renovation		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the west wall fragments of a Crucifixion; in the northern recess a Saint George or Theodore on the wall face and busts of saints on the intrados; east of the recess a standing female saint (Saint Marina?); unidentifiable remains in the apse; larger scenes on the north wall are still covered with whitewash. Gunnis dates the paintings to two (not specified) periods, the Crucifixion being identified as the only rest of the first phase. The paintings were executed in the Venetian period, probably between 1500 and 1550.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 387.		
ARDAC 1974, p 19; 1991, p 26, fig 8–9; 1999, p 25; 2000, p 30; 2003, p 31.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012		

The church of Saint Marina is situated in the fields east of Frenaros. It is a building of the simple standard type for single nave churches in rural Cyprus, with heavy, plain walls abutting the barrel vault of the nave and a low semicircular apse. The latter is made from rough ashlar, and so are the building corners – the rest is erected in rubble masonry. Portals (with segmented arches serving as lintel) and windows are very simple and the only elements of exterior decoration are a coat of arms with a cross above the western doorway and a geometrical relief carved into one ashlar of the south-eastern corner. The attempt of Gunnis, to attribute the coat of arms to a specific family or institution seems hardly fruitful, as the cross is of very generic character.

The interior reveals that the pointed barrel vault is constructed from ashlar and rests on a single transversal arch with double quarter circle corbels. Slightly further east, the lateral walls are pierced by low pointed blind arches opposed to each other, once containing depictions of saints (only a saint on horseback, perhaps Saint George or Theodore, remains in the northern niche). Another niche is situated in the western end of the southern wall. There are more considerable fragments of the original painted decoration, partly covered in whitewash. The most remarkable scene is certainly the Crucifixion on the western wall, which shows a certain appropriation of a 'Western' style and was considered the earliest part of the decoration by Gunnis. As the paintings still await restoration and in depth study, it is not possible to verify this statement with certainty. Nevertheless, it seems that the church was built at the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, the paintings executed in the course of the 16th century.

An interesting detail aspect is a number of ship graffiti, carved into the plaster of the northern exterior wall. Their level of detail is unusual for the few examples of ship graffiti, which can be found outside of Famagusta. The depictions remind of those in Saint George of the Greeks.⁸⁶ Perhaps they indicate that the church was frequented by sailors in the Venetian and Ottoman periods.

⁸⁶ See Walsh 2008 for the ship graffiti of Famagusta.

LOCALITY: Galataria	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 34.865967, 32.642378		CAT. NO: 83
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the western slope of the Xeropotamos valley, below the village of Galataria		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: rounded arch with horizontal imposts, very crude; southern portal: pointed arch, horizontal imposts, the jambs with chamfered outer edges and cone-and-sphere motif at the lower end		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch on engaged piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.3411–3412 (1951); B.6319–6323 (1955); B.11.681 (1962); J.6332–6339, 6348 (1963); B.22.322–325 (CA. 1970); J.57.836–839 (1987); J.81.819–829, 83.139–163 (1996); J.83.936–967 (1997).		
OTHER: Inscription in the bema mentions the year 1550, according to Gunnis (not legible anymore).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First half of 16th century: erection of the church - 1955: repair works (roof) - 1996–97: restoration 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
For a detailed description of the paintings, which are preserved in the eastern half of the church, see Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 404–406. The paintings were restored in 1996–1997.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 238; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 404–406.		
ARDAC 1989, p 32, fig 15–16; 1996, p 27, fig 18, 21; 1998, p 33.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2012; 07.03.2013		

The church of Saint Nicholas occupies the side of a rocky outcrop on the western slope of the Xeropotamos valley, some km east of the village of Galataria. There is no nearby settlement and the site rather speaks against the former presence of monastic buildings. For Stylianou the setting evokes the impression “as though it was erected there after some divine revelation”.⁸⁷ Perhaps there is some truth in this idea; at least the church seems to be closely connected to local superstitions and traditions. The use of the church by local shepherds, still reported by Gunnis in 1936, presumably goes back to the origins of the building.

Constructed as a simple single nave church with apse, the most remarkable aspect of the exterior is the building material. The walls are made of mixed rubble containing a large amount of dark grey / red volcanic stone, while the portals are cut from the almost white local stone, on which the church is erected. The southern portal is a simple round arched opening with protruding impost, mainly remarkable for the use of large monolithic first voussoirs and the alternation of straight stones and trapezoidal voussoirs in the arch (horizontal joints next to it might indicate a later replacement of the arch). The western portal is slightly smaller but the ashlar of jambs and voussoirs are more carefully cut. The jamb corners are chamfered; the chamfers end in a small bell moulding below the impost and a cone-and-sphere motif at the bottom. A large wooden porch sheltered the western and southern façades of the church – today only its beam holes remain above the portals.

On the inside, the nave appears surprisingly narrow, in particular if compared with the multitude of low and rather wide single nave churches all across Cyprus. The slightly pointed barrel vault springs seamlessly from the lateral walls and is underpinned by a heavy transversal arch on engaged rectangular piers. The latter, with small chamfered impost, are a very uncommon, archaic element in a period, when most vault arches rested on corbels. The floor of the church deserves some attention, as it is carved from the solid stone on which the building is erected.

The most distinctive element of the church is the well-preserved cycle of paintings in the eastern bay and apse of the church. These paintings were surely executed in the Venetian period. An inscription in the apse mentions the date 1550 according to Gunnis. Stylianou rejects this and instead opts for the 1520s, a verdict based on the style of the paintings. Both dates would indicate plausible *termini ante quem*, placing the church itself in the first quarter or half of the 16th century. While the cone-and-sphere motif of the western portal was developed in the 14th century, the smoothly waved upper end of the jamb chamfer is hardly thinkable before 1500.

⁸⁷ Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 404.

LOCALITY: Galateia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Sozomenos
GEO-DATA: 35.412306, 34.049879		CAT. NO: 84
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: west of a lake in the south-west of the village		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure		
WINDOWS: [?]		
PORTALS: [?]		
VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: pointed recess in the northern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- Ottoman period: disuse, fell into ruin		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a decoration are preserved on the intrados of the niche in the northern wall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Chotzakoglou 2010, p 458–459.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]		

In the surroundings of Galateia lies the ruin of the church of Saint Sozomenos, which is not marked on the Ordnance Survey topographical maps. Presumably, it is the ruin marked as "Agia Marina", published recently by Chotzakoglou.

According to the few published photographs, the building was of the usual barrel-vaulted single nave type. There remain most of the northern wall and a fragment of the southern one. These remains show that the church was built from rough ashlar and rubble. A barrel vault, carried by two transversal arches springing from quarter circle corbels, covered the nave. The northern wall is occupied by a shallow arched recess, which presumably contained a painting or icon of the church patron.

The simple character of the architecture and bad state of the painted fragments are not of help in narrowing down the date of erection. Nevertheless, it is certain that the church was built in the Latin period, presumably the 15th or 16th century.

LOCALITY: Gastria	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint John Prodromos
GEO-DATA: 35.337131, 33.980631		CAT. No: 85

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on a hillside between Gastria and Patriki

TPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular, chamfered with blind arch

PORTALS: rectangular with moulded corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches on quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- mid-16th century: erection of the church

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2010; 04.04.2012; 23.02.2013

The church of Saint John Prodromos stands on a small hill north of Gastria, next to the main road connecting Famagusta with the Karpas peninsula. It is a single nave building of moderate size and common building type, with a semicircular apse and a barrel vault. However, it is distinguished from the majority of rural single nave churches by its exceptional quality of the ashlar masonry. This was certainly intended as aesthetic concept, as even the portals do not protrude from the plain, well-built walls. They are formed as simple rectangles with moulded corbels, consisting of a rope moulding, a cavetto and a dentil frieze. The interior is of the same well-built plainness. It features ashlar masonry throughout, but even the corbels of the two transversal vault arches lack any sculptural treatment. An interesting feature of the masonry is the use of simple masons' marks in the form of Roman numerals. This marking of stones was used more frequently only in the later Venetian period, most prominently for the walls of Famagusta.

Indeed, the rope- and dentil-ornaments of the portal corbels clearly testify to an early to mid-16th century date of the church. Considering the topographical position of the church, it seems probable that it was in fact erected by masons working at the Famagusta fortifications at the time, who perhaps met the patron of the building when they travelled to the limestone quarries on the Karpas peninsula.⁸⁸ This could help to explain the reduced decorative vocabulary, contrasting with the excellent quality of the masonry.

⁸⁸ See also chapter 7.3 for a more detailed discussion of this aspect.

LOCALITY: Genagra	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.216392, 33.694355	CAT. NO: 86	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a plateau west of the village of Genagra		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse and side bay above a large irregular cave, single nave to the west		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: southern portal: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: barrel vault and dome on a drum in the eastern part, barrel vault (destroyed) in the eastern bay of the nave, open roof in the western bay		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.28.291–295; B.35.035–039 (1974)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 14th – early 15th century: erection of a domed church above the cave- 16th century: transformation of the church, erection of the arches and the first western bay- 19th century: western expansion- after 1974: collapse of the roof		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the dome remains of a Christ Pantocrator (late 14 th or early 15 th century, according to Gunnis and Papageorghiou), old pictures of before 1974 show apostles and an <i>Hetoimasia</i> in the drum as well as fragments of saints in unidentified locations, which have vanished today.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 218; Gunnis 1936, p 466; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 452–454; Papageorghiou 2010, p 449–452.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Papageorghiou 2010, p 449 (incomplete); Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012; 21.02.2013		

The church of Saint George, overlooking a plateau west of the village of Genagra, is one of the most unusual sacral buildings in Cyprus. From the outside, it looks rather inconspicuous: an irregular, squat building with a dome. Presumably, this prompted Jeffery to describe it as "cross plan church with an added nave". The eastern part of the church, built from very soft limestone ashlar, appears as an asymmetric rectangle with a round dome and a flat polygonal apse placed in the southern half. To the west, a larger rectangular part with pitched roof follows.

Only the interior reveals that the church is in fact erected over a cave, perhaps an ancient cave tomb, serving as bema area of the complex. This renders the interior structure as well as the building chronology highly complex. The oldest part of the church is undoubtedly the cave itself. It is situated east of those parts of the church, which are visible above ground. The cave is approximately square with a flat apse occupying the middle of the eastern wall, accompanied by a smaller niche to the north. In the western end of the northern wall, a small doorway leads into a second cave. It seems as if the square plan of the cave as well as the regular apse are a result of masonry walls erected together with the church above, creating the very small lateral cave to the north. A concrete lintel supports the ceiling of the cave in the middle; it was surely inserted in the 20th century, but includes an antique column placed south of the central axis. A second column stands further west, flanking the doorway to the northern side cave.

The church was in fact built to the west of the original cave, its floor using the same level as that of the cave. The original naos is a short, rectangular space, as wide as the cave but more than twice as high. A supporting arch separates the church in two bays, the northern one covered in a transversal barrel vault, the southern one surmounted by a dome. The eastern wall of the church is supported by a double arch resting on a central round pier, all executed in well-cut ashlar and elaborately decorated. A double roll and hollow moulding forms the profile of the two arches, which rest on bell moulded imposts in the north and south. The central round pier possesses a hexagonal base with stacked moulding. The capital is a peculiar combination of a simple chalice-shaped and a cushion-shaped capital with chamfered corners. The abacus with a roll moulding was supposed to receive an egg and dart pattern, but only one corner of it was executed. Towards the east, below the dome and above the connecting arch to the cave, an apse is placed in the wall. This apse, high above the floor level on the inside, is the one visible as polygonal from the outside. Towards the inside, it is vaguely semicircular. The southern dome arch rests on two corbels, placed at different heights in the southern wall. They are assembled from a lower, circular part and an

upper impost with bell moulding. The western wall of the old naos rests on a large pointed arch of considerable depth. This arch as well is made from extremely regular ashlar, indicating a remarkable skill of the responsible mason. This becomes most apparent at the junction of this arch with the northern dome arch. Here, the latter rests on a small quarter circle corbel with a cushion-shaped impost. Next to this, the partition arch ends on a similar but wider double quarter circle corbel. Both corbels are carved from monolithic blocks, together with the adjoining voussoirs of the arch. While the result might hardly satisfy in terms of aesthetics, it is an evidence for the technical quality of the structure. The arch itself is rather simple, but the piers, protruding slightly towards the west, show engaged colonettes with small cushion capitals on the inner corners.

The larger western space of the church, today unvaulted, consists of an eastern and a western bay. The eastern bay goes down to the floor level of the cave and old naos, so that access is gained through a flight of stairs adjoining the southern portal. Vault springers indicate the original presence of a barrel vault, which must have collapsed or been taken down around the time the western bay was erected. This presumably happened in the 19th century, as the simple segment arched western doorway indicates.

The chronology of the older parts is more complicated to establish. The columns in the cave might indicate a use as Christian cult site since Late Antiquity, but only *spolia* remain from a building of this period. The decorated arches of the naos, in particular the central pier with the egg and dart ornament, strongly suggest knowledge of Renaissance architecture and thus should be dated to the 16th century. The paintings, however, were dated to the early 15th century by Gunnis, the 14th or 15th century by Papageorgiou. If we follow this suggestion, it would mean that the small domed church was already erected in the 14th or early 15th century above the cave. The continuity of the southern wall ashlar masonry proves that at this point the floor level was already the same as that of the cave. Unlike stated by Papageorgiou, the northern bay was surely erected in the same phase, even if the plaster in the lower wall zone obstructs any investigation of the original floor level in this bay. It seems that in the 16th century, the original western bay of the church was replaced by a barrel-vaulted expansion; at the same time, the arches towards the original naos and the cave were renewed. The practice of *en-sous-oeuvre* replacements is very common in late medieval Cyprus, as for example the Panagia in Trikomo [232] nearby illustrates. The older dome arches were underpinned with corbels. In those places, where the new arches connected with the older walls, the inner masonry shell was replaced. The higher quality of the stone used in this phase resulted in conspicuous vertical joints along

these replacements. Perhaps, early static problems due to the soft stone were even one of the reasons for the 16th century building phase?

One might also speculate if the church, the original use of which is obscure due to a lack of written sources, was once the veneration place of a local saint or hermit. Several examples, as for example the case of Agios Sozomenos [16], show that in the Venetian period an increased interest in the revival of local cult practices can be stated. The prominent inclusion of the cave strongly indicates an active local belief in a certain 'holiness' of this site. If this was due to the alleged burial place of a local saint, or a belief that the cave was once inhabited by a hermit, cannot be said. Perhaps, the church of Genagra received its elaborate new arches and the western bay, certainly larger than the original one, in an attempt to increase the attraction of the site as destination of a pilgrimage?

LOCALITY: Geri	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysogeriotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.110331, 33.422358		CAT. NO: 87
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a plateau in the modern village centre of Geri		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse and buttresses		
WINDOWS: rectangular with profiled corbels		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed arch with horizontal imposts; southern portal: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: finial on the western façade (fragment of a portal)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.3301 (1960).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th or 16 th century: erection of a previous church		
- 18 th century: partly rebuilt (including western façade), portal destroyed		
- 1814: renovated and strengthened (or partly rebuilt, according to Gunnis)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of paintings on single stones.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 466.		
ARDAC 2006, p 22–23, fig 11–12; 2007, p 20; 2008, p 24, fig 8–9.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.04.2012 [only exterior]		

On a plateau in the village centre of Geri stands the parish church of the Panagia. It is a squat single nave structure with semicircular, heavily abutted apse and four engaged buttresses on each side of the nave. Two simple pointed portals with chamfered jambs in the south and west and a third segment-arched one in the southwest provide access to the interior. The only window is rectangular, with small corbels, and placed in the western façade gable. The southern portal is surmounted by a cross relief and a curious *spolium*, an arch voussoir serves as finial of the western façade.

Gunnis, the only scholarly reference for the church, claims that it was rebuilt in 1814, replacing a painted 16th century building, of which only the apse remained. The fragments of painting near the west door, which he reports, might be those on apparently reused ashlar in the western façade, thus on the exterior. If Gunnis saw any remains of paintings on the inside remains open.

The central question must be which parts remain of the previous church, and when the latter was built. Gunnis might well be right that the apse is still original, considering that it was strengthened at a later point. The same has happened to the northern wall, where the space between the buttresses was filled up to stabilize the masonry. Could this mean that the northern wall remains of the original building as well? It seems likely that the 'rebuilding' of 1814 was in fact a thorough renovation of the original structure, which had already been changed in the course of the 18th century: the strengthening of the apse does not bind in with the adjoining buttresses, which are, in turn, contemporary with at least the western façade.

The date of the original church could only be narrowed down with the help of the arch voussoir, if we assume that it was part of the former main portal of the church. This voussoir shows a freestanding *fleur de lis*-ornament, pointing downwards. The arch itself seems to have been decorated with a chevron moulding. The portal, which can be reconstructed from this evidence, must have been quite unusual. While chevron mouldings appear in some occasions on Cyprus throughout the 14th to 16th centuries, the fleur de lis-motif is unique on the island. Similar portals can be found for example in Italy (the southern portal of the parish church in Celico, Calabria, dated by an inscription to 1514 [A.156]) and Rhodes (entrance to the precinct of Our Lady of the Victory).⁸⁹ Nevertheless, these examples are not combined with a chevron archivolt, testifying to a certain creative quality of the Geri portal. In the Cypriot context, this might indicate a date in the 15th, or more likely, the 16th century.

⁸⁹ The portal of Celico unpublished, the Rhodian example in Dellas 2013, p 110.

LOCALITY: Kalo Chorio Kapouti	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.243295, 33.039821		CAT. No: 88
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Kapouti		
TYPOLOGY: double nave church, the northern nave wider and with a semicircular apse, the southern nave ending in a straight wall; the naves connected by three independent arches		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed arch, stepped profiled jambs and archivolt (recent); southern portal: rectangular, chamfered, with profiled corbels		
VAULTING: northern nave: barrel vault on three transversal arches; southern nave: higher barrel vault in the western part, lower barrel vault on transversal arches (double quarter circle corbels) in the eastern part		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA (under 'Kapouti') I.15.649–656.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- before the 15th century: erection of a first church on the site of today's northern nave- 15th or 16th century (?): addition of the southern nave (eastern half)- 16th century, second phase (?): northern nave with apse rebuilt, southern nave enlarged- 18th or 19th century: parts of the building renovated/rebuilt (façade, tower)- after 1974: transformed into a mosque		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Removed or destroyed after 1974, the fragmentary paintings were described and depicted by Papageorghiou 2010, p 71: Saints on the intrados of the central nave arch, Descent into Hell and Resurrection on the northern wall of the southern nave (16 th century). An 18 th century Saint George above an older layer in the western blind arch in the northern nave, today overpainted.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 244; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 124; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 611–613; Papageorghiou 2010, p 71–74. MKE, IV, p 51.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2010; 07.04.2012		

The village church of Kalo Chorio Kapouti is mentioned in the *Livre des remembrances* of 1468 as possession of Dimitri of Coron.⁹⁰ It seems to have been of a certain importance during the Middle Ages, as the parish church, dedicated to Saint George, is of considerable size and was enlarged several times.

Today, the church consists of two naves. The northern one is wider and possesses a semicircular apse in the east. The main portal and the apse window are evidently late additions. The nave is covered by a barrel vault with two transversal arches. Two high, pointed blind arches are placed in the northern wall of the second and third bay, not according to the alignment of the vault ribs. Between them, a deep niche contains a small window. This northern nave is connected to the southern one through four arched openings of different size: two larger ones below the first transversal arch and in the third bay, a smaller one in the second bay and a doorway adjoining the eastern wall, connecting the bema areas of both naves.

The southern nave was apparently erected in two phases, as already the differing treatment of the exterior indicates. The western half has plain walls and a higher barrel vault, while the eastern half is lower and its southern wall supported by three buttresses. A simple rectangular portal with chamfered jambs and profiled corbels is placed in the southern wall of the western half. The nave ends in a plain wall, suggesting that it never functioned as independent church building. On the inside, the barrel vault is supported by two transversal arches as well. The western one marks the joint between the two phases, as the vault west from it rises around 1 m higher. The eastern one rests on a double quarter circle corbel on the north, the only corbel shape discernible in the building. Since it is in currently use as a mosque, all walls are plastered and painted white. This makes an assessment of sculptural details, building phases and their date of erection almost impossible.

Until 1974, a number of fragmentary paintings were preserved, most of them on the intrados of the smaller central connecting arch between the naves (depictions of Saints) and on the southern nave vault above the same arch (an Anastasis and Resurrection scene). Papageorgiou convincingly dates the paintings to the early 16th century, which defines a *terminus ante quem* for the eastern half of the southern nave. The archway, which once contained the paintings of standing saints, is apparently product of two phases, as there is a small edge in its soffit, marking the joint between the northern and southern nave walls. In consequence, the southern wall of the northern nave is certainly part of the pre-16th century

⁹⁰ Richard 1983, p 50.

structure. A painting of Saint George (of the 18th century) was situated in the western blind arch of the northern nave, apparently covering an older painting in the same spot.

The western half of the southern nave should be dated to the 16th century, a date indicated by the portal. While Gunnis and Papageorghiou surprisingly have not recognized the fact that the southern aisle was erected in two phases, their assumption of a date in the 15th to 16th centuries is certainly not wrong for both phases. The suggestion that the northern nave was rebuilt in the 19th century, however, has to be rejected. At least the northern and southern lateral walls, as well as the apse, remain from an earlier building of identical dimensions, perhaps erected during the 14th century. The misalignment of lateral blind arches and vault arches suggests that the latter were renewed at some point, perhaps as early as the 16th century (together with the erection of the western half of the southern aisle?). The 19th century changes seem to only include a new western portal, the addition of a bell tower on the south-western corner and changes to some windows and doorways (new apse window, western portal of the southern nave walled up).

LOCALITY: Kalo Chorio

DISTRICT: Larnaca

DEDICATION: Saint Mamas

GEO-DATA: 34.920725, 33.553353

CAT. NO: 89

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in a largely unpopulated area between Kalo Chorio and Larnaca, north of the main road between Kalo Chorio and Dromolaxia

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse [original nave unknown]

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: [destroyed]

MISCELLANEOUS: a simple, profiled capital of an engaged colonette lies in the courtyard of the church

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the original building

- 20th century: rebuilt in concrete, incorporating the remains of the old church

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a larger scene on the remains of the original apse, nothing discernible.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

—

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 14.04.2012

The church of Saint Mamas, located on a hillside between Kalo Chorio and Dromolaxia, is a small single nave building with a semicircular apse. It was recently reconstructed from ruined state; for this reconstruction concrete was used, which allows for a good assessment of the original parts. These comprise the eastern end of the nave walls and the apse up to the first layers of the semidome. Here, faint traces of paintings are preserved, without forming a recognizable scene.

The most interesting aspect of the church, otherwise seeming to be one of the many age-less rural chapels of little architectural complexity, is a small assemblage of sculptural fragments in the surroundings. The most remarkable of these is a limestone capital, once part of an engaged colonette of ca. 25 cm in diameter, which shows a roll and hollow moulding. This capital, datable to the 16th century, might have been part of the original church, be it in a portal, an elaborate vault or some sort of fixture (a tomb or a stone iconostasis). Another fragment, a marble column with thicker base, seems to be an antique *spolium*, perhaps once reused as altar table in the church.

LOCALITY: Kalopsida

DISTRICT: Famagusta

DEDICATION: Saint John
Prodromos

GEO-DATA: 35.098456, 33.793757

CAT. No: 90

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Kalopsida

TYPOLOGY: double nave structure (the northern nave with semicircular apse, the southern with polygonal 3/8 apse), open porch in the south

WINDOWS: small rounded window in the northern apse; [rest replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: both naves barrel-vaulted on two transversal arches, different corbels: double quarter circle and chamfered quarter circle types

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA J.7974–7978 (1970s?).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (first phase): erection of the southern nave
- 15th–16th century (second phase): erection of the northern nave
- 19th–20th century: porch and tower added, covered in cement plaster, all windows replaced

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 200; Gunnis 1936, p 248 [dates the church to the 17th century]; Georgiou 1999, p 43 [copies the text from Gunnis]; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 400–401.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012

The parish church of Saint John Prodromos in Kalopsida belongs to a group of late medieval double nave churches in the Mesaoria plains south and west of Famagusta. The identification of the churches in Kalopsida is a problematic issue, due to statements made by Jeffery in 1918 and Gunnis in 1936, contradicting the current naming conventions. Jeffery speaks of a main church, dedicated to the Panagia, with medieval origins and a smaller chapel of Saint John, without describing the features of both buildings. Gunnis adds the information that the chapel of Saint John is a 'double-aisled' building. While this information is in accordance with the church preserved today under the name of Saint John, it is certainly not a mere 'chapel'.

It is a comparatively large building with two naves of almost identical size, both terminating in apses, and an open stone porch to the south and west. The latter, as well as the tower in the south-western corner, is an addition of the late Ottoman or British period. To the north, the church is abutted by heavy, squat flying buttresses, to the south by buttresses hidden behind the porch. The two apses differ in their shape, the northern one being semicircular, the southern one polygonal, forming three sides of an octagon. Presumably, when the porch was erected, the whole exterior was covered in cement plaster and the doors and windows were modernized. Thus, a certain impression of antiquity is only conveyed by the two flagstaff holders placed in the western gables of the two naves.

On the inside, the cement plaster, which covers most of the interior surfaces, has a similar result. The two barrel vaults are underpinned by two transversal arches each. Most of the corbels, on which they rest, are of the quarter circle type, even if the details cannot be recognized. The eastern ones of the northern nave seem to be chamfered quarter circle corbels. Potentially the most interesting feature of the church, the piers and the two low pointed arches between the naves, are entirely plastered over as well. Therefore, the arches appear as simply stepped instead of showing their presumably more elaborate moulding profile. The inner steps of the eastern arch rest on wide quarter circle corbels, the arch itself seems to have been more detailed than the western one.

While the church is without doubt from the Latin period and not from the 17th century, as claimed by Gunnis, the precise date is debatable. The southern nave is probably older, as its apse is centred, while that of the northern nave is placed asymmetrically. The polygonal outer shape of the apse might indicate a late 15th century date, but polygonal apses are in use throughout the Venetian period. The northern nave was presumably added during the same century. The village was in possession of the Contarini until 1566, when it was sold to the Podocataro.⁹¹ It must have been fairly wealthy, as well due to its location in a fertile farmland and the proximity to Famagusta. This could provide the reason for the erection of the two rather spacious naves in quick succession.

⁹¹ Nicolaou-Konnari 2012, p 171–172.

LOCALITY: Kalopsida	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos (?)
GEO-DATA: 35.096900, 33.794352		CAT. NO: 91

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Kalopsida

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: segment arched window in the southern wall

PORTALS: northern portal: simple pointed arch

VAULTING: barrel vault with one transversal arch on crude, shapeless corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the present building

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

(Jeffery 1918, p 200; Gunnis 1936, p 248); Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 403–404.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.02.2013

The identification of the churches in Kalopsida is a somewhat problematic issue. It seems probable that the 'double aisled chapel of Saint John' described by Gunnis and Jeffery indeed refers to the building known under the same name today, and the description as a 'chapel' is a simple error. Both identify a church of the Panagia as main church of the village. This can hardly be the small, single nave building found in the village centre today but rather the predecessor of a modern concrete structure in the southern part of the village [XXV]. Modern tradition knows the small building by the name of Saint Andronikos; on the cadastral map of 1915 it is not even marked as a church and was probably already in secondary use.

The church is a simple, plain building of a single nave with a semicircular apse and a barrel vault. The only portal, in the northern wall, consists of a simple pointed arch. The masonry is a mixture of rubble and ashlar. The inside is as plain as the exterior, the barrel vault resting on a transversal arch springing from rough corbels. The only sculpted element of the interior is the console of the niche to the north of the apse. Here, a frieze is decorated with a (partly destroyed) foliage motif. Currently, the frieze is covered in plaster, which makes an assessment problematic: is this a marble *spolium* and thus a late antique piece? The mediocre quality of the carving would speak against it, while the seemingly cut off right end of the frieze could support the idea.

In any case, the church seems to be a work of the 16th century, one of a once certainly much larger number of unpretentious village chapels.

LOCALITY: Kamyli	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.301116, 33.108514	CAT. NO: 92	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Kamyli		
TYPOLOGY: double nave church, the northern nave a dome-hall structure, the southern nave destroyed		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: northern nave: barrel vault, dome flanked by transversal barrel vaults; southern nave: barrel vault with one transversal arch on quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.6178–6182 (1955); A.4693–4695, B.6918–6922, 7052–7055, 7305–7306 (1956); B.9185 (1958).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 12th–13th century: erection of the dome-hall structure- 15th–16th century: addition of the southern nave, opening of a large arch in the southern wall and enlargement of the older building to the west- mid-19th century: destruction of the southern nave, new façade- 1956, 2005: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a painted decoration, presumably dating to the 13 th century, are largely covered with plaster and await uncovering in the future.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 278; Gunnis 1936, p 250; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 937–938; Langdale 2012, p 193–194; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, sections: Chrysochou 2005.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2012		

The church of the Panagia in Kampyli is today maintained by the Maronite community but in all probability was first built as Greek Orthodox village parish. What remains of the building, is a dome-hall structure with a high, narrow circular dome drum and an elongated western arm. A wide, low profiled arch, today walled up and part of the southern wall, attests to the former presence of a southern nave, opened up towards the northern one.

The building chronology is clearly visible through several building joints. The original building was a dome-hall church of the usual kind, built over a rectangular plan, with lower corner compartments and lateral gables underlining the idea of an inscribed cross. The fragmentary paintings on the inside seem to indicate a date before the 13th century for this dome-hall – a suggestion, which is corroborated by the character of the architecture.

For this study, the second building phase, the addition of a southern aisle, is of central interest. Of this aisle, only the large connecting arch and the springer of a barrel vault, including a corbel for a transversal rib, remain in the fabric of the southern church wall. During the addition process, the original church was almost doubled in length with the addition of a large barrel-vaulted bay to the west. The new connecting arch replaced much of the older southern wall, requiring an *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement of the south-western dome pier as well. Langdale has suggested that, due to the flat curve of the arch and its wide span, static problems might have appeared and the enlargement plan was abandoned, the arch immediately walled up. This is unlikely for several reasons. First, numerous examples from various areas of the island show that similar wide and low arches were by no means a static hazard, often carrying much larger structures than the small dome of the old dome-hall in Kampyli. Second, no structural damage of the arch itself is visible, which would have certainly been the case, had the arch been the reason for an abandonment or collapse of the southern aisle. Third, the remains of the barrel vault above the arch would have been constructed well after possible structural problems due to the underpinning of the old dome with the new arch would have become evident. A more common damage pattern in single nave churches with a barrel vault (which is in fact the structural shape that the southern nave presumably had) might be the collapse of the vault due to a leaning lateral wall. In this case, the northern wall was sufficiently abutted by the old church, thus the entire thrust of the barrel vault would have rested on the southern wall. The latter was presumably not sufficiently equipped with buttresses and might have given way after a lack of maintaining during the Ottoman period. This is also more probable than Langdale's second suggestion that the nave might have originally been erected to serve the Latin rite and then taken

down intentionally to return the “church to its original ‘pure’ Orthodox configuration”.⁹² Neither is there any hint that the second added nave can be seen as sign of a shared bi-denominational use, nor would the comparison with other monuments on the island suggest the practice of deliberate destruction of such structures. While the southern naves of, among others, the church of Vrysoulles [241] or the Holy Cross Church in Tochni [227] are destroyed, those in many other churches (Kalopsida [90], Makrasyka [137], Agios Sergios [13]) remain.

While the double quarter circle corbel already attests to a date of the expansion in the Latin period, this date can be narrowed down through the profile of the walled-up arch. This is partly visible from the inside and outside; it seems to be a stepped arch with thick corner rolls. A similar profile could be found in the late 15th – early 16th century arcade of the Avgasida monastery, indicating a date in the early Venetian period for the southern nave in Kamyli.

⁹² Langdale 2012, p 194.

LOCALITY: Kapileio	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Ambelikiotissa
GEO-DATA: 34.821117, 32.965480		CAT. NO: 93
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a plateau above the river Limnatis, east of the road between Kapileio and Korfi		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse; narthex (destroyed); annexe to the south (destroyed)		
WINDOWS: large apse window, pointed, with simple tracery (middle post, two lancets)		
PORTALS: southern portal originally a wide round arch, replaced with simple wooden lintel after 1952		
VAULTING: barrel vault, carried by a row of three blind arches on each side of the nave		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.4613–4622 (1952); I.15.641–647 (1969).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th century: erection of the present church- later: narthex and annexe added- before 1930: destruction of the narthex and annexe- after 1952: restoration, portals replaced, outer shell of the wall renewed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Heavily damaged paintings of saints on the intrados of the blind arches.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 278; Gunnis 1936, p 255–56. ARDAC 2005, p 36–37, fig 14–15.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012		

The church of the Panagia Ambelikiotissa is situated roughly between Kapileio and Korfi, on the western slope of the valley of the Limnatis River. As suggested by Gunnis, there might have once been a larger settlement, considering that there are still ancient terraces, water mills, and a second church, the Middle Byzantine Panagia Khormakiotissa, nearby.⁹³ If the Ambelikiotissa was a parish church or part of a monastery is unclear.

The building consists of a single nave with a semicircular apse, foundations of annexe rooms to the south and west remain. The exterior is very plain, an impression even intensified by a 1950s restoration. At that time, both portals were renewed as rectangular wooden doorways and the whole outer shell of the masonry re-grouted. As a result, it is not entirely clear, if the annexe rooms were part of the original building. Nevertheless, this is highly probable. The most original part of the exterior is the pointed apse window. Uniquely for rural Cyprus, it retains remains of tracery. Apparently, the window was once divided into two lancets; the tenon hole of the central mullion is still visible. The fact that the remains of the lancets spring directly from the window jambs and are carved from the same block, which forms the first voussoirs of the arch, indicates that the mason was not experienced in creating tracery. The moulding profile of the jambs differs. On the left side, it is a thick corner roll, strangely varying in thickness and ending in a somewhat anthropomorphic ornament, all flanked by a row of simplified dogteeth. On the right side there seems to have been a chamfer ending in cone-and-sphere elements, flanked by a small roll. The windowsill shows three stacked rolls of identical size.

The interior is very plain, but possesses an unusual feature as well: there are no transversal arches; instead, the barrel vault rests on top of lateral blind arcades, comprising three arches reaching up to the vault springer on both sides. While blind arches placed in the lateral walls are rather common in Cyprus, the continuous arcade, which creates two wall layers, can only be found in few instances. The whole interior seems to have been decorated with paintings, but today only heavily damaged depictions of saints remain on the soffits of the blind arches. An iconostasis "of the type of a medieval rood screen", seen by Gunnis in the 1930s, has vanished today.

The church was most likely erected in the 15th century, a period in which quirky, idiosyncratic creations such as the apse window appear throughout the island. The left jamb might be an attempt at imitating Late Gothic branch-like mouldings, which were present on Cyprus as evidenced by two (15th century?) windows in the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa in Nicosia [155]. However, a slightly later date in the 16th century is not impossible, due to the longevity of decorative elements in Cyprus.

⁹³ A third church ruin and an aqueduct mentioned by Gunnis cannot be located anymore.

LOCALITY: Kapsalos	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi
GEO-DATA: 35.353409, 33.695534		CAT. NO: 94
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in a high valley of the northern Pentadaktylos slope, in an unpopulated area approximately between Kalogrea (west), Kapsalos (north), Akanthou (east) and Melounta (south); next to a second ruined church of the 20 th century		
TYPOLOGY: [ruined] single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: biforate apse window		
PORTALS: northern portal: framed by rusticated ashlar, which carry a horizontal cornice with dentil decoration (lintel is missing), above this a recessed tympanum framed by a profiled pointed hood mould; southern and western portals largely destroyed		
VAULTING: barrel vault on two transversal arches with well-cut quarter circle corbels that are framed by a profile		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- before the 20 th century: collapse of the church		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
(Yapicioğlu 2007, p 371–373).		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2012		

On a remote plateau of the northern Pentadaktylos foothills, south of the small village of Kapsalos, stands the ruin of the church of Saint Paraskevi.⁹⁴ Due to its location, the church was not mentioned in any scholarly study up to now. It is heavily ruined today, the entirety of its vault and the western wall are missing. The church was a rather large single nave building with a semicircular apse and a barrel vault, supported by three transversal arches on quarter circle corbels. While this is not too remarkable, considering that it is the most common type for rural churches in Cyprus, the remaining architectural details reveal a surprisingly high level of sophistication, considering the rural location and the absolute lack of knowledge about the origins of the building.

The church was built from a mixture of meticulously cut ashlar, used predominantly for the lower courses of masonry, and regular layers of rubble. Architectural sophistication mainly shines through in smaller details. The apse window is a small biforium with round arches; the simple corbels of the nave received a chamfered frame. The southern portal is half hidden in the soil of the adjoining hill, half destroyed. On the inside, it shows the usual pitched lintel, while that of the outside seems to have rested on strong, profiled corbels.

The most distinctive element of the church is the only more or less completely preserved portal, in the north. Remarkably, it is placed around 1 m lower than the southern one, probably owing to the location of the church on a slightly sloping hillside. The portal consisted of a rectangular doorway, surrounded by heavy rusticated ashlar. Above a (now missing) lintel runs a frieze with dentil moulding. The recessed, pointed tympanum is framed by a simple quarter roll moulding. The rustication of the portal is unique in the Cypriot church architecture, as this element of the Renaissance style was otherwise only used for larger (Latin) domestic buildings, with the exception of the residential wing of the Agia Napa Monastery [4].

The portal indicates a date in the Venetian period, most likely around the mid-16th century. Until further archival evidence might appear, it has to remain open why a church in such a remote location shows one of the strongest impacts of Renaissance architecture on local Greek church architecture. The location might suggest the former presence of a monastery, but the building might be connected to a local veneration site as well. An early 20th century church, built right in front of the 16th century ruin, attests to a certain cultic tradition at this site. This is unusual, considering the large distance to the nearest villages, but might be another argument for a certain former importance of the building, which seems to have gone forgotten only in the past half century.

⁹⁴ Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 371 gives the name 'Saint Perpyros' without any further discussion of the church and uses the dedication of Saint Paraksevi only for the modern chapel nearby. This is certainly wrong, as the old Ordnance Survey map of 1915 (before the modern chapel was built) marks the church as 'Ayia Parascevi'.

LOCALITY: Kato Drys	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.851378, 33.305390		CAT. NO: 95
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the eastern fringes of the old village centre of Kato Drys		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [reconstructed]		
PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular doorway, jambs with dogtooth, imposts with vine leaf ornament, recessed tympanum with dogtooth, hood mould ending in flower buds		
VAULTING: barrel vault on one profiled transversal arch, quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- early 20 th century: reconstructed from ruined state		
- 1991–95: reconstruction of the presumed original shape, addition of a belfry		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
According to Gunnis: "Fragments of sixteenth-century mural painting remain in the interior, more especially a St. George."		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 258.		
ARDAC 1991, p 25; 1992, p 23; 1995, p 19; 2001, p 30.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2012		

The church of the Panagia in Kato Drys, a small single nave building with semicircular apse, was rebuilt from ruins in the beginning of the 20th century and reconstructed to its presumed original state in the 1990s. The rubble masonry of the exterior has a modern appearance, due to the fact that most stones and all joints were renewed. Of the original architectural details, only the southern portal remains, albeit it seems to be reassembled from fragments as well. This matches the remark of Gunnis that only apse and northern wall of the old church were preserved when the first rebuilding started.

The portal consists of a rectangular doorway with profiled jambs, decorated with a dogtooth moulding. This appears to be entirely new but was probably inspired by the identical profile of the tympanum frame above. Of the two portal impostes with vine leaf decoration, the western one is original and thus confirms this unusual design. The hood mould, with a roll-and-fillet profile, ends in strange floral bosses, which might be 20th century inventions.

On the inside, the transversal arch shows a roll profile and rests on quarter circle corbels, presumably using original parts or imitating them. Nothing can be seen of the fragmentary paintings reported by Gunnis, but the depiction of Saint George might still hide behind a modern icon of the same saint, apparently covering a blind arch.

The 16th century date of the paintings, suggested by Gunnis, matches the evidence of the portal. There, the idiosyncratic arrangement of various forms might also indicate the 15th century, but the vine leaves appear to be a motif inspired by the Venetian Renaissance, thus pointing at the mid-16th century.

LOCALITY: Katokopia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.175241, 33.052370		CAT. NO: 96
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Katokopia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave building with polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: round arched apse window; oculus with a cross in the gable above the apse		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault on three transversal arches, the western bay groin-vaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the original church		
- 1818: renovation: new roof, windows, portals, additional bay in the east, blind arcade around the old walls, bell tower		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Today only fragments in the apse (head of an enthroned Virgin, inscription on the apse cornice) and on the southern wall (Anastasis – heavily damaged after 1974; remains of a halo) visible. Gunnis also described a fragmented Archangel Michael in the nave (probably corresponding to the halo) and the Communion of the Apostles covering the whole apse – those are hidden under the whitewash today.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 259; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 634–635; Papageorgiou 2010, p 134.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2010; 07.04.2012		

The old parish church of Katokopia, dedicated to the Panagia, largely presents itself as a 19th century building, result of a renovation in 1818. However, as already Gunnis remarked, considerable remains of 16th century wall paintings on the inside prove that the core of the building still goes back to the Latin period.

Consisting of an elongated single nave with an open western porch and a polygonal apse in the east, the lateral walls are decorated by a continuous blind arcade. The arches of this blind arcade rest on engaged piers, except for the eastern end, which is supported by triple corbels. The two engaged piers to the west of this corbel protrude slightly further than the arches above in the north and south alike. They are still part of the original church, to which they served as buttresses. The wall behind, as well as the apse, is made from regular ashlar, while the western bay and the porch consist of rubble masonry. This difference helps to determine the extent and character of the original church already from the exterior: except for the western wall, which was taken down in 1818, and the subsequently replaced portals and windows, the original single nave church is entirely preserved in the eastern three bays of today's building. The apse appears to be unchanged. It is flanked by two buttresses, facing eastwards. As there is hardly any horizontal thrust in a barrel-vaulted church in this direction, they should rather be understood as aesthetical element than a structurally necessary one. While the apse window is simple, round arched, the apse cornice is decorated with an elaborate moulding profile: above a chamfer sits a dentil frieze, followed by a bell moulding. The gable of the eastern wall still shows the imprint of the original, curved roof line, today incorporated in the triangular gable. The oculus in the gable, framed by a roll moulding, retains a cross-shaped 'tracery', which might be original, considering its state of decay.

On the inside, no elements of architectural decoration remain, except for the transversal arches of the barrel vault. The corbels of the two original arches vary: there are quarter circle and double quarter circle ones. The painted decoration, still fairly well visible for Gunnis, has much suffered since 1974, when the lower parts of the building were covered in whitewash. This erased the Archangel Michael on the southern wall, of which only the top of the halo remains, and a Communion of the Apostles, once covering the apse cylinder, which was described by Gunnis in some detail: "[...] to the left of the small window in the bema the giving of bread, to the right the giving of wine. Each painting measures about 6 feet by 4 feet, and is probably the work of some foreign artist. The disciples are ranged in a

long line and look towards Our Lord, save Judas, who, in each painting, looks back over his shoulder".⁹⁵ The inscription of the apse string course is still visible, so is a damaged head of Mary in the apex of the apse semidome. In the nave, next to the archangel, remain fragments of an *Anastasis* scene, wrongly identified as raising of Lazarus by Gunnis. This scene was largely destroyed in an attempt to remove the painting after 1974.

The date in the 16th century, suggested by Gunnis for the paintings, matches the evidence of the architecture. In particular, the apse cornice with dentil frieze and bell moulding betrays the influence of local 'Renaissance' models – presumably, the lost portals would have contained more such stylistic elements.

⁹⁵ Gunnis 1936, p 259.

LOCALITY: Kazafani	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia tou Potamou
GEO-DATA: 35.317346, 33.355565		CAT. NO: 97

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Kazafani

TYPOLOGY: single nave building with semicircular apse, annexe rooms in the north and west

WINDOWS: oculus in the western gable

PORTALS: simple pointed arches

VAULTING: barrel vault on quarter circle and trapezoidal corbels; annexes unvaulted

MISCELLANEOUS: large recesses on the inside of the lateral walls, wall tomb in the western annexe

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA C.14.831–832 (1970s?).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the church, subsequently addition of the annexes

PAINTED DECORATION:

Remains from various periods: diverse saints in the lower wall zone (described by Papageorghiou 2010, p 135); in the south-western vault an Adoration of the Magi; on the western wall, a Saint Paraskevi holding an *imago pietatis*, an archangel and a large scene of the Last Judgement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 323; Gunnis 1936, p 260; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 161–163; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 705–712; Papageorghiou 2010, p 135–137.

ARDAC 1973, p 17.

MKE, II, p 173–174.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2012 [only exterior]; 2015⁹⁶

⁹⁶ I wish to thank Michael Walsh for sharing a full photographic documentation of the interior of the church.

The Panagia tou Potamou is situated in a small enclosure in the centre of Kazafani, below the abbey of Bellapais. In its core, it is a single nave church with semicircular apse, executed in regular ashlar masonry, but of little architectural sophistication. At some point, annexe rooms were added to the north and west, the wooden pitched roof of which rest on straining arches.

The portals of the church, which have become the connecting doorways between the annexe rooms and the naos, are all low pointed arches without further articulation. The nave is covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches. The corbels are all of the simple, usual types, even if varied in detail: there is a quarter circle corbel, a trapezoidal one and two double quarter circle corbels. The lateral walls are each occupied by two wide, deep arched recesses, followed by a third, small one behind the iconostasis.

There are considerable remains of paintings from various periods. The entire lower zone was decorated with diverse saints. The most remarkable of those are, in the south-eastern recess, a Saint George with scenes from his martyrdom, flanked by Saint Nicholas and Saint Paraskevi and on the pier between the southern recesses an equestrian saint next to Saint Mamas on the Lion. Only one scene remains in the vault, an Adoration of the Magi in the south-west. On the western wall, the door is flanked by an Archangel and a Saint Paraskevi holding an *imago pietatis*. Above this, there is a Last Judgement, unfortunately much more damaged today than in the 1930s, when Gunnis described it as the best-preserved scene. Most of these paintings were executed rather later than earlier, with the Judgement scene presumably dating to the 16th century (even if Jeffery suggests a 15th century origin). Some of the saints might have been repainted during the Ottoman period. There is also the rest of an iconostasis, apparently from the Venetian period as well.

In the western annex, there is an unusual fixture, an arched niche placed on the southern wall, presumably once functioning as a wall tomb. In front of this, a large stone slab serves as some kind of altar table. Jeffery and Gunnis both still saw a medieval tomb slab, today apparently gone.⁹⁷ In particular Jeffery gives a detailed description of this tombstone: "The space under the arch is occupied by the grave, covered with a tomb slab of the usual proportions, on which the figure of the deceased is outlined in the XIVth century manner. The representation is that of a bearded man in civilian costume, a round cap, a large gaberdine, and what seem to be trousers appearing beneath."⁹⁸

Even if the tombstone was indeed a 14th century artwork, the church itself more likely dates to the 15th or even 16th century.

⁹⁷ The tombstone is not visible on any more recent image, but as the author was not able to access the church, this could not be verified on-site. Imhaus 2004, I, p 128–129.

⁹⁸ Jeffery 1918, p 323.

LOCALITY: Kellia	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Anthony
GEO-DATA: 34.975683, 33.620668		CAT. NO: 98
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a raised plateau in the west of the village centre of Kellia		
TYPOLOGY: cross in square building with two apses (central and northern nave), transversal narthex, open porch to the south		
WINDOWS: central apse window: large, chamfered pointed arch; southern window of the eastern wall and window in the south side of the central raised structure: rectangular with a blind ogee crowning; northern transept window: cusped pointed arch; profiled oculus above the central apse		
PORTALS: south-western portal: rectangular with a coat of arms depicting a sun on the lintel; south-eastern portal: simple pointed arch with cubic, crudely decorated imposts; northern portal: rectangular with marble lintel and triangular discharging arch		
VAULTING: barrel-vaulted throughout, the barrel vault of the crossing oriented north-south		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Mentioned by Ross 1852, p 197.		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.1575–1577 (1940), B.40.078–081 (1975); B.41.912–921 (1976); B.49.274–304, 607–614, 623–662, 730–733, 759–770 (1978); B.51.008–015 (1979); B.55.598–610, (1980); B.61.380, 62.615–618, 655 (1982); B.66.258 (1984); J.53.753–757 (1985); J.66.835–837 (1991).		
OTHER: fragmentary inscription "George...", perhaps naming an early patron (see Papacostas 1999, II, p 8).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 9th century: erection of the original cross-in-square church- after 1425: rebuilt, using only foundations, inner piers and vault arches of the older church- 19th century (?): addition of a western narthex and southern porch- after 1975: constant restoration, removal of later stabilizing masonry on the inside and of a machine-gun post from the crossing		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments from various epochs between the 9th and 13th century remain, which were described and analysed in Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 433–437 and more detailed in Perdiki 2014.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 193–194; Gunnis 1936, p 261–262; Papageorgiou 1985, p 327–328; Wharton 1988, p 57–60; Papacostas 1999, II, p 8; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 433–437; Perdiki 2010; Perdiki 2014. ARDAC 1975, p 17–18; 1978, p 17, fig 10; 1980, p 18, fig 19–20; 1981, p 18, fig 13–14; 1982, p 20, fig 16–17; 1983, p 20; 1984, p 21; 1985, p 23, fig 29–30; 1987, p 24; 1988, p 25; 1989, p 28; 1990, p 29; 1991, p 24–25; 1992, p 23; 1993, p 21; 1994, p 21; 1995, p 19; 1996, p 21; 1997, p 24; 1998, p 24; 1999, p 22; 2000, p 27; 2002, p 30–31; 2003, p 26; 2004, p 34; 2005, p 32–33; 2007, p 27, fig 25–26; 2008, p 29.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: DOA C.17.595, 678; Wharton 1988, p 56, Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.21; Perdiki 2014, p 19 [without phases].		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 26. 03.2008; 16.04.2012; 17.12.2014		

The church of Saint Anthony in Kellia, situated on a hill raising above the village centre, is mainly known for the rich corpus of remaining paintings, dating to the 9th to 13th centuries, which have been uncovered and restored during the past 40 years. It has been expressed by Papacostas and Perdiki that the church is most likely a monastic foundation. In the context of this study it is of highest interest, in spite of its early founding date: presumably after the destruction of the village by Mamluk raids in 1425, the Middle Byzantine church was thoroughly rebuilt, making the structure one of the most elaborate examples of 15th century architecture.

The original church was of the cross-in-square type, built in the 9th century; following the local customs its eastern and western arms were elongated, the corner compartments covered by barrel vaults instead of centralized solutions. The church was built in rather rough masonry, which facilitates the distinction between 9th and 15th century parts of the church in places, where paintings do not clearly testify to the age of the underlying wall. Of the first building mainly parts of the interior structure remain: the western and eastern cross arms as well as all four crossing piers in their entirety, furthermore the northern arch of the crossing and the southern side compartments (the vault of the south-western bay is renewed). The rebuilding thus included the vault of the southern cross arm, the whole east end of the church including the apses (the southern apse was given up and replaced by a straight wall), the whole northern part of the church, including both side compartments and the cross arm. The apses were rebuilt with a slightly reduced diameter. Finally and most prominently visible, the collapsed dome was replaced by a transversal barrel vault, rising high above the body of the church – a unique solution in Cyprus. This might have been inspired by similar models in Crete, there admittedly only used for transepts of single nave churches.⁹⁹

In consequence, the exterior largely presents the 15th century state (with the exception of the porch and narthex of the 19th century). The rebuilding was executed in well-cut ashlar masonry and the plain wall surfaces betray a certain dependence on the Famagustan architecture of the 14th century, deeply rooted in the Crusader architecture. While the southern portal, a simple pointed arch with crudely decorated imposts, seems to be a later addition of the Ottoman period, a lintel presumably related to a 15th century portal was reused in a simple doorway in the southwest. The lintel shows a coat of arms with a radiant sun, attributed to the Gourri family by Gunnis and Markou.¹⁰⁰ Presumably, the original portal resembled that of the northern cross arm, a simple rectangle under a flat mitred arch with a large monolithic lintel. The windows of the church are of more interest, as they show a variation of uncommon types. The small window placed in the new straight

⁹⁹ See Gallas 1983, p 143–182.

¹⁰⁰ Gunnis 1936, p 261; Markou 2003, p 84 – his identification of the lintel as tomb slab is wrong.

eastern wall of the southern side compartment is crowned by a blind ogee arch, carved from the ashlar on top of the window. The same motif appears on the southern window of the raised central bay. The window in the gable of the northern cross arm, in contrast, is formed as a small cusped pointed lancet. The gable of the eastern cross arm is occupied by an oculus with roll moulding. The largest window is placed in the main apse and framed by a double chamfer. The latter, as well as the ogee arches, appear on a number of other 15th century churches.¹⁰¹

On the inside, the shape of the original building was largely maintained in the rebuilding; except for the masonry itself, hardly any element testifies to the later date of large parts. The north-western dome pier reveals that already during the rebuilding some preserved parts of the older church were re-clad in new masonry. After the removal of the later walls, in order to reveal the original painted decoration of the crossing and nave piers, the vault of the northern side compartment reaches around 30 cm into the arch openings. The vault of this compartment, a barrel vault, has a very low apex, so that the opening necessary for the arch towards the western cross arm creates a half-sided groin vault. This unusual creation shows that the architecture of the new parts was adapted to include as much of the older structure as possible. The joint between older and newer part becomes most obvious in the vault of the northern cross arm, which seems to be cut in half along a straight line. The only part, where the 15th century structure received a contemporary decoration is the main apse. Here, both sides of the half-cylinder end in protruding engaged piers crowned by quarter circle corbels facing each other. The piers are chamfered, resulting in a polygonal appearance. The corbels are placed on the level of the apse string course and oddly carry nothing. Next to them, a second pair of corbels, facing westwards, carries the protruding eastern beam wall. One might wonder, if this strange clash of corbels and misaligned walls was intentional, a result of changed plans or a reaction to remaining parts of the older masonry. The latter might well be the case, as the northern end of the apse semidome shows signs of misalignment, evidencing the problems occurring during the rebuilding process.

Overall, the church of Saint Anthony in Kellia is not only a good example for the retrospective and at the same time creative character of 15th century architecture in Cyprus, but also demonstrates the value attributed to the remains of ruined ancient churches during this period.

¹⁰¹ See chapter 5.1.

LOCALITY: Kissousa	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saints Sergios and Bacchos
GEO-DATA: 34.810646, 32.794205		CAT. NO: 99
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the small village of Kissousa, on the southern slope of a hill		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: undecorated rectangles		
PORTALS: two southern portals – one rectangular with quarter circle corbels, one pointed		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- 19 th –20 th century: pitched roof added		
- 2009: wooden porch to the south		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
According to the ARDAC, there are “fragments of wall-paintings” on the north wall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
ARDAC 2007, p 33, fig 43–46.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012 [only exterior]		

The church of the Saints Sergios and Bacchos is situated in the small village of Kissousa, on the southern slope of one of the Troodos foothills. The church is built from rubble and is of the single nave type with semicircular apse. The plain exterior is covered with a pitched tile roof, the southern front covered by a modern wooden porch. Except for the two southern portals (due to the position in a cliff, there are no further portals), the plain walls are undecorated and uninterrupted. While the main portal in the centre of the building consists of a low ashlar-built pointed arch, the south-western entrance is rectangular, with quarter circle corbels.

The interior was not accessible and the church is not published, thus nothing can be said about the precise shape of the vault, judging from the exterior shape a barrel vault.

Even if the lack of decorative elements makes it impossible to date the church precisely, the elongated proportions of the nave and the character of the portals suggest a date in the later Latin period.

LOCALITY: Kiti	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Thomas
GEO-DATA: 34.837758, 33.567010		CAT. NO: 100

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: west of Kiti, surrounded by a modern cemetery

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: round arched slit in the eastern gable

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the eastern gable

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (?): erection of the church
- 19th century (?): western extension

PAINTED DECORATION:

—

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 14.04.2012

West of the village of Kiti, known for the important Late Antique / Middle Byzantine church of the Panagia Angeloktistos, lies the small church of Saint Thomas. It consists of a wide, unvaulted nave of the 19th or 20th century and a narrow, very low choir bay with an apse. The latter appears to be sunk into the ground: the apse cornice is not more than 1 m above ground level, the barrel vault of the adjoining bay barely reaches 2 m on its apex on the inside. Two buttresses flank the bema bay to the north and south, but the barrel vault does not possess a transversal arch (these two elements are often connected). The only remaining element of decoration is a flagstaff holder, the upper part of which is decorated with a stacked roll profile.

The bema bay and apse certainly belong to a single nave church of modest dimensions, built in the 15th or 16th century. We might assume that the original church was either part of a rural settlement or a monastery, located only 250 m away from the Tremithos river. Even if it is mostly dry today, or at least controlled through a dam further north, it is possible that a single flood (or constant moisture of the ground) destroyed the area and raised the ground level by about 1–2 m. The church was presumably kept in use until the level difference had become too big. A similar process is visible for the Panagia in Askeia [43], situated in a similar surrounding near a river. There, however, the church was high enough to adapt doors and windows while raising the floor level. In the case of the small church of Saint Thomas, the old nave had become too low and we can imagine that it was thus transformed into the new 'apse' of the (late?) 19th century building.

Nevertheless, this transformation might have taken place earlier: the polygonal apse of the nearby 18th century church of Saint George 'tou Potamou' (of the river) contains a small niche with a minute semidome placed in its eastern face.¹⁰² This setting reminds of the low apse vault of Saint Thomas, attached to the slightly higher bema. Perhaps, the church of Saint George imitated the 'sunken chapel' nearby.

¹⁰² Gunnis 1936, p 436 – The suggested 16th century date is certainly wrong, considering the architectural similarities with the church of Saint George of Aperas about 1 km north, the latter firmly dated to 1747 through a donor painting.

LOCALITY: Kivides	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Holy Cross
GEO-DATA: 34.768527, 32.838840		CAT. NO: 101
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north-west of the modern village of Kivides, next to the main road		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault on one transversal arch springing from engaged piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral wall niches		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century (?): erection of the church		
- 1935: restoration, portals and roof replaced		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 273–274.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012		

The village of Kivides today consists of a modern centre next to the high road and vast areas of single houses scattered in between large fields. The original villages of Pano and Kato Kivides are both deserted since the 19th century.¹⁰³ West of the site of Pano Kivides, marked by the 20th century parish of Saint George, stands the church of the Holy Cross. Today it is dominated by a 20th century metal porch and bell tower; the exterior is whitewashed. The fact that roof and portals were replaced in the 1930s further contributes to a rather modern appearance.

When Rupert Gunnis saw the church in the early 1930s, he described it as deserted 15th century building, with only the apse remaining in good state, while the paintings adorning the interior were already at the verge of vanishing. Indeed, particularly the irregular masonry of apse and northern wall indicates that the 1930s restoration was less intrusive than one might expect from a first glimpse.¹⁰⁴ The interior appears to be almost entirely preserved. It is covered in a pointed barrel vault with a very low springer, at around 2 m height. The nave is divided into two bays of different length through a heavy transversal arch on engaged piers with rough imposts, today serving as bema piers. In the lateral walls, there are low pointed niches: three in the north and one in the south. As the interior is completely covered in plaster, it is impossible to verify, if there are any paintings remaining and which parts of the masonry were renewed. In addition, the unusual division in two bays of completely different size raises questions. One might speculate if the church was built in two phases, the nave extended at some point, but on the exterior no joints are visible (this might, of course, be a result of the restoration as well). Another possibility could be that there was a second transversal arch in the west, between the two niches in the western bay, which had collapsed before the 1930s and was not rebuilt during the restoration.

It is impossible to narrow down the date of erection of the church, as neither original portals nor paintings remain. The engaged piers with crude imposts have a rather archaic appearance, but the example of Galataria [83], among others, shows that this element was certainly in use until the Venetian period. The pointed lateral niches indeed suggest a date not before the 14th century. Thus, Gunnis' suggestion seems quite probable, even if it cannot be verified anymore.

¹⁰³ Grivaud 1998, p 227.

¹⁰⁴ It is unclear, why Gunnis speaks of a brick-built apse. The material is clearly local rubble, even if some stone formats resemble those of bricks.

LOCALITY: Kivides	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Perachoritissa / Fotolambousa
GEO-DATA: 34.744380, 32.829774		CAT. NO: 102

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south-west of the modern village of Kivides, on the site of the deserted settlement of Vrisses

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: western portal: simple pointed arch; southern portal: rectangular doorway with decorated lintel

VAULTING: barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (?): erection of the church
- early 19th century (?): replacement of the previously collapsed barrel vault

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012

The village of Kivides today consists of a modern village centre next to the high road and vast areas of single houses scattered in between large fields. The original villages of Pano and Kato Kivides are both deserted since the 19th century, and so are a number of other settlements in the area, all mentioned in historic sources (S. Chindino, Siria, Stracotu and Vrisses).¹⁰⁵ What remains is a number of small churches, predominantly located to the south of the main road and thus to be connected with the latter rather than with the old Pano and Kato Kivides.

The Panagia, known under the additional names of Chryseleousa, Perachoritissa and Fotolambousa, is situated at the site of Vrisses. It is not clear, if it was the village church or, as local legend reports, the katholikon of a vanished monastery. The church is a short single nave structure with semicircular apse, largely built from rubble of varying size. Two buttresses support the southern wall. Access is gained through the western portal, a simple pointed arch, or the southern portal. The latter consists of a simple rectangular doorway with a mitred, monolithic lintel. An asymmetrically carved cross surrounded by a rope motif adorns the lintel.

The interior is plain and entirely covered in thick plaster. The steep barrel vault is easily identifiable as later addition, even if following the original mode. This original vault seems to have been supported by a central transversal arch, of which the northern corbel remains – together with the original vault springer, today serving as string course. This string course is interrupted in the middle of the southern wall, above the portal.

Thus, we can assume that the vault of the original church, perhaps a 15th or 16th century building, collapsed at some unknown point, taking the southern portal with it. The two buttresses were presumably added before, when the vault began pushing the southern wall outwards due to insufficient abutting. After the collapse, a new vault was built, strangely higher than the previous one – this is visible from the exterior, where the lateral walls as well as the outer apse wall were heightened by around 1,5 m. This rebuilding must have taken place in the 19th century at the latest, even if some further 20th century restorations left traces on the building as well.

¹⁰⁵ Grivaud 1998, esp. p 235.

LOCALITY: Kivides	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saints Akindynoi
GEO-DATA: 34.744318, 32.834201		CAT. NO: 103
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south-west of the modern village of Kivides, on the site of the deserted settlement of 'S. Chindino'		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: round arched slit in the apse		
PORTALS: rectangular with moulded corbels		
VAULTING: barrel vault on one transversal arch, quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.81.221–222 (1995).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- late 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- around 2000: addition of a metal porch		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2012		

The village of Kivides today consists of a modern village centre next to the high road and vast areas of single houses scattered in between large fields. The original villages of Pano and Kato Kivides are both deserted since the 19th century, and so are a number of other settlements in the area mentioned in historic sources (S. Chindino, Siria, Stracotu and Vrisses).¹⁰⁶ What remains is a number of small churches, predominantly located to the south of the main road and thus to be connected with the latter rather than with the old Pano and Kato Kivides.

The deserted village of 'S.Chindino' surely took its name from the church dedicated to the Saints Akindynoi. This unusual dedication commemorates a group of five Persian soldiers, who died as Martyrs and whose leader Akindynos was. The church is a single nave building with a polygonal apse, showing three sides of an octagon. The masonry is quite uncommon: it is made from unusually large, rough ashlar, combined with layers of flat, brick-sized stones to adjust the different heights of the ashlar. This and the fact that there are illegible signs on some ashlar suggest that the building material must have come from an ancient building on the same site, perhaps a pagan temple. Other than this, the exterior is rather plain. Two portals, in the south and west, are shaped as simple rectangular doorways with moulded corbels (a roll and cavetto profile). The lintel of the western portal shows a floral relief, surrounded by a rope moulding. The interior of the rather short but wide structure is barrel-vaulted. The only transversal arch rests on undercut quarter circle corbels (comparable ones can be found in Avdimou).

While the church seems to have been restored in the 20th century, adding among others an ungainly metal porch, its origins certainly lie in the late 15th or 16th century. The corbel profiles of portal and vault as well as the polygonal exterior of the apse suggest that it was built during the Venetian period.

¹⁰⁶ Grivaud 1998, esp. p 235.

LOCALITY: Kivisili	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.838942, 33.504158		CAT. NO: 104
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in south of Kivisili village centre		
TYPOLOGY: two largely independent naves, central nave of the dome-hall type, northern nave rectangular; southern annexe		
WINDOWS: oculus with roll moulding in the western façade of the main nave; in the north pointed window with partial moulding		
PORTALS: northern portal: pointed with horizontal imposts; western portal replaced		
VAULTING: central nave: dome flanked by pointed barrel vaults; northern nave: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches on ornamented corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder in the west		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.39.898–901 (1975); B.43.675, 678 (1976); J.74.787–800, 75.152–154, 207–212, 959–960 (1993); J.76.314–318, 367–370 (1994); J.88.781–794.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 13th–14th century: original dome-hall church - 14th–15th century: western expansion - 1795 (?): northern aisle - 19th century: southern annexe - 1950: repair works, western portal - 1993–1996: renovation (walls, dome), southern annexe rebuilt - 2009–2010: new bell tower built 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragment of a saint's halo in one of the lateral niches in the dome-hall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 274.		
ARDAC 1993, p 21; 1994, p 21–22; 1996, p 21; 2009, p 24.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and transversal section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.11.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [2007] ¹⁰⁷ ; 14.04.2012		

¹⁰⁷ I wish to thank Michalis Olympos for sharing his photographs of the interior.

The village parish of Kivisili, dedicated to the Panagia, is a much-altered building with medieval roots. Today it consists of three building parts, the smallest of which is the central nave with a dome. To the south, a flat annexe flanks this nave, while to the north a higher aisle was added.

The oldest part of the church is the eastern half of the central nave, once a dome-hall church of moderate dimensions. Numerous restorations have wiped away almost any sign of old age, as the interior is covered in cement plaster, the dome encased in strangely regular, modern ashlar. A small fragment of a once larger painted decoration remains in one of the lateral compartments of the dome-hall, but it is too fragmentary to be precisely dated. Sharply pointed barrel vaults to the east and west of the dome indicate that the dome-hall might have been erected in the 13th or even 14th century. The western bay was enlarged in a second phase through the addition of a second barrel-vaulted bay. The western façade of this bay contains a rather large oculus with roll moulding and a flagstaff holder, indicating a date in the Latin period, perhaps the 15th century, while the main portal has been replaced in 1950.

Northern aisle and southern annexe, the latter recently rebuilt, were erected during the Ottoman period. The aisle, barrel-vaulted and with pointed portal and window, is very close to medieval buildings in its style, but small details betray the later date. The portal shows the typical horizontal impost type of the 18th century, while the corbels of the vault are decorated with very peculiar ornaments in flat relief, hardly similar to most decoration forms created before 1571. As the church was certainly renovated in 1795, date of the iconostasis, one might consider this to be the date of the aisle as well. Fragments of Latin tombstones in the iconostasis stairs surely came here during the same phase due to the value of their marble material. They hardly would indicate that the church was a Latin rite building, as suggested by Gunnis.

LOCALITY: Klavdia	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Panagia Stazousa
GEO-DATA: 34.904033, 33.485988		CAT. NO: 105
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: situated on the northern slopes of a narrow river valley connecting the villages of Pyrga and Klavdia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse and narthex		
WINDOWS: pointed with double chamfer; chamfered oculi in the west and east; apse window with hood mould; narthex windows with cusped tracery		
PORTALS: rectangular with continuous roll-moulded frame, cavetto corbels, recessed tympana with roll-moulded frame		
VAULTING: nave: rib vaults on triple corbels; narthex: [rebuilt] groin vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: sun dial on the south-eastern corner		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: 4 Photographs taken by Camille Enlart in 1896, in De Vaivre 2012, p 303–306; DOA A.611, D.63 (1936); B.2061–2063 (1943); A.2005–2017, B.2354–2360, 2372–2391 (1944); A.2164–2170, B.2769–2781 (1945); A.3474, 3582–3591 (1951); B.9237, 9245, 9403–9407, 9411 (1959); B.68.492–499 (1985); J.74.802–805 (1993).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- mid-15th century: erection of the church- mid-16th century: monastic buildings renewed, addition of the narthex (?)- 1944/45: insertion of ferro-concrete beams, parts of the vault demolished and rebuilt- 1951: further repairs (window panels, stone surface)- 1990–93: rebuilding of the narthex- 2006–2011: rebuilding of the monastic structures, restoration of the church		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 420–428 [Enlart 1987, p 321–325]; Jeffery 1918, p 189; Gunnis 1936, p 409; Béraud 1989, p 136–137 [identified as Franciscan monastery]; Schabel 2000, p 353; De Vaivre 2006d, p 34–36; De Vaivre 2012, p 302–306; Mersch 2014, p 258–259.		
ARDAC 1990, p 29–30; 1992, p 23; 1993, p 22; 2002, p 32; 2005, p 33–34; 2006, p 30, fig 29–30; 2008, p 29; 2009, p24, fig 20–23.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, section, details: Enlart 1899, fig 277–281.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 26.03.2008; 18.04.2009; 03.03.2013		

The monastic church of Panagia Stazousa, perched on the northern slope of a narrow river valley between Pyrga and Klavdia, has attracted scholarly interest since the beginning of the 20th century. Camille Enlart, seeing the unusual impact of Gothic forms on the architecture of this building, had postulated that it might be the Franciscan (later Cistercian) convent of Beaulieu – an opinion, which was already rejected by Jeffery and, more recently Schabel, despite being maintained in the recent ARDAC issues.¹⁰⁸ In fact, the origins of the monastic site are somewhat dubious. As Enlart already remarked, the monastery had “le plan général des couvents d'Orient : l'église isolée au centre d'une enceinte rectangulaire bordée de bâtiments.”¹⁰⁹ As recently affirmed by Mersch, this shape is rather usual for the smaller Greek monasteries of the later Middle Ages in Cyprus as well, supporting the assumption that, in spite of the ‘Gothic’ character of the church, the monastery is a Greek foundation. The proximity to the monastery of Stavrovouni, attracting pilgrims throughout the Middle Ages, might suggest that the Panagia Stazousa was one of the local *metochia* of the latter.

The church of the monastery is an unusual building of a single nave, with a lower western narthex and a three-sided polygonal apse. Photographs taken by Camille Enlart in around 1896 indicate that the evaluation of certain parts of the current building needs to be done cautiously, as the structure was half-ruined at that time. In particular the narthex had lost its vault and western wall, leaving only the lateral walls with the fragmentary windows standing. The church itself never collapsed, but was quite close to it, with the lateral walls leaning heavily. The latter can be still seen, even if the church has been restored several times, beginning in 1944–1945. Then, ferro-concrete beams were inserted to stabilize the lopsided walls and parts of the vault had to be taken down and rebuilt, to prevent them from collapsing entirely. The narthex was only rebuilt in the 1980s, reinventing the western portal (modelled on the preserved western portal of the church) and the window tracery.

The exterior of the church, built from rubble with the exception of buttresses corners and the central apse face, already indicates its remarkable deviation from the standard type of single nave churches on the island. The nave is cubic, box-like and its division into two bays is made obvious by a buttress with drip mould placed in the centre of each lateral wall.

High pointed windows, with two deep chamfers separated by a small step, are placed in the lateral walls, one in the upper part of each bay. The eastern and western walls (which

¹⁰⁸ Schabel 2000. De Vaivre 2006d still claims in 2006 that the austere character of the architecture might corroborate the theory but ultimately admits that it should be rejected in De Vaivre 2012, p 302–306.

¹⁰⁹ Enlart 1899, p 422 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 323: “[...] on the plan normal in the Levant: the church isolated in the centre of a rectangular enclosure surrounded by buildings.”

today possess minute gables but originally seem to have ended horizontally) are occupied by small oculi with simple chamfered frames. A pointed, chamfered window is placed in the central face of the apse; it is the only window with a hood mould. The window fillings of the church itself are all modern, whereas the pointed windows of the narthex show cusped tracery. While the upper part of this tracery is a product of the 1980s restoration, as mentioned above, the prismatic lower parts of the tracery remained attached to the lower arch intrados, testifying to the original presence of a window filling.

The church possesses three portals, the western of which was turned into an internal doorway, when the narthex was built. All portals are structurally identical: they consist of a rectangular doorway, framed by a simple roll moulding; the lintel is supported by corbels with a cavetto moulding and a roll. The arched tympana above are framed by a simple roll as well. The narthex portal was reconstructed in the same design, but this reconstruction is not based on any material evidence.

The interior of the church is covered with rib vaults springing from prismatic triple corbels in the centre of each lateral wall. As a result of this vaulting, unusual for rural Cyprus, the space receives a rhythmic arrangement and is surprisingly bright. While the usual barrel vault did not allow the placement of windows in any kind of clerestory (if not placed in lunette caps, a solution only found in the Panagia of Askeia [43] and the Unidentified Church 18 in Famagusta [76]), the rib vaults created the lateral wall surfaces necessary for the placement of the large pointed windows dominating the exterior. Remarkably, the double chamfered window frames are symmetrical and appear on the inside as well. The low apse, covered by a semicircular vault, is surmounted by a large wall surface above, which is pierced by the above-mentioned oculus. The walls of the nave are plain, the space almost austere, if it was not for the moulded vault ribs: the diagonal ones are composed of a central roll-and-fillet, flanked by slim lateral rolls, hollows and rolls. The transversal arch, which separates the two bays, is slightly simpler. The vault of the very plain narthex interior has been reconstructed as a groin vault. However, not a single stone of this seems to have been preserved. Interestingly, the small lapidary collection in a corner of the narthex includes fragments of vault ribs with a flattened roll-hollow-roll moulding profile apparently not matching that of the church vault. While the origins of these fragments are not clear, one might wonder if the narthex could have originally been rib-vaulted.

The date of the church has been subject of some debate. Enlart, in adhering to his theory that he identified the site of the Beaulieu Monastery, argued that the church must have been built around 1400, a date commonly perpetuated until the most recent research.

However, certain elements such as the portals, already introducing a simple variation of the later dominating portal type of Venetian Cyprus, and the reduced use of 14th century elements, indicates a later date, towards or after the mid-15th century.¹¹⁰ As the region has attestedly suffered from Mamluk attacks in 1425–1426, perhaps the church was built after the situation had settled again – certainly, it was not built before these years. It is thus a good example for the strong retrospectivity of 15th century architecture, which in this case included urban 14th century Gothic elements. However, apart from the portals, there are also structural elements, which reveal a certain idiosyncrasy: the buttresses placed in the middle of the lateral wall are typical for barrel-vaulted churches with one transversal arch. Here, the lateral walls were thinner than in those more common Greek churches. At the same time, the rib vaults also developed diagonal forces pressing against the corners of the nave. In the west, this was corrected with lower, later buttresses placed at the joint with the narthex. In the east, the result was the leaning of the walls, which would have ultimately caused the building to collapse. Thus, while the decorative elements of the 14th century architecture were copied, the structural aspects were neglected – perhaps indicating a master mason, who was not entirely familiar with this way of constructing a church.

The monastic buildings are only preserved in fragments. The most significant remainder is the western portal, pointed with a thick moulded frame and ornamentally decorated imposts. The latter, showing vine scrolls and dentil moulding, unmistakably belong to the 16th century, testifying to a rebuilding phase of the monastery under the Venetians. Perhaps, it was during the same period that the narthex was added, again in a retrospective 14th century architectural language.

¹¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the role of the Stazousa church for the apprehension of 15th century architecture, see chapters 5.1 and 5.4.

LOCALITY: Klavdia	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine (?)
GEO-DATA: 34.892433, 33.514534		CAT. NO: 106
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Klavdia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: oculus in the façade with rich latticework, rectangular window with blind arch above in the eastern gable		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, chamfered with protruding hood mould springing from decorated corbels above a recessed tympanum; northern portal: rectangular, chamfered with sharply moulded corbels carrying the monolithic lintel, protruding hood mould above a recessed tympanum; southern portal: chamfered pointed arch		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches on double quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.41.780, 43.673, 746 (1976); B.47.007–010 (1977).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 15th–early 16th century: erection of the church- after 1571: conversion into a mosque- late 19th century: addition of a northern annexe- 1970s and 2000s: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the western portal tympanum a lion of Saint Mark, in the northern portal tympanum a Virgin Orans. On the interior walls only very small fragments, as most of the paintings have been removed during the conversion. One can recognize a crucifixion in the West, fragments of various Saints, one Saint on the transversal arch, a Man of Sorrows in the prothesis niche. According to ARDAC 2003 early 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 274 ; Bağışkan 2009, p 270. ARDAC 1977, p 17; 1989, p 28; 2002, p 31; 2003, p 26; 2004, p 34–35, fig 8–9.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012; 03.03.2013; 14.12.2014 ¹¹¹		

¹¹¹ I wish to thank Michele Bacci for sharing his photographs of the church interior.

Klavdia, a small village west of Larnaca, possesses an old parish church known by the name of Saint Catherine (in fact, where this convention comes from is unclear). We know that the village was in 1468, together with the fief of Agios Theodoros and Paleometochos, given to the royal doctor Gabriel Gentile.¹¹² After 1571, the village became predominantly Muslim and the church was in use as a mosque, resulting in the addition of a northern annexe in the late 19th century.

The original building is a simple single nave structure with semicircular apse, erected from rubble with few ashlar employed for the building corners and decorative details. The latter are mainly concentrated in the western façade. A rectangular, chamfered doorway is surmounted by a recessed tympanum with protruding hood mould, which rests on two sloped quarter circle corbels with flat ornamental reliefs. A depiction of the lion of Saint Mark occupies the tympanum. The façade gable is decorated with a moulded oculus (filled with detailed tracery of the Ottoman period) and a flagstaff holder. The southern portal is a slender, pointed archway with chamfered jambs. An arch springer above indicated the former presence of a southern porch. The northern portal, today obstructed by an annexe from the Ottoman period, resembles the western one. Here, as well, a rectangular chamfered doorway is surmounted by a recessed, painted tympanum (depicting a Virgin Orans). Unlike in the western portal, here the (monolithic) lintel is carried by two corbels with an irregular, sharply cut moulding profile. The hood mould above is simpler than that of the western portal.

The interior is barrel-vaulted; the transversal arches rest on modified double quarter circle corbels, which show a sequence of roll mouldings framing the quarter circles. Numerous smaller fragments of paintings (most were destroyed after 1571 during the conversion) indicate that the building was once completely covered in a more extensive cycle. Of this, a part of the Crucifixion remains on the western wall, which must have covered the oculus in the gable. As the latter seems not to be a later addition, in turn the paintings (of the mid- 16th century?) must be somewhat later than the church itself.

Based on architectural details such as the northern portal corbels and the vault corbels on the inside, one might date the church to the (early) Venetian period, thus roughly around 1500. The placement of a depiction of the lion of Saint Mark above the entrance might furthermore indicate that originally the church was not dedicated to Saint Catherine, as local memory recounts, but rather to the patron saint of the Serenissima – or the Virgin Mary, occupying the tympanum of the northern entrance.

¹¹² Richard 1983, p 100–101.

LOCALITY: Klepini	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Luke
GEO-DATA: 35.306773, 33.432903		CAT. NO: 107
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the village of Klepini		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: round arched with roll and hollow moulding, profiled windowsill		
PORTALS: northern portal: profiled jambs, horizontal imposts, chevron arch, hood moulding ending in volutes; southern portal: destroyed, except for a profiled hood mould		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches springing from stacked corbels, profiled string course		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J. 21.532–539 (1970).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the original church (today the eastern half of the building)		
- late 19 th century: addition of the eastern bay and bell tower		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 335 [“19 th century”]; Gunnis 1936, p 274[“18 th century”]; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 296–299 [“16 th century”]; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 779–780.		
ARDAC 1969, p 11 [“medieval”]; 1970, p 13;		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2012		

The church of the Apostle Luke, situated in the centre of Klepini, functioned as its parish church until 1974, when it was transformed into a mosque. The village might be "Cleipirio", mentioned by Girolamo Dandini as populated by Maronites in 1596.

The church was dated to the 19th century by Jeffery, to the 18th by Gunnis, both presumably misled by the western extension with bell tower, clearly attributable to the 19th century. However, the eastern half of the church is certainly an ancient building, erected in the Latin period. It is of the common single nave type with semicircular apse and barrel vault, executed in regularly cut ashlar. The architectural sculpture is unusually rich for a modest village church in this part of the island. The most distinctive element on the exterior is the northern portal, with profiled jambs, rectangular horizontal imposts and a slightly pointed archivolt with a chevron moulding. The profiled hood mould ends in small volutes, surely inspired by the so-called 'Syrian cornice' type most prominently displayed by the Latin cathedral in Nicosia. The southern portal is largely destroyed but the simple profiles of hood mould and an arch impost suggest that it was overall simpler than its northern counterpart. The apse window is round arched and surrounded by a smoothly waved hollow and a small roll. The windowsill protrudes and is decorated with a heavy profile, similar to that in Potami [187]. The eastern corners of the church are decorated with engaged colonettes ending at about two thirds of the building's height.

In the interior, the barrel vault is of the usual slightly pointed type, but the two chamfered transversal arches rest on rather unusual stacked corbels. The upper part is formed by a quarter circle profile, the lower part has a pyramidal shape. A string course with a roll and hollow moulding runs along the vault springer and seems to pierce through the back of the corbels. This combination of an unusual corbel type and a continuous string course marking the springing line of the vault is known from two unidentified churches of the 16th century in Famagusta [72, 74].

Thus, the church was undoubtedly built in the Venetian period. The shape of the portal and apse window match this date: even if the motif of the chevron arch and the 'Syrian cornice' are known in Cyprus since the 14th century, both are occasionally used as conscious expressions of a retrospective style in the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Kokkinotrimithia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.153570, 33.196219		CAT. NO: 108

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: west of the village centre surrounded by a modern cemetery

TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse, western annexe

WINDOWS: apse window: chamfered, round arched with 'Syrian' hood mould; oculus with star-shaped latticework

PORTALS: northern nave portal: rectangular, chamfered with recessed tympanum; northern annexe portal: pointed with moulded arch frame

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches on corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder with anthropomorphic decoration

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA D.111 (1936); B.62.581–582 (1982); J.82.794–804 (1996).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the church

- 16th century, second phase (?): western annexe

- 1980s: restored

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 276.

ARDAC 1986, p 20; 1987, p 21; 1988, p 21.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2012; 06.12.2014

The church of the Archangel Michael today serves as cemetery church of Kokkinotrimithia, a village in the plains west of Nicosia. Its origins are unknown and Gunnis' suggestion that it might have been a seigneurial chapel is not based on any evidence.

The building consists of a rather high nave with a three-sided polygonal apse, abutted by two buttresses on each lateral wall, and an evidently later, lower western annexe. It is entirely built from ashlar masonry, that of the eastern part being of the highest possible technical quality. The church is, by standards of rural Cypriot churches, richly decorated with architectural sculpture. Heavy cornices with roll and hollow mouldings run along the nave and apse; drip mouldings articulate the stepped buttresses. The walls themselves are largely plain, emphasizing the quality of the masonry. Only the central apse face and the gable above are pierced by windows. The one in the apse is round arched, chamfered and crowned by a hood mould ending in protruding volutes. The latter is certainly inspired by the 'Syrian cornice' of the hood moulds at the Latin cathedral of Nicosia. A large oculus occupies the eastern gable above the apse; it is filled with star-shaped latticework, which might still be original. The only remaining portal is situated in the middle of the northern façade, framed by the two buttresses. It consists of a rectangular chamfered doorway; two chevron corbels carry the monolithic lintel. The tympanum above is a simple arched recess. A number of further small details seems to belong to the original church as well: several ornamentally decorated waterspouts and a curious flagstaff holder on the western gable, the bottom part of which is decorated with a distorted face of a bearded person.

The western annexe is set against the older western façade and less well built than the original structure. Two heavy impost, decorated with a fluting, which frame the western window, seem to come from the original western portal of the church. The archivolt of this portal now forms the low arch of the northern entrance of the annexe. The maladjustment and differing size of the keystones indicates that the arch was originally slightly larger. Crude *pierres d'attente* to the right of this portal suggest that once a second annexe to the north might have existed.

The interior of the church is barrel-vaulted and rather plain. The corbels of the transversal arches are of unusual shape: they are stacked from pillow-shaped parts and either flat quarter circle profiles or cubic elements. These are unique, but the combination of different geometric shapes for the corbels can also be seen in, among others, the church of Saint Marina in Potamiou [189] or Saint Luke in Klepini [107]. Gunnis reports that the church possessed, in addition to an early iconostasis of 1615, a rood cross with the date 1562, but it was already in a bad state in the 1930s and might long been gone.

Gunnis was surely right in dating the church to the 16th century, even if it lacks the Renaissance elements of the overall comparable church of Saint George in Potami [187], not far from Kokkinotrimithia. However, this must not be a sign that the Archangel Church was built early in the century but might as well be the result of a conscious retrospectivity, most prominently underlined by the hood mould of the apse window. The date at which the western annexe was added is unclear, as it reuses sculptural fragments of the original western portal. Furthermore, its function has to remain open as well. The lack of a western portal surprises and might indicate a very specific situation of access. Was the church perhaps once part of a monastic enclosure? As there are no written sources, and the cemetery inhibits any excavations, the question is not likely to be solved soon.

LOCALITY: Kolossi	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Eustace
GEO-DATA: 34.666154, 32.934572		CAT. NO: 109

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south of the village of Kolossi, immediately to the north of the castle of the Order of Saint John

TYPOLOGY: cross shaped, domed church with nave and two aisles

WINDOWS: round arched

PORTALS: simple pointed arches

VAULTING: barrel vault in the nave, aisles and cross arms, dome over the crossing

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (2 images, ca. 1935); Soteriou 1935, pl 42.

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 12th century: erection of the original, cross-shaped domed church
- 15th–16th century: replacement of western cross arm with longer nave and two aisles
- 18th–19th century: buttresses added

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragmentary remains of an attested oldest painting layer can be found throughout the eastern parts of the church. The most considerable remains belong to a cycle of the 15th century. In the apse vault an archangel, presumably once flanking a Virgin. In the dome a Pantokrator surrounded by his disciples and apostles, a Hetoimasia. In the pendentifs the four evangelists. In the vaults of the cross arms remains of scenes and, unusually in the upper register, saints. On the northern wall a depiction of the church patron Saint Eustace. Small fragments on the western side of the dome drum, facing the nave, and two halos indicate that the latter was decorated again after the enlargement of the church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 693–694 [Enlart 1987, p 502]; Jeffery 1918, p 376; Gunnis 1936, p 279; Papacostas 1999, II, p29. ARDAC 1990, p 26, p 19–20; 1991, p 22; 2000, p 34; 2005, p 37–38.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 31.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.03.2008; 19.04.2009; 25.03.2012

The church of Saint Eustace is situated north of the Castle of the Hospitallers of Saint John, close enough to be mentioned in Enlart's description of this building. In its core it is, as Enlart correctly states, a Byzantine structure. The eastern half of the building remains from the original, cross-shaped building with a dome over the crossing.

For this study, the western expansion is of some interest. During the Latin period, the western cross arm of the original church was taken down and replaced with a barrel-vaulted nave of approximately double height, resulting in the visibility of the dome drum exterior from the main nave. The latter opens up to two aisles with wide, low arches. These aisles, barrel-vaulted and as high as the nave, connect with the former cross arms through two large openings. In the north, the joint between the two phases is clearly visible, while in the south the opening of the large connecting arch seems to have caused the collapse of the western side of the cross arm, which was re-erected together with the aisle. The architecture of the expansion, as interesting as it is from a typological point of view, is very plain: neither on the exterior, with simple pointed portals, nor on the inside are any traces of architectural sculpture. Two octagonal 15th century capitals, already described by Enlart and still preserved in the church, seem to come from a different structure of larger dimensions and higher architectural sophistication.

Any attempt to narrow down the expansion date has to be connected to the dating of the fragmentary painted decoration. While the older layer reaches back to the late 12th or early 13th century, thus coinciding with the erection of the original building, a second layer was executed in the Latin period (Gunnis and the ARDAC suggest the mid-15th century). The most considerable remains are in the dome and the bema area, indicating a rather common overall programme with a Pantocrator in the dome, surrounded by apostles, prophets and a Hetoimasia; as well as the evangelists in the dome pendentifs. Curiously, there is a fragment with two halos on the remaining springer of the western cross arm vault, which seems to have been painted before the cross arm was replaced. This fragment is painted over an older layer, thus presumably belonging to the second phase. On the other hand, the exterior wall of the dome drum above retains fragments of a large scene as well, clearly executed after the new vault was built. There are two possible explanations: either, the easternmost part of the old vault was left intact up to a certain level, painted during the redecoration of the interior, and fell down later on, or there are in fact three painting phases. The latter seems to be more probable. Following this assumption, one might speculate that the western expansion was in fact built after the mid-15th century, if we accept Gunnis' date for the second layer in the crossing area.

LOCALITY: Koma tou Gialou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Anne
GEO-DATA: 35.440473, 34.169974		CAT. NO: 110

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: around 2,5 km east of Komo tou Gialou, not far from the coast in vicinity to ancient caves and a medieval quarry

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: mitred apse window, the others rectangular

PORTALS: [renewed]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches on engaged piers and corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: inscription "M.D. XXXIII DIE XII MARZO" (lost).

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 1533 (?): erection of the original church
- 18th–19th century: western expansion
- 20th century: restoration, concrete grouting and removal of original portals

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 251; Gunnis 1936, p 281; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 256–257.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2010; 23.02.2013

In an unpopulated area east of Koma tou Gialou and south of Vasili lies the now derelict church of Saint Anne. It is built on a stony plateau not far from the seacoast, in immediate vicinity to a large quarry, which seems to have been in use since the Middle Ages. Jeffery and Gunnis still saw the date "MDXXXIII" carved into the walls of the quarry, which is probably lost today, as the quarry is in use again. The same date, with the addition "DIE XII MARZO" was according to both early scholars visible on the wall of the church. Sadly, neither do they specify where exactly the date is inscribed nor do any traces of it remain.

The church is an elongated single nave structure with a small semicircular apse. The exterior is entirely covered in concrete plaster since an unfortunate restoration of the mid-20th century, which left visible nothing more than a rectangular field of the original masonry above the south-eastern doorway. It is well possible that this was the place of the inscription, but even if there seem to be letters, the decay of the surface has progressed too far to read any of it. Other than this, only the mitred apse window and the irregular character of the walls indicate the antiquity of the building. The interior is covered in a pointed, low and wide barrel vault. The improper arch curvature together with a lack of abutment has caused the lateral walls to lean outwards, a progress that will inevitably lead to the collapse of the vault in the near future. Three transversal arches separate the church into four bays. The two western arches rest on flat stepped corbels, while the eastern one springs from large engaged piers with moulded imposts. Apparently, the two western bays with the shallow transversal arches were added during the Ottoman period, at the same time ceramic plates were inserted in the church vault.¹¹³

In spite of the rather archaic character, it seems not impossible that the eastern part of the church was indeed built in 1533 – if we take the recounted inscription for face value. The fact that the date is written in Latin would of course raise the question, for which community it was erected. A connection with the nearby quarry seems evident. Jeffery suggests that this quarry was used for the erection of the Venetian Walls of Famagusta, which could explain the date as well as the necessity of a church in this location. Did it perhaps serve for the workers of the quarry? Presumably, these would have been Greeks and Latins alike. Was the church thus used by both communities? Alternatively, was it built as a Greek church, but on behalf of the Venetian operators of the quarry? The fact that it remained in use as a Greek church throughout the Ottoman period would rather suggest the second.

¹¹³ While in other cases these ceramic plates can be dated and thus help to define the date of their placement in the vault, here only imprints remain in most cases; others are plastered over.

LOCALITY: Koma tou Gialou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.431008, 34.131516		CAT. NO: 111

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the northern part of Koma tou Gialou, on the southern slope of a rather steep hill

TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse (3/8)

WINDOWS: apse window: biforium with thick central pier in pointed blind arch

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with quarter circle corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with four transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA I.15.778–789 (1969).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the original church
- late 19th century: western expansion
- 1960s: restoration of the paintings

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a cycle of high quality, 14th/15th century (Papageorghiou) or 16th century (Gunnis). In the apse a Virgin Orans, flanked by archangels, below bishops. On the apse face a deacon and medallions. In the eastern bay of the nave several saints, an Archangel Michael and a Nativity scene, as well as fragments of Passion scenes. The best-preserved heads were removed after 1974. A detailed description of the paintings in Chotzakoglou 2006, p 111–112 and Chotzakoglou 2010, p 439–442.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 250 [described as “rebuilt”]; Gunnis 1936, p 281; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 111–112; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 248–249; Papageorghiou 2010, p 138–141; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 439–442.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2012

Koma tou Gialou is one of the largest settlements on the Karpas peninsula, strategically situated between the coast and the main traffic route leading towards the eastern part of the peninsula. Most of the numerous churches in the village had already been rebuilt in the 1910s, as described by George Jeffery. The church of Saint Nicholas, overlooking the village centre from an elevated position on the southern flank of a hill to the north, does, however, retain much original substance, despite having been doubled in length in the late 19th century.

The building is of the single nave type and possesses a flat, polygonal apse. The removal of the plaster in the eastern parts has revealed that the masonry consists of ashlars of rather large format. The walls are largely plain; details such as the cornice were renewed – the original southern portal and apse window remain. The portal is a simple rectangular doorway with semicircular corbels carrying the lintel. The apse window, in contrast, is unique. It consists of a small biforate opening with a heavy central column, resting on top of a string course dividing the unusually high apse in two zones. A large part of the central apse face is occupied by a pointed blind arch, springing from the string course as well and framing the biforium. The interior is more common, even if here the proportions are unusually steep as well. The pointed barrel vault is supported by transversal arches, which – in the original eastern part – rest on double quarter circle corbels. Fragments of a once rich painted programme adhere to the apse and the walls and vault of the eastern bays. Much of what remained in the 1960s, when first restorations were undertaken, was damaged or destroyed after 1974. Nevertheless, one can determine central iconographic elements: a Virgin Orans flanked by archangels in the apse vault, below a row of bishops, on the apse front a deacon to the north and fragmentary medallions. On the nave arches, several saints are discernible, while in between the arches scenes from the life of Christ must have been placed – only a Nativity remains. The Archangel Michael on the northern nave wall is defaced, as well as the standing saints next to him.

Gunnis dated the paintings, which constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the church, to the 16th century, while Papageorgiou suggests the 14th or 15th century. As the architectural elements of the church are either very generic and common or unique, in the case of the apse window, it is not possible to reach a much more precise date through these. Nevertheless, one might suggest a rather later date, perhaps in the late 15th century, based on the creative combination of forms and the polygonal shape of the apse.

LOCALITY: Koma tou Gialou

DISTRICT: Famagusta

DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas the
Small (Agios Nikoloudi)

GEO-DATA: [not located]

CAT. NO: 112

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: west of Koma tou Gialou

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: apse window: round arched slit

PORTALS: [renewed]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: —

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:- 16th century (?): erection of the chapel- 20th century: addition of a concrete porch

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 251 [considered to be "rebuilt"]; Gunnis 1936, p 281; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 255.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]

The second church of Saint Nicholas in Koma tou Gialou stands on the hills west of the village.¹¹⁴ To distinguish it from the larger homonymous church in the centre, it had been given the name of 'Agios Nikoloudi' in local tradition.

The church is of very small dimensions, a single cell structure with a semicircular apse and a barrel vault. The architecture is entirely plain and devoid of any sculptural elements. The vertical step in the northern wall might indicate a later repair of its western half, but the thick plaster inhibits any further assessment.

There is a certain preference for this simple building type in rural Cyprus in the 16th century. Thus, Gunnis' suggestion that the church might have been erected in this period seems at least probable.

¹¹⁴ It was not possible to locate the church with the available map material.

LOCALITY: Komi Kebir	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Afxentios
GEO-DATA: 35.412575, 33.999856	CAT. NO: 113	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: east of the village of Komi Kebir

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: three apse windows and western gable window round arched

PORTALS: [renewed]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault of differing height

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.6572 (1974).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Middle Byzantine period: erection of a first church of uncertain shape and date, perhaps changed in subsequent phases
- 14th or 15th century: replacement of the main nave with the current single nave church
- 15th or 16th century: renewal of the vault of the central bays and the southern wall
- 1859: restoration, addition of porches and bell tower, replacement of western façade, probably changes on the inside
- 2014: restoration (walls grouted, plaster removed, steel tie beams inserted)

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of two layers uncovered during the 2014 restoration. The older layer with a zigzag-pattern presumably of the late 12th century, the younger layer, including fragments of a donor depiction, dated to the 16th century by the committee responsible for the restoration. The available pictorial documentation does not allow for a location of all fragments. The donor depiction on the eastern wall of the southern recess in the western bay.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 281–282; Hadjichristodoulou 2010a, p 406–407; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 457–458.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 31.03.2010; 04.04.2012; [04.10.2014]¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ I wish to thank Andreas Mauersberger for sharing his photographs taken during the most recent restoration.

East of Komi Kebir, a village on the crossroads of the two main connection routes towards the Karpas peninsula, lies the church of Saint Afxentios. The legend of this rather obscure saint is closely connected with the specific site, as Gunnis recounts. According to the legend, Afxentios was one of the '300', a group of saints whose members apparently were found all over the island, often living as hermits. The body of the saint, according to Gunnis, was discovered in his hermitage near Davlos by villagers from Komi Kebir and Eptakomi, who strived to settle the question, where it should be venerated, by letting an oxen decide. The animal pulled the cart with the saint's body to the ancient church of Saint Mavra near Komi Kebir. When the villagers of Eptakomi were reluctant to accept this decision, the saint is said to have risen from the cart and declared his wish to be buried here.

Even if this legend is evidently not to be taken for face value, the information that a new church was built in honour of the saint and his "body [...] placed in a small chamber in the roof above the central archway" is of some interest for the interpretation of the unusual shape of the church. The building as it presents itself today is a single nave church with an unusually wide semicircular apse, flanked by an open arched porch on the west and south and surmounted by a bell tower in the north-west. Porches and bell tower are additions of an 1859 restoration, during which the western façade was replaced as well (indicated by a vertical joint immediately to the east of the façade in the southern wall).

The current nave is evidently the result of multiple renovation phases, which are almost impossible to disentangle.¹¹⁶ The southern wall possesses two portals, one rectangular, one segment arched. The upper part is slightly set back and sloping, without that the structure of the masonry, assembled from ashlar and rubble, would allow for a precise sequence of phases. The northern wall, in contrast, is largely built from ashlar. Those in the lower zone are set irregularly and are of occasionally surprisingly large format. The western half of the wall includes three arches, two of which disturbed by a 19th century window. In the west, above these arches, the springer of a barrel vault is discernible. Above, the masonry is more regular and the ashlar of a smaller format. The eastern half with the largest ashlar ends in a vertical joint around one metre west of the building corner. From there on, smaller ashlar layers, which match those of the apse, continue. The apse is entirely made from ashlar of a medium size, except for two layers of large ashlar above the three round arched windows, which run across two thirds of the apse, ending in a vertical joint west of the southern apse window. The layers above comprise the whole apse and include some irregular stones and smaller ashlar, crowned by a simple cornice. The south-eastern corner is marked by a buttress, made of the same material but apparently added later.

¹¹⁶ When the author visited the building for this study, the walls were still covered in plaster. The removal of the latter in 2014 facilitates the assessment of the masonry, but no full photographic documentation of the new state was available.

The interior is dominated by a low and deep pointed arch, separating an almost square western bay from the rest of the nave. The western bay is covered by simple, high barrel vault; the lateral wall contain large arched recesses. The barrel vault of the eastern section of the nave rests on two irregularly curved transversal arches, the western one springing from clumsy quarter circle corbels, the eastern one from engaged, flat wall piers. The latter are marked by vertical joints to their east, where the wall continues on the same layer. In this wall, there are two large, deep recesses, the northern of which is built against the older ashlar wall. From the inside, the arches included in the northern wall are visible as well, testifying to the fact that they were once open and not purely decorative. To the east of the engaged piers, on which the second transversal arch rests, arch springers pointing towards the apse became visible in the recent restoration. They do not accord with the lower pointed arches forming recesses in the lateral walls of the easternmost bay. In this bay, there is a string course above the recesses and the wall layer is around 25 cm behind that of the central two bays. The apse itself is slightly misaligned with the eastern bay, resulting in a step on the northern side, while the southern apse wall immediately connects to the wall of the nave.

Due to the numerous building joints, the building sequence is somewhat blurry. The walled up arcades included in the northern wall seem to be among the earliest parts of the building. They might have been part of an early (late antique?) basilica or suggest a barrel-vaulted aisle, added onto an early predecessor of the current nave. The parts of the northern wall, which include large ashlars, might be of this or another early phase as well. Perhaps, these are the traces of the legendary church of Saint Mavra, where Saint Afxentios wished to be buried and venerated. His tomb was then apparently placed in the wall above the low, deep arch between the western bay and the nave, if we believe Gunnis' description. This would match the material evidence, as indeed this arch, together with the western bay, seems to have been erected in the next phase. This might have taken place during the Latin period, perhaps the 14th century. One might speculate, if in the same phase, the apse (and the adjoining walls) were erected, perhaps using older foundations and building material. The central bays were renewed at a later point, presumably in the 16th century.

Apart from the complex building history, in particular the unusual architectural frame for the veneration of the patron saint is of interest. The placement in the arch above the western bay allowed for a practice of passing below the relic, which is rather known from Western Europe. In this process, according to common belief, the saint's blessing would 'drop' onto the passing pious visitors.

LOCALITY: Komi Kebir	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Onoufrios
GEO-DATA: 35.421579, 33.976079		CAT. NO: 114
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the southern slope of the Pentadaktylos hills, overlooking the valley of Komi Kebir		
TYPOLOGY: ruined single nave structure with apse (?), narthex of a single bay.		
WINDOWS: narthex: simple slit window		
PORTALS: narthex, southern portal: rectangular doorway with separate semicircular tympanum above		
VAULTING: narthex: groin vault; naos: unknown		
MISCELLANEOUS: a carved cross on the western façade		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA A. 6597–6601 (1973).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- Middle Byzantine period: erection of the church		
- 14 th century (?): addition of the narthex		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
A plaster fragment in the south-eastern corner of the narthex seems to have depicted a saint with halo, but the colours are too blackened to make any further statement.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Chotzakoglou 2006; p 116; Yapicioğlu 2007, I, p 276–278; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 455.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.02.2013		

The small church of Saint Onoufrios, a rather uncommon patron saint in Cyprus, lies on half height of the northern slope of the Pentadaktylos mountain range and overlooks the valley of Komi Kebir.

Today partly buried under shrubs and bushes, the church consists of a single nave naos and a square, single bay narthex.¹¹⁷ The naos probably terminated in an apse, the remains of which are covered in vegetation and debris today. A round arch cut from a single stone seems to belong to the original eastern window. The nave was barrel-vaulted and slightly lower than the narthex, as is shown by the vault springers on the remaining northern wall of the naos.

The narthex, built from rough ashlar and rubble (for the upper parts), is much better preserved and retains its groin vault. Its northern wall is pierced by a small slit window; the southern wall contains a rectangular portal, surmounted by a semicircular tympanum. The western and eastern arms of the groin vault are not walled up. In the east, this is probably due to the fact that the original western wall and portal of the naos were preserved and kept visible. The solution for the western end is less easily explicable: here a neat ashlar arch, built in an unusual stretcher-header technique, terminates the vault and suggests that the opening was this large from the outset. Horizontal incisions on the level of the arch springers indicate a wooden closure, which might have been installed later. Curiously, a carved cross has been placed on the inner southern face of the arch, below the horizontal incision. It has the shape of a *cross pattée alésée*, a shape that was not uncommon within crusading communities. While it could be connected to the Knights Templars, who used a whole range of different crosses in their heraldry, the same shape can be found on the 14th century Armenian church in Famagusta.¹¹⁸

The original function and precise date of building of the church is not known, as no source mentions the church. The naos is not datable and probably belongs to the Middle Byzantine period; its remains indicate a common, very modest structure that might have served a small rural community. The narthex, however, could indicate a change of use when it was built. Only few rural churches in Cyprus received an elaborate narthex in this period. Even if the southern portal and the small window are rather similar to Middle Byzantine solutions than those of the Latin period, the use of groin vaults to some extent indicates a post-1300 date. The shape of the cross symbol is uncommon outside of the urban centres and its presumable Crusader context also hints towards the 13th or 14th century.

¹¹⁷ Old photographs from 1973, kept in the DOA archive, show that the overall state of the ruin was still reasonably better then.

¹¹⁸ On the crosses of the Armenian church see Grigoryan forthcoming.

Nevertheless, it has to remain open if there was indeed a connection with the Knights Templars, who held the coastal castle of Gastria, just 10 km away, until 1308.¹¹⁹ It seems perhaps more plausible that the church could have gained importance as a wayside chapel on a route connecting the Karpas peninsula with the Kantara castle, held by the Lusignan throughout their reign and profoundly renewed in 1391.¹²⁰ Indeed, the *cross pattée* was used occasionally in Lusignan coinage, probably going back to 12th century coins of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Any connection with the Armenian community in Cyprus, in contrast, seems to be too far-fetched, especially as the context in which the crosses on the Armenian church were carved is unclear as well. In any case, the narthex was most likely built at some point during the 14th century.

¹¹⁹ Most recently Petre 2010, p 203–206.

¹²⁰ Most recently Petre 2010, p 131–141.

LOCALITY: Koroveia	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: [not located]	CAT. NO: 115	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north-west of Koroveia, in an unpopulated area

TYPOLOGY: single nave (?)

WINDOWS: [?]

PORTALS: [?]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th century: erection of the church
- Ottoman period: disused, fell into ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of equestrian saints described by Chotzakoglou 2010, p 457.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Chotzakoglou 2010, p 457; Hadjichristodoulou 2010a, p 175.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not located]¹²¹

¹²¹ The church was not locatable during the research for this study. The discussion relies on the few published images.

Korovia, today a small village in the southern area of the Karpas peninsula, must have been of some importance in the later Latin period. It is known to have been part of a fief together with Exo Galiporni (Galinoporni) and Maserkoma, possessed by Marco Piazzenti in 1468, but it fell back to the Royal Domain in the 16th century.¹²² Of the six churches attested to have existed in and around the village, already George Jeffery only became aware of three, "a chapel of St. Anna and two other small shrines, all in ruins."¹²³ Today, the most considerable remains can be found at the site of the 7th–8th century church of Saint Barbara, south of the village, and of the church of Saint Mamas, to the north-west of the village centre.

The latter was apparently a rubble built single nave church of the usual barrel-vaulted type. The northern wall remains, showing two arch springers on quarter circle corbels. The plaster adhering to the inner wall surface is bleached by the sun, but apparently shows traces of two painted saints, one of which might be Saint Mamas riding the lion. The church was presumably erected in the 15th or early 16th century.

¹²² Richard 1983, p 199.

¹²³ Jeffery 1918, p 260.

LOCALITY: Kouka	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Holy Cross
GEO-DATA: 34.851952, 32.886842	CAT. NO: 116	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north of the village centre

TYPOLOGY: cross shaped with polygonal apse, small room in the north-east corner

WINDOWS: rectangular and segment-arched

PORTALS: pointed arches with roll moulding, profiled imposts; southern portal with hood mould on decorated corbels

VAULTING: barrel vaults in the cross arms, rib vault on corner corbels in the crossing

MISCELLANEOUS: arched recesses in the cross arms, partly round arched, partly pointed

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 49–50.

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 12th century: erection of the original cross-shaped church

- 15th–16th century: remodelled (portals, western cross arm elongated, new vault above crossing, new apse)

- 1957, 1975: restored

PAINTED DECORATION:

Considerable remains of a larger Passion cycle in the southern cross arm, various saints and a Dormition in the northern cross arm. In the northern recess of the western cross arm an Archangel Michael, painted over an older depiction of the same motif. The older layer presumably from the 12th century, the younger (14th)–15th. A more detailed description in Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 235.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1916, p 123; Jeffery 1918, p 361; Gunnis 1936, p 284–285; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 235; Papacostas 1999, II, p 42–43; Olympios 2015b, p 423–424.

ARDAC 1957, p 11; 1975, p 16; 1993, p 23–24, fig 7–8; 1998, p 31, fig 14–15; 2001, p 38.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Jeffery 1916, fig 14 (erroneous, partly omitting the lateral recesses).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 11.04.2010; 29.03.2012; 19.12.2014 [only exterior]

The church of the Holy Cross in Kouka holds one of the most venerated relics of Cyprus: the sawdust created when Helena ordered the Cross of Christ to be cut into pieces. This relic was kept in a 12th century iron cross, now in the Cyprus Medieval Museum.¹²⁴ Presumably in the same period, the present church was erected on a cross-shaped plan. This typologically unusual decision has been interpreted as a symbolically meaningful manifestation of the content of the church in its shape, but there is no actual evidence for this assumption.

In the context of this study, it is of relevance that the Middle Byzantine church was thoroughly remodelled during the Latin period. While the lateral walls of the cross arms were largely preserved, the western cross arm was doubled in length with an additional western bay. The joint is very obvious, as there are vertical steps in the northern and southern walls of the western cross arm. Unlike the northern and southern cross arms, the corners of the new bay, despite being built from irregular rubble masonry, are accentuated with large ashlar. The same technique was used for the polygonal, three-sided apse, and the rectangular room inserted in the corner between the northern and eastern cross arms, which are, in consequence, a product of the same phase of remodelling. The three portals of the church, placed in the façades of the cross arms, seem to originate from this phase as well. They are rather large, pointed arches framed by a simple roll moulding. The roll moulding is interrupted at the level of the arch springer by profiled imposts (with a roll-hollow-roll moulding). Above the southern portal, there is a deep, flat hood mould, springing from two frontal quarter circle corbels with very strange ornamental decoration. The left corbel shows two doughy, curved rolls, while the right one is stepped on the sides and decorated with a cross, a distorted face or skull and a round knob.

On the inside, the changes have been less obvious, even if some of the lateral recesses, originally round arched, were changed into pointed ones. The most conspicuous change was certainly the insertion of a rib vault above the crossing, presumably replacing the former dome.¹²⁵ The heavy ribs rest on corbels placed in the corners above the arches leading to the cross arms. In general, this arrangement somewhat reminds of the cross vault in the church of Saint Philipp in Arsos [42], there perhaps reconstructed in the 19th century.

The date for the remodelling of the church in Kouka should be sought in the later Latin period. While the earlier layer of paintings in the church dates the original building to before the 12th century, the second layer, including a Passion cycle, was created in the 15th century.

¹²⁴ Charles-Gaffiot 1991, p 106, 187.

¹²⁵ Indeed, Jeffery and Gunnis speak of a dome, but this is presumably a *lapsus* of Jeffery, later copied by Gunnis.

Even if it largely remains in those parts of the cross arms, which belong to the original structure, they might have been part of the same campaign of remodelling as the changes of the architecture. The fact that not only portals were replaced and the church enlarged, but also a new apse and crossing vault erected, suggests that the church had fallen into ruin at this point. In particular, domes tend to be preserved, even with considerable amount of additional work, during mere enlargement projects, as they often contained the most important part of the painted decoration. Thus, a partial collapse of the church would have made the repainting necessary as well. The character of the portals (with the very inventive decoration of the hood mould) and the polygonal shape of the apse would corroborate the 15th century date for the remodelling of the church.

LOCALITY: Kouklia	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Katholiki
GEO-DATA: 34.707204, 32.575090		CAT. NO: 117
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the village centre of Kouklia, north of the fortified Covocle mansion within the former premises of the ancient temple site		
TYPOLOGY: cross shaped with elongated western and eastern cross arms, semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: round arched, in the western façade an oculus with a cross-shaped inset.		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, chamfered with chevron corbels holding the monolithic lintel, profiled hood mould; southern and northern portals: rectangular with square book corbels		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch west of the central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: 3 photographs in the Gunnis Archive, Leeds, Box 13 (ca. 1930); DOA F.923 (1951); B. 8232–8236 (1958); B.8721–8725 (1959); B. 36.355–360, J.28.222–227 (1974).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 13th–14th century (?): erection of the original cross-shaped church- 15th–16th century: replacement of the western cross arm- 18th century (?): open porch and enclosure- 1958, 1990s: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Considerable parts of a painted decoration remain, including a Saint George, a Birth of the Virgin, and a Christ Pantokrator in the dome. Of a Last Judgement on the western wall only depictions of Eufrat and Tigris remain. The paintings have been dated to the 15 th century previously (Emmanuel 1999, p 244–245), but might also be of the 16 th century. Only fragments can be found of an earlier layer, among which a Saint Therapon of the 14 th century (?). For a more detailed description see Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 395–396, who wrongly date the whole cycle to the 14 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 397; Gunnis 1936, p 290; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 395–396; Dometios 2007, p 131–134. ARDAC 1990, p 31; 1991, p 27; 1993, p 27; 2002, p 43; 2004, p 48–49, fig 39–40; 2008, p 37, fig 52–55.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, fig 25.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2008; 29.03.2012; 02.03.2013		

The church of the Panagia Katholiki occupies the northern end of the large plateau south of the village of Kouklia, on which also the Covocle Mansion and the archaeological site of the ancient temples of Kouklia / Palaiapafos are located. Around the church, there are foundations of further buildings and a portal belonging to a larger enclosure, which suggests the former presence of a monastery around the building. The church itself is surrounded by the remains of an arched porch on its southern and western flank, presumably erected in the Ottoman period together with the above-mentioned monastic enclosure.

The church itself is an elongated cross-shaped structure with short lateral cross arms, evoking the effect of a dome-hall building. It is easily recognizable that the western half replaced the original western cross arm at some point. The cross-shaped eastern half remains from the original building, variously dated to the Middle Byzantine period. Indeed, churches built in the uncommon cross-shaped type usually go back to the 12th or 13th century, and the lack of architectural sculpture in the entire eastern part of the Panagia Katholiki as well as the irregular ashlar masonry would not speak against this early date. However, as the Panagia in Chlorakas [52] and the Saint Kyriaki in Pafos [163] show, cross-shaped churches were erected in the Pafos region up until the 15th or even 16th century. Perhaps one might consider if the layer of paintings dated to the 14th century is not part of a later decoration, but in fact contemporaneous with the erection of the original church. In any case, what surprises is the length of almost 5,5 m of the eastern cross arm surprises (this is only matched by Saint Kyriaki in Pafos), while the earlier cross-shaped churches possess cross arms of almost equal lengths. It has to remain open, if this peculiarity is rather indicating a specific date in the Latin period or a certain function of the church, which necessitated a larger eastern cross arm.

The western half of the structure is a two bays long, barrel-vaulted extension, replacing the original western cross arm of uncertain size. It is erected from ashlar of varying size, certainly reused building material from the abundance of ruined structures nearby. Unlike in the eastern part, marble *spolia* found their way into the masonry, most considerably a plaque with a part of a geometric relief to the south of the western portal. The portal itself consists of a rectangular doorway with chevron corbels and a simple profiled hood mould above the lintel. The lateral portals are rectangular as well, but show a 'square' variation of the Famagustan book-corbels. The latter indicate a late 15th–16th century date for the expansion phase, presumably including the creation of the second layer of paintings (in the dome and western bays) as well. Details, such as the gargoyles in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic shape (the one in the north depicts a pig) indicate a certain closeness to urban architectural concepts and are very uncommon for a rural church of this period.

LOCALITY: Kyra	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.202412, 33.063371		CAT. NO: 118
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the village of Kyra, built above a spring		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: [replaced]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the original church		
- 1879: largely rebuilt		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 307.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible] ¹²⁶		

¹²⁶ The description is based on a set of exterior pictures taken by an anonymous Turkish soldier, who was stationed in the garrison, which surrounds the village of Kyra.

Little seems to remain of the old church of the Panagia in Kyra. As Gunnis states, most of the church was replaced with a new single nave building of three bays in 1879. Of the old church, mainly the northern wall with two massive buttresses, sloped in their upper part, remains. Perhaps, the lower parts of the apse might go back to the same period. The remaining wall is incorporated into the current northern wall, of which it forms the eastern half. If any part of the original vaulting is left, has to remain open, as the church is currently situated within a military garrison and only exterior photographs were available.

The documented northern wall is made from very regular ashlar masonry, which suggests a date in the Latin period, presumably the 15th or 16th century. The only distinctive feature, which remains on the exterior, is a pointed arch in the eastern bay, placed half below ground level. This might have been connected to the spring, described by Gunnis, over which the church was built – a similar arch can be seen at the Panagia Diakonousa in Prastio [190], which as well contained a venerated spring. The context of the spring certainly caused the unusual location of the church, in the eastern outskirts of the village. Presumably, the church served as votive shrine and was only made parish in 1879, when the old parish church of Saint Stephen [XXX] in the centre had fallen into ruin.

LOCALITY: Kyra	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint George Rigates
GEO-DATA: 35.226276, 33.090008		CAT. NO: 119
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a steep plateau between the villages of Kyra and the abandoned settlement of Dyo Potami		
TYPOLOGY: two naves, the southern with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Description by Vasily Barsky of 1735, in Grishin 1996, p 36–38; mentioned in Ross 1852, p 155.		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Vasily Barsky of 1735 (in Grishin 1996, fig 9); DOA A.2243–2248 (1946); B.6923–6925 (1955); B.7081–7083 (1956); B.10.705–706 (1960s?); B.28.265, J.20.967–970 (1970).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Middle Byzantine period: erection of a cross-in-square church- Middle Byzantine period, second phase: western narthex added- 15th–16th century: addition of a northern nave- ca. 1900: collapse of the church, subsequent rebuilding, retaining some of the older walls		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of saints in the southern nave.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 223 [wrongly attributing the sources to the village church of Kyra]; Gunnis 1936, p 307; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 616–619; Papageorgiou 2010, p 186–188.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible]		

The monastery of Saint George Rigates is one of the most ancient monastic foundations of Cyprus. As described by Papageorgiou, Patrikios Nikitas dedicated a codex to the monastery in 971, attesting to its existence and considerable importance at this point. Further mentions in the Venetian period attest to its continuous existence, even if the importance must have been rather moderate. The most important source relating to the monastery is the report of Vasily Barsky of 1735, who visited the monastery during his fourth visit to the island and described the site in some detail as well as adding a rough drawing of the buildings. Barsky states that the monastery was very poor at this time, surrounded by a low wall and the monastic buildings only half-finished, after the building process had been interrupted by the Ottoman conquest of 1571. The value of this source for the study of the architecture of the church lies in the fact that the original church, already described as on the verge of collapse in 1735, indeed crumbled down in around 1900. It was subsequently replaced, not without including substantial parts of its predecessor.

Barsky's description speaks of "splendid gates of the monastery", which might, according to his drawing, refer to the western wing of the monastic enclosure.¹²⁷ Here, he shows a single storey structure, with a flat roof, which appears to be an open porch with an arcade of five arches to the west and one arch to the south. The arches are, except for the corner, supported by slim columns. The adjoining southern wall of the compound has only small windows and it is flanked by a series of high buttresses. Other than this, the monastic buildings seem to consist of undecorated houses in the north-west, a wooden porch to the north and some enclosures with goats to the east. Of all this, only a part of the southern wall with the south-western corner of the 'loggia' remains, but its arches seem to have been replaced by rubble walls already in the 19th century. Furthermore, there are modest rubble-built walls to the north, perhaps part of the original enclosure.

When it comes to the church, Barsky speaks of "two small churches, which were built joined together". He describes one of these as domeless, derelict and not in use for services, while the other was in better state, surmounted by a dome and still held services. According to the Russian traveller, there were doorways to the north, south and west and the church had a narthex with a large semicircular stair. The first information is interesting, as it seems that the churches were indeed only connected by a small doorway instead of forming one common space. Barsky then continues to remark, on the inside again, that the "whole church from top to bottom is covered with icon painting, and the floor is paved with marble. The vault is supported on four beautiful marble columns", which are about 3 m high. From

¹²⁷ The quotes from Barsky's text here and below in Grishin 1996, p 36–38.

this description, one can reconstruct a cross-in-square church, which fits the building depicted as southern church in the drawing. Curiously, the cross shaped roof with the central dome is depicted over the western half of this southern church, while there is a transversal roof in the east, somehow resembling a transept. Round arched doorways are placed in the western façade, including the described stairs, and the southern front of the 'transept'. Despite his poor abilities in drawing, Barsky apparently always made sure to include the elements described in his text. Thus, this divergence between text and depiction surprises. Nevertheless, we might assume an error of the drawing in this case, as a western narthex with transversal roof is much more probable than an eastern transept. Much less information is given about the northern church, which has not caught the interest of the traveller due to the lack of painted decoration and liturgical furnishings. The drawing mainly shows the façade, but provides interesting additional aspects. The façade is occupied by a large round arched portal, above which an oculus with tracery is placed. On top of the gable, there are three piers, which certainly constituted the lower part of a belfry. This design reminds of some churches in Famagusta and closely resembles the structure, which one can also reconstruct for the nearby Monastery of the Prophet Elijah [2]. Unlike the southern church, the façade of the northern church is clearly depicted as an ashlar built structure.

On a brief glimpse, not much appears to remain from all this, except for the disposition of the church with two naves. Today, both naves are similar in size, the western front surmounted by a double round arched gable, behind which a barrel vault in the north, a groin vault in the south develop. However, a closer examination reveals that much of the northern half of the façade accords well with the drawing: it is built from ashlar and an oculus with (destroyed) tracery is placed in the gable. The top of the gable is renewed, but two anthropomorphic gargoyles and the bottom half of a flagstaff holder remain. The portal has been walled up with rubble masonry (visible in one place, where the partial concrete plaster has fallen off) and replaced with a flat niche, presumably intended as frame for an icon. The southern half of the façade is ashlar-built as well, but the stone formats are smaller. Its decoration is typical for the period around 1900, when it was completely renewed. What does remain, however, is the semicircular flight of stairs, which still leads up to the main portal. The difference in age of the two façade parts can also be perceived in the corner buttresses: the northern one is lower and sloped towards the façade, while the southern one is very regular and reaches up to the string course of the nave. The entire southern front is abutted by such regular buttresses; windows and portals in between are new as well. In the east, a polygonal apse ends the southern nave, while the northern one

does not possess an own apse. Just as for the southern front, the outer face of the walls looks entirely renewed, even if the plaster does not allow for a precise assessment of all parts. The northern front of the church, in contrast, is rather unusual. While both corners show the same type of sloped buttresses, the wall in between is abutted by a protruding double blind arch, resting on engaged piers. To the west of this, the masonry is clearly made from regular ashlar, while the infill of the eastern arch seems to be a rubble/ashlar mixture. Nevertheless, it seems very probable that the entire northern wall remains of the original church.

Unfortunately, the interior is not very well documented in photographs. It seems to be a rather simple but lofty space, the two naves being separated by a row of three marble columns with flat capitals reminding of inverted column bases. Almost surely, these columns are the very ones described by Barsky as holding the dome of the southern church. A fourth column fragment serves as altar table stand. The shape of these columns suggest that they were already used as *spolia*, when the original church was built, and perhaps came from the remains of a Late Antique structure in the vicinity. Fragments of paintings were preserved on the southern wall of the nave, indicating that in fact only the outer shell of this wall was renewed in around 1900. Other than this, only the vault ribs are not covered in plaster, but their simple shape (rectangular profile in the northern nave, simple roll moulding in the southern nave, quarter circle corbels) does not indicate whether any of the stones come from the original building.

While only a future restoration of the complex, together with a removal of the plaster, could shed further light on the amount of original fabric preserved in today's building, the current knowledge allows for some speculation concerning the date of the two churches. Barsky considered the northern one to be older, but this was certainly due to its worse state of preservation. In fact, there can be little doubt that the cross-in-square church was built in the Middle Byzantine period, as this type is very rare after the Latin occupation of the island. The painted fragments were not dated before 1974 and seem to have been destroyed in the aftermath. The northern church, respectively aisle, is certainly not earlier than the 14th century, as indicated by the technical quality of the ashlar masonry visible in the façade and the small remains of sculptural decoration. Most likely, it was built during the same period as the church of the Prophet Elijah monastery, towards the end of the 15th or the early 16th century. One might speculate, if the church was in fact the first stage of a larger scale remodelling started in the early Venetian period, which only progressed slowly and came to a halt in 1571. It seems obvious that, when there was not enough funding and,

due to a small monastic community, no need for a large church, that the focus was placed on the upkeep of the *katholikon*, so the more ancient domed church with the paintings. 160 years of neglect would have certainly been sufficient to transform a new building of the Venetian period into a derelict semi-ruin, if 40 years of neglect since 1974 were enough to create a similar status for the entire church.

Finally, it should be remarked that Barsky's description and image also provide some interesting insight into the surroundings of the monastic complex and the life of the monks. The monastery is built above a natural cave, which was apparently shown to visitors as a curiosity. While described as to the west of the complex, the drawing shows two entrances, one in the west and a larger one in the east of the cliff. The spring, which supplied the monastery with water, seems to have possessed a barrel-vaulted stone enclosure, visible in the foreground. Indeed, in exactly this position, there are remains of a structure with a pointed arch worked from two ashlar, which might have been a fountain once. Presumably, this is the building referred to by Gunnis as 'medieval ruin, perhaps a watch-tower or block-house'.

LOCALITY: Kyrenia	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 35.341053, 33.319941		CAT. NO: 120
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the junction of two narrow lanes in the historic centre south of Kyrenia harbour		
TYPOLOGY: nave with southern aisle on trapezoidal plan, flat apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: northern portal: rectangular, profiled doorway, flanked by engaged colonettes, carrying heavy foliage capitals and a profiled archivolt		
VAULTING: unvaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: anthropomorphic relief		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Photograph of Camille Enlart (1896), in: De Vaivre 2012, p 245.		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 16th century: erection of a first building on the same site- 1783 (?): replaced by northern nave of current building, using old materials- 19th century (?): addition of the southern aisle		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 238–239 [Enlart 1987, p 201]; Jeffery 1918, p 317; Gunnis 1936, p 127; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 267–271; Papageorgiou 2010, p 201–204; De Vaivre 2012, p 245.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 05.04.2010		

Hidden in the narrow streets south of Kyrenia harbour, one finds the oldest church building of the village centre. Today a roofless ruin, the very simple structure consists of two naves of differing size and irregular ground plan. They were unvaulted, thus the interior is exposed to the influences of rain and sun since the loss of the roof in the 20th century, almost entirely destroying the iconostasis of 1783. This iconostasis is presumably contemporary with the nave of the current building, the southern aisle of which was added subsequently. Nevertheless, the church is of some importance for this study, as it contains significant remains of its medieval predecessor.

The masonry of the church seems to consist of reused medieval ashlar, but their mixture with rubble, equalizing the differences between the stone layers, and the overall poor alignment make it improbable, that much of the fabric of the original church was incorporated in situ in the 18th century – except for (presumably) the foundations. There remain, however, considerable fragments of the sculptural decoration, the most important being the northern portal, already described by Camille Enlart in 1899. The portal includes a rectangular doorway with a framing quirk and hollow profile. This doorway is framed on both sides by engaged colonettes, which protrude from the wall surface. Here, a technical aspect surprises: the colonettes consist of two halves, worked as circular columns and embedded in a matching channel carved into the ashlar behind. The two components of the colonette were held in place by nothing more than plaster, and presumably small bolts in the middle, where the channel was interrupted. The eastern colonette itself has vanished since the early 20th century, revealing this curious late interpretation of an *en-défilé* technique. The two colonettes supported heavy capitals with differing structure and decoration. The eastern one shows two rows of foliage and an octagonal abacus, while the western one is decorated with ornamentally interpreted buds and framed by a profile running along the backside and turning into the abacus. From these capitals springs the single semicircular archivolt, here rather functioning as a hood mould, which shows a profile sequence of hollow, roll with fillet, hollow and a thick outer roll. A foliage finial concludes the arrangement. Jeffery and Enlart furthermore refer to two inverted capitals forming the colon bases, which are below street level today. Certainly, this portal is assembled from or rather complemented with elements coming from different parts of the former building. The doorway itself and the adjoining colonettes presumably belong together, as the channel for the colonettes is part of the ashlar forming the doorjambs. The eastern capital might also be part of this original portal, while the western one, with its backside profile ending in mid-air, seems to have come from a different portal or tomb niche. The same is

presumably true for the two lost capitals reused as bases. The archivolt might or might not have come from the same portal, but its finial rather evokes the impression of an elaborate corbel, due to its rectangular shape.

Three further, decontextualized fragments adorn the building and its surroundings. Next to the portal there is a large 19th century window, the upper frame of which is surmounted by a horizontal drip mould showing an inverted bell profile. Furthermore, there is a relief of a small crucifixus with the body of Christ. Finally, the corner of the Ottoman period house right across the street is adorned with a reused relief of a standing figure, above a polygonal corbel.

While the age of the latter is uncertain, the window frame certainly dates to the Venetian period. This matches well the evidence of the portal itself. While quoting a number of 14th century stylistic aspects, the doorway frame and the treatment of the foliage (comparable to the tomb of Saint Mamas in Morfou, among others) are indicative of a 16th century origin as well (rather than the 15th century date previously proposed). The western capital with the continuous profile running along abacus and backside corroborates the date, even if it is not an original part of the portal.

LOCALITY: Kyrenia	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Glykiotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.343535, 33.299684		CAT. NO: 121
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a promontory plateau west of Kyrenia, overlooking the shore		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse, lateral porches		
WINDOWS: triple lancet apse window		
PORTALS: simple pointed arches		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder in the south-east		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Drummond 1754, p 276, describing the tombstone of Caesar Kariotis of 1546		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- Ottoman period: addition of the porches		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
[Uncertain.]		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 318; Gunnis 1936, p 128–129; Imhaus 2004, I, p 359; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 167–170.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible]		

The small church of the Panagia Glykiotissa is situated on a plateau near the seashore, west of Kyrenia, since 1974 located in an area of restricted access. When described by Jeffery and Gunnis in the beginning of the 20th century, the building was characterized as of little architectural character, surrounded by porches and ruins of the former monastic enclosure.

Recent aerial and distance photographs suggest that little has changed since then. However, the church has received a complete whitewash on the exterior, so that the few preserved historic photographs show a state more alike the original. The church is a single nave structure with semicircular apse, entirely built from regular ashlar of considerable technical quality. The portals are simple pointed arches, relatively large compared to the size of the church. The apse cylinder contains a triple lancet window with a monolithic ashlar forming the top of all three arches, thus similar to that of Saint George Akrotiri [27]. A flagstaff holder adorns the south-eastern corner. The interior of the building is presumably barrel-vaulted with transversal arches on corbels, as this is the most common vaulting type. The lack of available photographs does not allow for any further specification. It is also unknown, if the tombstone of a Greek noble man, Caesar Kariotis, first described by Drummond and still mentioned by Jeffery and Gunnis, remains in place.¹²⁸ The date of his death, 12th of September in 1546, might indicate the period, during which the church was built. Even if the few details such as the apse window and the plain exterior would allow for an earlier date as well, nothing contradicts an attribution to the Venetian period.

The open porch, which surrounds the church on three sides, was mainly erected in the Ottoman period and presumably rebuilt in the first half of the 20th century.

¹²⁸ Imhaus 2004, I, p 359.

LOCALITY: Kyrenia	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Church of Chrysocava
GEO-DATA: 35.340961, 33.330786		CAT. NO: 122
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: within an area of ancient tombs near the modern harbour of Kyrenia		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: rectangular		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: arched niche attached to the south wall, carved crucifix		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 1.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the church		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
[Uncertain.]		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 323 [identified as modern church]; Gunnis 1936, p 128; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 725.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible]		

The chapel of Chrysocava is situated on a stone plateau, which has functioned as a quarry in ancient times, creating wide ditches and areas of cave culture. The site is best known for the cave church of Saint Mavra, which was painted in the Middle Byzantine period. Further to the east, close to the modern Kyrenia harbour and inaccessible for visitors lies the chapel, a simple single nave building with a barrel vault and a flat, three-sided apse. Its ashlar-built walls are entirely plain. There is a 'founders tomb' (according to Gunnis), an arched niche placed against the southern wall. The rectangular portal is surmounted by a cross relief. The shape of the interior is not described, but the barrel vault clearly visible from the outside on the photographs.

Already Gunnis pointed out that there is little evidence, which would help to date the church – it might go back to the 15th or 16th century but could also be older. A date in the late Lusignan or early Venetian period is probable, as the use of polygonal apses for rural structures is most popular at that time.

LOCALITY: Lakatamia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.131624, 33.311009		CAT. NO: 123
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in western outskirts of Nicosia, within the former Lakatamia village		
TYPOLOGY: two naves with semicircular apses, transversal narthex		
WINDOWS: most windows round arched; southern apse windows and southern bema window: rectangular with bell moulded frame; northern apse window: rectangular, chamfered; northern window: round arched with freestanding colonettes decorating the jambs		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed, jambs with engaged colonettes framed by a continuous bell moulding, archivolt with inner roll and outer bell moulding ending in horizontal returns, roll-moulded hood mould on conical corbels; southern portal: rectangular doorway, framed by continuous profile with a sequence of a roll, step and bell moulding, ending in horizontal returns at the bottom, recessed tympanum above with identical framing profile and profiled hood mould; northern portal: rectangular doorway with identical profile, the recessed tympanum framed by a chevron moulding, profiled hood mould on masque corbels		
VAULTING: barrel vault in the narthex, the western bay of the northern nave and the bema zone; groin vaults in the central bays of the northern nave, rib vaults in the western bays of the southern nave, dome above the central bay of the southern nave		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Description by Vasily Barsky of 1735, in Grishin 1996, p 92.		
PICTORIAL: Drawing of Vasily Barsky of 1735 (in Grishin 1996, fig 15); Soteriou 1935, pl 45; DOA A.1489, 1571–1574 (1939); G.1365–1366 (1942); B.46.976–979 (1977); B.62.629 (1983); B.66.257 (1984).		
OTHER: inscription in the narthex mentions that the church was built in 1660 by Archbishop Nikeforos (refers to the narthex).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<div>- 16th century (first phase): erection of the southern nave</div> <div>- 16th century (second phase): addition of the northern nave</div> <div>- 1660: renovation under Archbishop Nikeforos, addition of a narthex</div> <div>- 1980s: renovation, monastic enclosure reconstructed</div>		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the southern wall of the domed bay depiction of the Archangel Michael, Saint Demetrios and further Saints, dated to the 17 th century by Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 2002. Above the head of the Archangel, a second older layer with ornamental decoration is visible, presumably of the 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 298–299 [wrongly giving the date 1636]; Gunnis 1936, p 312 [copying the date 1636 from Jeffery]; Papageorgiou 1982a, p 223; Jakoljevic, Kyrris s.a.; Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 2002; Schabel 2012, p 161–162.		
ARDAC 1980, p 13; 1981, p 15.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan in Jeffery 1916, fig 19; ground plan and longitudinal section (erroneous) in Jakoljevic, Kyrris s.a., p 6.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2012; 20.12.2014		

The church of the Archangel Michael in Lakatamia, on the western outskirts of Nicosia, stands in the centre of a monastic compound erected during the Ottoman period and the late 20th century. The earliest mention of the monastery seems to be in a manuscript of 1547, while another codex mentioning the monastery might have been dated to 1516, but is lost today.¹²⁹ As a metochion of the Kykko Monastery, the Archangel Monastery in Lakatamia retained a considerable importance throughout the Ottoman period, culminating in it being the seat of the Greek Archbishop Nikeforos between 1641 and 1674. Under Nikeforos, first a number of new icons were acquired (ca. 1650) and in 1660 the church thoroughly renovated, including the addition of a narthex. The inscription, which commemorates the date, postulates that "The most venerable church of Archangel Michael was built through the expenses of his beatitude, the Archbishop of All Cyprus, Mr. Nikephoros, in the year 1660 and the month of June".¹³⁰ Both, Jeffery and Gunnis (the latter presumably copying the former's error) read the date as 1636 and took the inscription for face value. However, a closer examination of the church strongly indicates that the works of 1660 did only include a restoration but certainly no rebuilding of the original structure.

The church consists of two naves of four bays length, both ending in semicircular apses (the southern one protruding further). The southern nave is surmounted by a dome with an externally hexadecagonal drum. To the west, there is a narthex with a transversal vault. Buttresses of differing height and depth surround the church: four each along the lateral nave walls and five massive ones stabilizing the narthex. The whole structure is built from regular ashlars, which vary in size. A roll-shaped string course clasps around most of the structure at a height of about 1,5 m, interrupted only by portals and windows and on the three central bays of the southern façade, where a string course of different, chamfered profile is placed below the row of windows in the upper façade part.

Most windows of the church are simple, round arched openings of unusual size. A single specimen of this type, placed in the northern façade above the portal is framed by two freestanding colonettes on octagonal bases, which occupy the hollowed out jambs and carry the voussoirs of the window arch. The latter are undecorated, just as on the windows of the south side. The apse windows deviate from most standards in that they are rectangular. The southern apse possesses three windows, framed by a thin bell moulding profile, while a single rectangular window with deeply chamfered frame occupied the apex of the northern apse. Simple rectangular windows with a roll-moulded frame are placed in the eastern bay of the southern nave and the narthex. Three portals lead into the church:

¹²⁹ Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 2002, p 20.

¹³⁰ Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 2002, p 13.

one in the second bay of the southern nave, one in the third bay of the northern nave and one in the west, placed in the southern half of the narthex wall. The former two are structurally similar. They consist of rectangular doorways with a continuous framing profile, which is formed by an inner roll, a step and a bell moulding, all ending in horizontal returns at the bottom of the jambs. Both portals are surmounted by recessed, slightly pointed tympana. The one in the south is framed by the identical moulding, which was employed for the doorframe and surmounted by a simple, profiled hood mould. The design of the northern portal archivolt is less common, as it shows an angled chevron moulding, perhaps the most pristinely executed example on the island. This is accompanied by a hollow and a hood mould with a roll and hollow profile. Small cone-and-sphere motifs are placed in the hollows of the profile. The hood mould rests on two corbels, which were once decorated with human faces or masques. The western portal has a pointed doorway; its jambs and archivolt are separated by horizontal impost. The jambs show engaged colonettes, which are framed by a similar bell moulding as that of the lateral portals. Here as well, the profile of the jambs is transferred onto the archivolt, where it ends in horizontal returns above the impost. The hood mould rests on conical corbels.

The impression of multiple building phases, already created by the inconsistent, irregular exterior (with a number of building joints, to which we will come back below), is even stronger on the inside. The narthex, covered with a transversal barrel vault on one supporting arch in the centre, is the most commonly designed space. It connects with the nave through two slightly pointed archways. The naves are separated by a vault-high arcade, resting on two slender round piers with simple capitals. The impression is that of a real hall church, where the separation of the naves is minimal. This effect is largely reached through the use of uncommon vault types in the first two (oblong) and the third (square) bays. In the southern nave, the two western bays are covered with rib vaults, the third one surmounted by the dome. In the northern nave, groin vaults cover the second and third bay, while the western one is surmounted by a very high barrel vault. The short eastern (bema) bays show common rather low barrel vaults.

A small archway, connecting the two bema bays, respectively apses, delivers the most easily visible evidence for the succession of building phases. A building joint runs along the soffit of the arch, dividing it into a wider southern part and a smaller northern part with a different radius (the apse wall cuts into the arch radius). It is clear that the northern apse was added later, a first indicator of the posteriority of the northern nave. In the pier to the west of this arch, the joint is hidden behind the iconostasis, but reappears above the icons in

the arch connecting the domed bay to the south and the groin-vaulted bay to the north. The situation in the western bays is more complex. Here, the two columns became only necessary when the northern nave was built – the rib vaults of the southern nave appear to remain in their original state. The usual process for an expansion such as this would have been to insert archways into the pre-existing wall, while the *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement of a whole wall with two slender round piers is as daring as uncommon in Cyprus. The way, in which transversal arches of both naves and diagonal ribs of the southern nave meet on top of the octagonal abaci of the capitals is rather awkward. Above the corner pier of the domed bay, the southern transversal arch protrudes to the east, as the pier is placed asymmetrically to provide space for the diagonal rib in the south-western corner. The separating arch between the naves is placed asymmetrically as well, furthermore slightly twisted and irregular towards the northern side. A similar situation can be encountered above the western pier. Curiously, the springer of a rib is worked out on the western face above the eastern capital, and the small lateral rolls of the rib profiles continue on the ashlar of the separating arches. There are two possible explanations. First, these separating arches might in fact be formerets of the original northern wall. This would explain, why the rib profile continues on the first voussoirs. However, the opposite southern wall does not possess formerets – they are generally an uncommon feature in rural Cypriot architecture. Thus, it seems more likely that these arches were constructed to stabilize the rib vault of the southern nave while its northern wall was taken down. If this happened before or after the round piers were placed below the vault is unclear, but it seems likely that the erection of the piers within the pre-existing wall was indeed the first step. The continuation of the profile and the rib springer must be the only testimonies for an abandoned plan to decorate and harmonize the crude encounter of ribs and arches above the capitals. In fact, there are more signs for a change or abandonment of certain plans. In particular the unfinished ornamental decoration of the capitals (dentil friezes and egg-and-dart moulding) matches the evidence of the unfinished arches above. Furthermore, much of the modification plan seems to have been decided during the building process. The western bay of the northern nave is covered by a high barrel vault, which rests on a blind arch on two corbels on its northern side. The lower courses of the transversal arch between the first and second bay retain two *pierres d'attente*, which suggest that it was initially planned to continue the transversal arch as lower barrel vault. This would, however, have cut through the arch, which connects the two naves, so that in a second step this plan was given up and the higher barrel vault inserted. A possible explanation for this strange sequence of

decisions might be that works started in this corner of the building. Accustomed to the construction of barrel vaults, the masons started to build the northern wall of the new nave with this plan in mind. Then, it was decided to open up the arcade in a way that the arches would reach up to the level of the rib vaults. As a result, the barrel vault had to be placed higher. The result must have been unsatisfying, resulting in a change of plans for the next two bays – unlike barrel vaults, groin vaults are easily compatible with rib vaults as well as domed bays.¹³¹

The final addition of the narthex only resulted in minor interventions. Two arches were opened in the western wall of the original church, but the narthex received a proper eastern wall, placed in front of the old façade. As a result, there is a joint running along the soffits of both arches, indicating the thickness of both the old western façade and the new eastern narthex wall. A clear vertical joint in the corner of the north-eastern narthex buttress furthermore indicates that the vault of the western nave bay indeed remains from the original structure and was not damaged during the expansion.

While this indicates a clear sequence of southern nave, northern nave and narthex, the absolute date for these building parts are problematic. It is certain that the date of 1660 does not refer to the church as a whole but rather means a refurbishment, as stated initially. Papageorgiou has suggested to date the building to the 15th century, while Kokkinoftas does not even exclude the 14th century. In fact, the profiles of the vault ribs, with a roll-and-fillet moulding, do resemble 14th century examples, but the rather doughy appearance of the foliage on the keystones betrays their late date of creation. The evidence of the southern portal is even clearer. Here, the continuous rectangular doorframe accords with a larger group of monuments clearly influenced by the Italian Renaissance (even if this influence is embedded in a strictly medieval framework).¹³² Even if the lower courses of the portal seem not to bind in with the surrounding masonry, the top part surely does, so church and portal are contemporary. Thus, the southern nave was certainly erected in the 16th century, probably in the 1530s to 50s. It is somewhat problematic, that the northern portal, surely erected together with the surrounding masonry, shows the identical profile. Therefore, we might assume a rather quick succession of building phases, accompanied by the wish to retain the original character of the building. The fact that the decoration of the capitals remained unfinished, might indicate that the expansion was executed after the 1550s and interrupted at a very late stage by either the Ottoman occupation of 1571 itself or as a result of the increased need for masons at the site of the Nicosia fortification.

¹³¹ See chapter 3.3 on the question of expansion techniques.

¹³² See chapter 3.2.3 on the question of such portals.

The narthex seems to be the only part of the church, which matches the 1660 date mentioned in the inscription. Only the western portal, in accordance with 16th century architectural traditions, seems to have been moved here from the old western façade of either the northern or southern nave. Placed against the northern wall of the interior, there is a wall tomb which stands in the 14th century urban tradition of such structures. It has convincingly been interpreted as burial place of the Archbishop commemorated by the inscription, further corroborating the erection of the whole narthex at this point. Its formal parallels to the western doorway are as surprising as the overall retrospectivity of the 17th century part. This could be interpreted as an attempt to visually convey a sense of power and tradition in a period of decline and suppression under the Ottoman rule.

LOCALITY: Lapathos	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint John the Baptist
GEO-DATA: 35.269279, 33.825824		CAT. NO: 124
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Lapathos		
TYPOLOGY: double nave structure with two semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: western portal: simple pointed arch; northern portal: rectangular doorway with chamfered corbels, hood mould on pyramidal corbels with rope moulding		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with two transversal arches on quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 15th–16th century: erection of the northern nave- 16th century: addition of the southern nave- 19th century: renovation, windows replaced- 1965: renovation (indicated by panel in the church)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Very small fragments on the south-eastern vault corbel, where the whitewash has fallen off, indicate a (former?) presence of a painted decoration.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 313; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 488–489.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, profiles: Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012; 28.02.2013		

The church of Saint John the Baptist in Lapathos has not been included in studies of the (late) medieval Cypriot architecture previously. This might be due to the fact that Gunnis, the first to mention the church in a semi-scholarly context, dated it to the 18th century, a judgement, which does not match the factual evidence at all.

The building consists of two naves of approximately same size, both terminating in semicircular eastern apses. The exterior is plain; the thrust of the raised barrel vaults abutted by the massive strength of the lateral walls. While the windows and the belfry seem to be additions of a 19th century restoration, the two portals of the church seem to be the original ones. Both lead into the northern nave; they consist of a simple pointed arch in the west and a rectangular doorway with chamfered corbels in the north. The hood mould of the latter is the only sculpturally decorated element of the exterior. It shows a roll and hollow moulding profile and rests on two pyramidal corbels, which are crowned by rope mouldings. The tympanum, which is not recessed, is adorned by a flower relief. These restricted access ways to the interior are somewhat surprising, in particular as the altar of the church stands in the southern apse. Perhaps, there were portals in the southern nave as well before the 19th century – due to the largely intact plaster coating of interior and exterior, it is not possible to verify this assumption.

The most characteristic element of the barrel-vaulted interior is the arcade, which connects the two naves. It consists of only two wide, very flat arches, which rest on one heavy round pier in the centre and two more complex engaged wall piers, consisting of semi columns flanked by lateral shafts. Interestingly, this combination recalls the nave arcade of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta, which might have served as model. This assumption is corroborated by the profile of the arches – a large central roll with fillet, flanked by a sequence of chamfers, hollows and a lateral slim roll – , which presents a certain similarity to the urban Famagustan model.¹³³

Despite the thick layer of plaster on most parts of the interior, it seems clear that the southern nave was added to the slightly older northern one. While the northern apse has a rather archaic horseshoe-shape, the sharply pointed vault of the northern nave indicates a late medieval date. If we assume the hood mould of the northern portal to be original, the rope moulding betrays a knowledge of 15th century Venetian forms, which seem to have been in use on the island in the late 15th and 16th century. This is corroborated by the shape of the north-western vault corbel, of the usual quarter circle type but with chamfered edges and a framing roll moulding. In consequence, the southern nave, and with it the arcade, is

¹³³ See chapter 5.3 for further remarks.

not older than the mid-16th century. The arcade is thus an example of a consciously retrospective revival of 14th century Famagustan architecture.

Dim traces of paintings, which remain on the south-eastern vault corbel of the southern nave might indicate that larger fragments remain under the plaster. This could help to date the southern nave more precisely. The liturgical furnishings, of which only the (empty) iconostases remain, are not of help in this context, as they both seem to be executed in the 18th or 19th century (and not 'early', as suggested by Gunnis due to the presence of a coat of arms in the northern half).

LOCALITY: Lapathos	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 35.267968, 33.826869		CAT. NO: 125

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: at the eastern end of Lapathos village centre

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with polygonal (3/8) apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with four transversal arches on corbels of varying design

MISCELLANEOUS: lateral blind arcade on the inside

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- late 15th–16th century: erection of the eastern bays
- 16th century: western enlargement, erection of a southern aisle?
- 19th century: renovation, windows replaced, possible southern aisle removed
- 1965: renovation (indicated by panel in the church)

PAINTED DECORATION:

—

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012

In the south-eastern part of the village centre of Lapathos stands the church of Saint Marina. From the exterior, the single nave structure with polygonal, three-sided apse seems to be of little interest, as all windows, the western portal and the roof cornice, have been renewed in the 19th century.

The interior of the rather elongated building reveals its origins in the pre-Ottoman period. The nave is covered by a steep pointed barrel vault, which rests on four transversal arches, three of which are placed towards the eastern half of the building. The placement of the arches as well as the higher apex of the vault in the western bays indicates that the latter was product of an expansion of the original church.

The original church comprised of the apse, semicircular on the inside, and the three eastern bays. These bays are marked by blind arcades on the lateral walls, each consisting of three pointed arches, and the two eastern transversal arches. The latter rest on corbels, which are largely covered in thick shapeless masses of plaster. The south-eastern one, better visible, seems to consist of three stacked elements, a circular segment of a colonette, surmounted by an octagonal segment of larger diameter and an engaged cushion capital. The three other corbels might have once shown similarly creative designs, judging from their large proportions.

The addition of the two western bays, slightly wider than the eastern ones, resulted in a replacement of the original western wall with a transversal arch on two double quarter circle corbels. The same corbel type was used for the only transversal arch of the additional vault. The blind arcades of the lateral walls were given up, but a large wide arch pierced the southern wall. Today walled up, it is visible within the masonry of the southern wall from the exterior as well, indicating the former presence of a second aisle to the south of the preserved structure.

The date of the building is unclear. Perhaps, the unusual corbels and the blind arcades of the eastern half point towards the late 15th or 16th century, while the western half could have been added during the 16th century. In any case, it seems very probable that most of the building's fabric, except for the windows, portal and some smaller details, goes back to the Venetian period. The former presence of a southern aisle would include the church into the large group of often-altered, multi-naved churches of the Mesaoria plain.

LOCALITY: Lapithos / Lambousa	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Acheiropoietos
GEO-DATA: 35.353191, 33.190946		CAT. NO: 126
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the Lambousa promontory, north of the villages of Lapithos and Karavas, in vicinity of the church of Saint Eulalios [127]		
TYPOLOGY: cross-in-square structure built over the main nave of an older basilica, domed esonarthex, exonarthex and porch		
WINDOWS: apse windows: round arched; nave windows: rectangular, chamfered with profiled corbels		
PORTALS: western portal: jambs with engaged colonettes, hood mould with vine leaf moulding; northern portal: pointed (?) with simple hood mould on chamfered (?) corbels		
VAULTING: older parts of the church barrel-vaulted, two domes; exonarthex: barrel vault in the northern bay, rib vaults in the two southern bays, porch: rib-vaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: medieval belfry above southern transept façade		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: De Mas Latrie 1852–1861, p 393; Deschamps 1898, p140.		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 25–26;DOA A.720 (1936); A.3089–3090, C.19.086 (ca. 1940); A.4196, 4291–4295, 4315–4317, 4340–4352, B. 5144–5147, J.1846–1866 (1953); A.4430–4448, 4559–4582 (1954); B.9835–9840, 9937–9957, J.3551–3553 (1960); B.14.215–217, J.4888–4891, 5690–5694, 6579–6583 (1963).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- ca. 400: erection of a large five-aisled basilica with three apses- 11th–12th century: erection of a cross-in-square church above the central nave- 12th century: addition of the domed esonarthex- 15th century: addition of the exonarthex- ca. 1550: addition of the western porch, windows of the church altered, belfry added- 1953–1963: renovation of the monastic buildings and church roofs, modification of south windows in the church, removal of the belfry, excavation; rebuilding of the south wing of the monastery; repairs to the apse, older (original?) apse window reconstructed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of bishops in the lower part of the apse, dated to the early 12 th century (Papacostas 1999, II, p 2).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 240–243 [Enlart 1987, p 202–205]; Jeffery 1918, p 319–320; Gunnis 1936, p 315–317; Stylianos, Harmanta 1969, p 19–29, 35–39; Papacostas 1999, II, p 2; Imhaus 2004, I, p 273–274; Papageorgiou 2010, p 109–116.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan of the narthex: Enlart 1899, p 242; ground plan and longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, fig 15 [variously reproduced in later studies]; enhanced ground plan: Papageorgiou 1986, fig 3.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible]		

The monastery of the Panagia Acheiropoietos is situated close to the site of the antique coastal settlement of Lambousa. After the Arab raids during the middle Byzantine period, the settlement was moved further uphill, where today the large villages of Lapithos and Karavas are located. The late antique churches, however, defined the locations of new ecclesiastic structures.

Even if nothing is known about the early history of the monastery before the 15th century, its church building goes back to the late antique period. Of the large five-aisled basilica mainly the apse remains. It demonstrates the change in scale of church buildings between Late Antiquity and the middle Byzantine period, when a cross-in-square church was added to the apse, which was aligned with the new lateral walls. The dome merely reaches the height of the older apse. This church, presumably erected in the 11th or early 12th century, received a first western extension, when a domed narthex was added in the 12th century. Of interest in the context of this study are primarily the exonarthex and the large porch, both added in later phases.

The exonarthex has already been described by Camille Enlart, as the two southern of its three bays are covered by a rib vault. From the exterior, the two visible lateral walls are plain and inconspicuous. Unfortunately, the monastery is in a military zone today, and the published photographs do not cover the interior of the exonarthex. Thus, the discussion of the evidence has to rely on Enlart's description. Of particular interest are the vault ribs, of a rather common roll-and-fillet profile, and the polygonal, conical corbels, on which they rest. The latter form groups of three individual corbels at the junction of diagonal and transversal arches. This reminds of the nave vault of the Panagia Stazousa near Klavdia [105], where the triple corbels have a similar shape, even if they are convex instead of concave. The Panagia Stazousa was built around the mid-15th century, a date which we might also assume for the erection of the exonarthex. Perhaps this remodelling was a sign of an increasing importance of the monastery (which was certainly in existence before, as evidenced by the older exonarthex) during this period. According to Bustron, a mass was held each 15th of August by the residents of Kyrenia – an event which was used in 1473 to attempt an occupation of the castle by followers of Queen Charlotte.¹³⁴ While this event is not directly related to the church, the tradition of a mass for all inhabitants of Kyrenia might have well been the reason for an enlargement of the church, which would have thus happened before 1473.

The last expansion of the church happened during a phase of remodelling, which also brought a new belfry above the new façade of the southern cross arm and a change of the windows of the church. The most distinctive element of this phase is the three-bayed western porch. It is a cubic structure consisting of four main piers, carrying three rib vaults. On their eastern side, these vaults rest on corbels inserted into the older western façade of

¹³⁴ See Papageorgiou 2010, p 109.

the exonarthex. The walls above the open arches are raised to reach the roof level of the older adjacent building, which gives the structure a rather heavy overall impression and somewhat contradicts the open, light character of an open porch. The exterior walls are uniquely structured with a sequence of flat buttresses. The corner buttresses are decorated with engaged colonettes. Those on the outer corners rise from the ground and are reduced in diameter above half-level, while on the inner corners, only the upper part is decorated in this way. The two central buttresses are of semicylindrical shape. These, as well, are reduced in diameter above a flat roll-moulded base on half-level. The arches of the porch themselves are profiled as well, showing a flat soffit framed by roll-hollow-roll mouldings (or bell mouldings – here the photographs are not detailed enough and Enlart omits the description of the arches). The vault of the porch is, as described by Enlart, similar to that of the narthex, but the ribs have a heavier, thicker profile. They rest on smoothly waved corbels on the eastern side, while the western side of the ribs springs from respond shafts, placed on the backside of the main porch piers. Those in the middle, where transversal and diagonal arches meet, are formed by a wider semicircular respond, flanked by two thinner shafts, which all share a common capital zone decorated with leaf foliage. This systematic correspondence of shafts and ribs is otherwise only known from the 14th century Latin churches in the urban centres. Nevertheless, the date of the porch must be considerably later. Not only the waved corbels indicate this, but also the portal leading from the porch into the narthex. Its jambs show a profile, which imitates an engaged corner colonette, ending in horizontal impostes. The arch above is renewed, but a richly ornamented hood mould remains. The decoration includes vine leaf scrolls, much alike those decorating, among others, the tomb of Saint Mamas in the homonymous church in Morfou, which was built around the 1530s. The unusual semicylindrical buttresses fit this chronological context quite well, as they remind of the similarly designed vault responds in the 16th century nave of the Greek cathedral of the Panagia in Nicosia.

This date in the Venetian period, suggested by the stylistic evidence, is corroborated by the local tradition. According to this, it was Alessandro Flatros, who commissioned the remodelling of the church.¹³⁵ The tombstone of this unidentified member of the Flatro family, who died in 1563, is placed in the central axis of the narthex.¹³⁶ This tradition might well be true, considering that the porch indicates a mid-16th century date of building. At the same time, windows were replaced by larger, rectangular ones with small profiled corbels all around the church and the southern cross arm façade renewed – perhaps to evoke the impression that the church had been entirely renewed by the generous donor.

¹³⁵ For the question of a Greek descent of the Flatro family see Arbel 1989, p 181.

¹³⁶ Imhaus 2004, I, p 274.

LOCALITY: Lapithos/Lambousa	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Eulalios
GEO-DATA: 35.354170, 33.191406		CAT. NO: 127
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the Lambousa promontory, north of the villages of Lapithos and Karavas, in vicinity of the monastery of the Panagia Acheiropoietos [126]		
TYPOLOGY: elongated dome-hall structure with narthex and semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: pointed, chamfered; dome windows: round arched with a hollow-and-roll moulding; oculi in the eastern and western gable with a hollow-and-roll moulding		
PORTALS: southern portal and inner western portal: rectangular with corbels; northern portal: segment arched; western portal: pointed		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault in the eastern and western bay; central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral blind arches on <i>spolia</i> columns		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 47; KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (15 images, ca. 1935); DOA G.716 (1915), A.175–176, 183, 703, 770–772, B.80, C.98–99, 146 (1936); A.3091, B.3975–3976 (ca. 1940), A.4783–4784, B.8545 (1957).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 16th century: erection of the present church- Ottoman period: addition of the narthex and surrounding porches- 1935–36: excavations, restoration of the narthex and the roof- 1957: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 241 [Enlart 1987, p 203]; Jeffery 1918, p 320–321; Gunnis 1936, p 317; Hilton 1936, p 4; Megaw 1939, p 99; Stylianou, Harmanta 1969, p 29, 39; Papageorgiou 2010, p 104–106; Langdale 2012, p 174.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Jeffery 1916, fig 20; ground plan and longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, fig 42; ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 08.04.2009; 05.04.2010; 11.04.2012		

Not far from the large monastery of the Panagia Acheiropoietos [126] stands the church dedicated to Saint Eulalios, who is known to have been an early bishop of Lambousa. It is a narrow, elongated single nave structure with a western narthex, surmounted by a high conspicuous dome.

The church was evidently built above the remains of a late antique basilica, just as the Acheiropoietos church nearby. Here, only fragments of a mosaic floor to the north and east of the church indicate the predecessor, which has not been excavated systematically. Furthermore, a part of an *opus sectile* floor as well as remarkable *spolia* have been included in the new structure.

The new church might have been erected over the stylobates of the previous main nave, which could explain the elongated shape of the building. It is erected from a mixture of (presumably reused) large ashlar, rubble and regular, well-cut ashlar in areas such as the dome and the vault, where a higher precision of the masonry was required. The exterior is rather plain and dominated by the use of basic geometric shapes. To the cubus of the nave, stepped on its lateral walls, is added the semicylindrical apse in the east, a square cubus on top, which carries the cylindrical dome drum. Barrel vaults protrude from the roofs of nave and narthex. While the portals of the church are very simple (the main southern portal consists of a rectangular doorway with profiled corbels), the windows show a certain amount of variation and decoration: the apse window is pointed and framed by a chamfer; the four windows in the dome drum are round arched and framed by a deep hollow; the two oculi in the eastern and western gables show the same hollow profile with a small roll frame.

The interior is more extraordinary, as the lateral walls are decorated with large blind arcades, consisting of three arches each, which rest on two spoliated marble columns on each side. These columns are not reworked, as suggested by Jeffery, but must have come from different parts of the former church, as their diameter differs and only three of them show a large cross relief on their front. Above this, the vaults emerge seamlessly from the inner wall layer created by the arches of the arcade. The central arch has the same apex as the lateral ones and does not reach up to support the dome. As a result, the wall is separated into two registers. The visual impression is remarkable, as one is immediately reminded of a three aisled basilica – only with walled up side aisles. While there is no string course in the barrel vaults of the eastern and western bays, the pendentifs of the dome sit above roll moulded formerets. The dome drum has two further string courses, resulting in an agglomeration of sculptural decoration in the upper parts of the church, not unlike on the exterior. Remarkably, the inner frame of dome windows and oculi is profiled in the same

way as the exterior – a very uncommon feature for rural Cyprus. In the lower parts of the church, the apse string course, with a cavetto and roll moulding, is the only element of architectural sculpture. In addition to the marble columns, there is another important remnant of the late antique church, which was once integrated into the new building: the altar table. Jeffery describes it as “an ancient slab with the five crosses incised”.¹³⁷ After 1974, the altar was dismantled and for some time the broken slab was lying in the grass in front of the church. The current whereabouts are unknown.

The church is a prime example of the more elaborate and sophisticated group of churches, which were erected in rural Cyprus during the Venetian period. Details such as the dome windows are not thinkable before the 16th century, and the prominent use of *spolia* matches the increasing interest in the late antique past of the island in that period.

The church must have remained in function after 1571, as the narthex and open porches, largely lost today, were added at a later date (the joints of the narthex are not very clear, due to later interventions on the masonry). What exactly the function of the church was, is not clear. The narthex might indicate that it was the *katholikon* of a smaller monastic congregation. Enlart vaguely refers to a role as a destination for Greek pilgrims and opposes it with the ‘*franko iklichia*’ (the ‘Frankish church’), a ruin of a church nearby, which existed until around 1900, but is reduced to a heap of rubble today. Certainly, he refers to the above mentioned celebration on 15th of August each year, when supposedly the Latin inhabitants of Kyrenia would have also visited the mass. However, he does not reveal, why the Greeks would have needed a second church apart from the main church of the monastery to celebrate mass. It seems more likely, that the building was connected with a veneration of the beatified bishop Eulalios, to whom the church is dedicated. The revival of the veneration of local Saints is very common in the Venetian period.¹³⁸ Perhaps, a burial found in the nave during excavations in 1936, could be seen in this context – either as the alleged saint’s tomb, above which the church was erected, or as a burial of a patron, who was responsible for the revival of the saint’s cult through the erection of the church.

¹³⁷ Jeffery 1918, p 320.

¹³⁸ See chapter 6.3 and 6.4 for further comments.

LOCALITY: Lefkara	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint George Kontos
GEO-DATA: 34.867044, 33.306939		CAT. NO: 128

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Pano Lefkara

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse and western extension

WINDOWS: [recent]

PORTALS: [recent]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults flanking a dome on a drum, dome arches with sculpturally decorated impostes

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the church

- early or mid-20th century: western expansion

PAINTED DECORATION:

[Two depictions of Saint George of the 20th century]

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 347.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.12.2014

The church of Saint George Kontos is located in the village centre of Pano Lefkara, north of the main church of the Holy Cross. Originally, it was a simple dome-hall church, as described by Jeffery – who compares it to the 10th century church of Saint Mamas nearby. Like most churches of the village, Saint George has been strongly remodelled in the course of the 20th century, which resulted in the addition of a large western extension with pitched roof and the application of thick concrete plaster to the exterior.

Externally, the original dome-hall is entirely plain, as no windows or portals pierce its walls – the western façade, which must have contained the main entrance, was replaced by the extension. The roof has been changed during the 20th century, so that now two transversal pitched roofs flank the central dome, forming lateral gables, but the eastern and western bays are covered by pitched roofs, including the lateral compartments. As a result, the cross-shape of the roof, sign for the classical, hierarchized dome-hall type, is only vaguely recognizable. The interior, in contrast, follows the classic system: the central domed bay is flanked by deep lateral dome arches and barrel-vaulted bays to the east and west. In these bays, the lateral walls are pierced by deep arched recesses, forming ‘corner compartments’. The proportions of the room are rather steep and there are some surprising sculptural elements. The imposts of the dome arches (some of which have been removed to make space for modern paintings of very moderate artistic quality) show ornament friezes. These are varyingly composed from dentils, zigzags, pearls and vine leaves, always separated by thin roll mouldings. On the south-western impost there seems to be an inscription in Greek included in the ornament, but the modern plaster coating is too thick to recognize individual letters. In addition to these, there is a dove in the bema vault, an angel above the same and a circular ornament in the centre of the dome. Unlike the imposts, the latter seem to be fairly late, as their shape is not obscured by later plaster layers.

While the sharply pointed vaults and arches, as well as the use of very regular ashlar (shining through the decayed plaster) of the dome arches, clearly indicate a date in the Latin period (and not earlier, as implicated by Jeffery), the precise date is hard to determine. If we suppose that the imposts are part of the original church, the use of a vine leaf frieze strongly indicates a 16th century date. The church would then be the latest of a remarkable number of dome-hall churches in Lefkara.

LOCALITY: Lefkara	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.874939, 33.308796		CAT. NO: 129

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the northern slope of a valley immediately north of Pano Lefkara

TYPOLOGY: single cell church with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [recent]

PORTALS: [recent]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–16th century (?): erection of the church

- late 20th century: restoration (from ruinous state?)

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of painted plaster on the southern wall and vault; not recognizable, as the paintings are not cleaned and partly hidden under whitewash.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.12.2014

The small church of Saint Marina is situated in an overgrown valley to the north of Pano Lefkara, in the vicinity of a spring, to which its existence is probably related. It is a short, rubble-built single cell building with a semicircular apse and barrel vault. On the exterior, the lateral walls are set back by a step in a height of 2 m. This might be original, or could indicate that the upper part of the church was rebuilt at some point. The roof and the concrete beam holding it are certainly mid-20th century additions, as well as the two doorways in the north and west. The eastern and western gables are surprisingly (considering the remote location and unarchitectural character of the building) adorned by crude flagstaff holders.

The interior of the church is entirely plain, except for the simple apse string course. Small fragments of paintings are discernible on the southern wall and vault, where the modern plaster is flaking off. As they are covered in dirt and deposits, it is impossible to recognize, what they depict. One believes to recognize parts of a garment on the left, while there seems to be a large arch or top of a halo in the centre.

Apart from the pointed barrel vault, only the flagstaff holders and fragments of paintings could be seen as evidence for a specific date of erection. Both are highly problematic, as they themselves are not really datable and they might have been executed respectively brought to their place long after the church was built. Thus it is with all due care that one might suppose a date in the later Latin period, somewhere between the 14th and 16th century.

LOCALITY: Lefkara	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Timothy
GEO-DATA: 34.863482, 33.314331		CAT. NO: 130

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: between Pano and Kato Lefkara, probably on the site of a vanished monastery

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: small, round arched

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with chamfered edges, profiled corbels, above the lintel a recessed pointed tympanum

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults flanking a dome on a drum, dome arches with simple horizontal imposts

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Ross 1852, p 206, briefly describes the church with Saint Timothy's sarcophagus.

PICTORIAL: DOA B.8424–8426, B.38.570–572 (1955); B.49.856–857, 50.271–273, 395 (1979); J.54.754 (1986); B.79.743–749 (1988).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- mid-14th–early 15th century: erection of the church
- mid-19th century: fell into ruin
- early 20th century: restoration
- 1988: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

Very dim traces in the south-western recess.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 348; Gunnis 1936, p 321–322.

ARDAC 1988, p 24 [dated to the 13th century].

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 10.04.2010; 17.04.2012

In the immediate region of Lefkara ca. ten dome-hall churches of different ages, mostly Middle Byzantine, testify to a certain local preference for this type. One of the youngest, Saint Timothy, is situated on a hillside between Pano and Kato Lefkara. Unusually for the smaller rural churches of Cyprus, some of its original context is known through the description of Jeffery. In 1918, he still saw ruins of a monastery or hermitage surrounding the church. He furthermore recounts the report of Ludwig Ross, who in 1845 during a journey through the Eastern Mediterranean saw “eine verfallene Kapelle des H.Thimotheos, mit dem zerbrochenen Sarkophage des Heiligen”.¹³⁹ From this brief statement we learn that the church was ruined, but, more importantly, that a sarcophagus was venerated within as burial place of the local Saint Timothy.

Today, the church presents itself as a tall, cubic structure with lateral gables, semicircular apse and a high circular dome drum. The corner compartments are almost as high as the cross arms, but horizontal joints indicate that this is the result of a later restoration, presumably executed in the late 19th or early 20th century. Originally, the church followed the more traditional, strongly hierarchized dome-hall type, perhaps inspired by the nearby 12th century Archangel Church.¹⁴⁰ With the latter, Saint Timothy shares the use of rubble masonry throughout, with the exception of brick-built arches of the dome windows. However, in both cases it seems doubtful that this is an original feature. On the exterior, the only indicator of a later date of Saint Timothy is the southern portal (albeit heavily restored as well). The rectangular chamfered doorway possesses two corbels with a common roll and hollow profile, the monolithic lintel is surmounted by a pointed, recessed tympanum.

The interior shares the plain impression of the exterior, even if the thick plaster covering it in the early 20th century according to Jeffery and Gunnis has been taken off the ashlar-built arches and stringcourses more recently. The latter are of simplest type and presumably replaced in their entirety in the early 20th century. The most remarkable feature of the interior is in fact the proportioning. The large dome, combined with high pointed barrel vaults in the east and west creates a certain verticality and sense of spaciousness, which is alien to older churches of the same type. The corner compartments are large sharply pointed arched recesses, the arches of which, due to their size and the rather short western and eastern bays, run into the western and eastern walls respectively. Very faint shadows of originally painted plaster in the south-western niche suggest that the church was, unsurprisingly, once covered with a larger painted programme. The sarcophagus seen by Ross is lost, but a fixture of three simple stone slabs placed in front of the northern wall of the domed bay seem to serve as replacement and strongly indicate that it was here, where the original sarcophagus once stood.

The proportions of the building, as well as the southern portal, strongly suggest a date in the mid-14th to early 15th century.

¹³⁹ Ross 1852, p 206 – transl. ‘a ruined chapel of St. Timothy, with the sarcophagus of the saint broken into pieces’.

¹⁴⁰ Papacostas 1999, II, p 14–15.

LOCALITY: Lefkoniko	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.261708, 33.729501	CAT. NO: 131	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the town centre of Lefkoniko

TYPOLOGY: domed (asymmetrically) cruciform church with northern aisle and lateral choir annexe, polygonal apse, small annexe in the south-west.

WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular, chamfered; north-eastern window rectangular with roll frame; rest replaced

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults in the nave, bema and northern annexe; dome over the crossing; groin vaults in the aisle; rib vaults in south-western annexe

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Ross 1852, p 132, describes the pier capitals of the church.

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–early 15th century: erection of the original church and addition of an aisle
- early 15th century: addition of a rib-vaulted narthex
- early 16th century: remodelling of the main nave and apse, erection of the dome, addition of cross arms (?)
- mid-16th century (?): addition of a northern aisle, erection of the nave arcade (*en-sous-oeuvre*)
- before 1845: renewal of the northern aisle vault, addition of a western nave bay and southern porch, removal of the southern cross arm, changes to the exterior and interior wall surfaces, strengthening of the dome arches
- mid-20th century: façade of the southern cross arm, further repair works
- since 2015: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

Late Archangel Michael and other fragments in the southern nave recess, painted over a walled up archway, which possessed paintings in the soffit. Small fragment in the vault of the second nave bay. (Consolidated in 2008: ARDAC 2008, p 34). On the paintings Chotzakoglou 2006, p 107–108.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 242; Gunnis 1936, p 323; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 107–108.
ARDAC 2008, p 34.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012; 28.02.2013

The parish church of Lefkoniko, one of the largest towns in the Mesaoria plain, is dedicated to the Archangel Michael. The building is of considerable dimensions with a length of 25 m and a width of 17 m, surmounted by a dome of over 10 m height. Previously, it has not been included in studies of the medieval architecture of Cyprus due to its heavily changed state – Gunnis describes it as “an ancient building, which was completely remodelled in the early 19th century”. Nevertheless, several peculiarities and substantial remains of the medieval building justify the treatment of the building in the context of this study.

Today, the church presents itself as a veritable behemoth of building parts of various epochs, the disentanglement of which is hardly facilitated by the half-ruinous condition of the structure. The discussion of the building has to remain somewhat preliminary here, as only a thorough renovation, during which the plaster will be entirely taken off the walls, could help to identify building phases more clearly and with at least a relative certainty. This renovation is announced to happen in the near future (as of 2015); one might hope that the structure will indeed be studied and published by the team involved in this procedure.

The core of the building is formed by a long barrel-vaulted nave to the west of a square, domed bay [131.1]. To the north and east, further barrel-vaulted bays adjoin the crossing, while this bay is closed with a wall to the south. To the north of the nave, there is a groin-vaulted aisle, while the eastern cross arm, which ends in an exteriorly polygonal apse, is flanked by a barrel-vaulted bay to the north. To the south, there is only a small, lower rib-vaulted space in the west; the rest of the southern façade is occupied by a low, arched porch. A bell tower is placed above the south-eastern corner of the building.

In a first step, one can rather easily subtract the more obvious changes executed in the 19th and 20th centuries. The tower and the southern porch are both early 19th century, and so is the blind arcade along the outer wall of the northern aisle. The vault of the aisle might perhaps be dated to the same period, while its western and northern walls might be erected over remains of a previous aisle. The roof lines, portals and most windows of the whole church were renewed either in the 19th or, in some cases, the 20th century.

The nave is more problematic. It is divided into four bays by the transversal arches of the vault; the western bay of the vault is executed in rubble masonry, while the eastern ones are made from regular ashlar. There are only three arches in the arcade connecting it with the aisle, thus, they are not aligned with the transversal arches [131.6]. The three arcade piers, round with cushion capitals, differ in diameter and are strongly misaligned: the eastern pier is placed 50 cm further north than the central one. On the outside, there are

only three buttresses stabilizing the upper southern wall, thus they are not aligned with the transversal arches on the inside. The buttresses stand on top of a solid wall, reaching up to approximately half the height of the nave. On the inside, this accords with a large arched recess in the southern wall [131.8]. Within this recess, cracks in the wall plaster signalize a smaller archway, which once opened towards the south. Fragments of painting adhere to its soffit.

It is clear, that the nave is a product of at least three building phases. From the regular masonry and another fragment of painting, visible on the second bay of the vault, one might conclude that its three eastern bays are part of the medieval church, while the western bay was clearly renewed, when the façade was changed in the 19th century. The transversal arches, made from ashlar as well, do not rest on corbels but emerge seamlessly from the vault. This rather speaks in favour of a posterior change, perhaps when the plaster and the stucco decoration was applied to the vault. The assumption that the vault might be of late medieval origin does not say anything about the piers, as the *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement of structural parts was a usual practice on the island in that period. In fact, assuming a later inclusion of the piers and the arcade might explain their slight variation in detail as well as the misalignment. Their design does, however, remind of some examples of Venetian period piers on the island, most notably those of the Saint Marina in Potamiou [189]. On the other side of the nave, the archway suggests that a southern side aisle existed at some point, even if it is open if it was the original church, or rather added to a previous building later replaced by the nave. The south-western annexe might shed light on this question [131.11–12]. It is vaulted with heavy rib vaults, a unique solution in rural Cyprus. Apparently, the second bay was cut in half, when the current nave was built. Furthermore, there is at least one vertical joint in the eastern wall of the annexe, suggesting that there was a doorway at some point. This doorway might have lead into the southern aisle. The annexe itself could be interpreted as last standing fragment of a once wider narthex of four bays, which would have covered the width of the nave and side aisle. Once more, the chronological relation between this narthex and the surrounding parts is not clear. It was certainly erected, when there were already a nave and an aisle, so it might be part of a third building phase. Furthermore, it seems that in the 19th century remodelling the northern half of the narthex was taken down to erect an additional bay of the nave in the west. At the same time, the aisle was taken down, to make space for the open porch.

In the east of the church, even more guesswork becomes necessary. The only part, which certainly goes back to one of the medieval building periods, is the north-eastern

annexe room [131.4]. It is erected from regular ashlar and clear vertical joints separate it from the adjoining apse and the northern cross arm. The apse itself is built from very well-cut ashlars and is of the 5/12 type, which was in use since around the 15th century but also popular in the Ottoman period. Nevertheless, it seems that the apse as well as the adjoining barrel vault of the eastern cross arm can be dated to the same period as the nave [131.9–10]. This creates a problem for the northern annexe room. The lateral walls of the bema bay show an irregular archway, which connects it with the annexe, a larger inner arch frames a smaller, outer one. The larger arch is mirrored on the southern side of the bay, but this seems to be a purely aesthetic decision. In any case, if the apse and bema are contemporary with the nave, the annexe is either later (perhaps itself contemporary with the addition of the first northern aisle) or earlier, then requiring a hypothetical first nave of approximately today's dimensions.

The multitude of joints and disturbances in the masonry of the domed bay and the northern cross arm does not help to solve this question. Instead, it raises more questions. While it is rather obvious that the clumsy dome arches are result of a later strengthening [131.9], it is not clear when this happened and if the dome itself is still original. The irregular drum, erected from rubble, contrasts with most dome drums of the later Latin period and would rather suggest that at least the dome exterior is a (cheap) repair of the Ottoman period. The same might be true for the northern and southern façades. It seems not impossible that there was once a southern cross arm, which had to be taken down subsequently. The immense thickness of the southern wall of the domed bay would corroborate this hypothesis, as it seems like the southern dome arch was simply walled up with solid masonry. This happened in order to cope with the diagonal thrust, which was previously held by the much thinner walls of the cross arm.

While there is a multitude of open questions, it seems fairly safe to reconstruct the shape of the church before the 19th century intervention. One might imagine a cruciform building with central dome and lateral aisles of different age and an annexe in the north-eastern corner. In front of the western façade, there was a low rib-vaulted narthex, either covering only the nave and southern aisle or stretching out over the whole width of the building. If the nave arcade was already installed at this time has to remain open, even if there is a certain probability that it indeed was.¹⁴¹ The sequence of the pre-Ottoman building phases has to be determined more precisely in the future.

¹⁴¹ *En-sous-oeuvre* replacements seem to occur less frequently during the Ottoman period.

There are also few hints for an absolute date of the individual phases. The heavy, low rib vaults of the narthex are unique, but might be inspired by the rib vault, with which the narthex of the Absinthiotissa monastery was repaired during the late 14th or early 15th century.¹⁴² Of the southern aisle it is only possible to know more, if the infill of the archway will be taken out in the future, to reveal the paintings within. The apse is not thinkable before the 15th, more likely the 16th century, which was presumably the date of the erection of the current nave, dome and apse, perhaps also when the unusual cruciform plan was established. As mentioned above, the piers with their cushion capitals might well come from the mid-16th century. Indeed, the only fragment of the liturgical fixtures, which remains in the church after its abandonment in the past 40 years, corroborates building activities in the Venetian period: a beam of the old iconostasis. Apparently, this iconostasis was cut into pieces in the early 19th century and reused for the structural parts of the new iconostasis. The latter is gone today, but two of the beams with their Renaissance ornaments, gilded on blue background, remain in the northern choir annexe. Another panel supports the remains of the former lectern.

Finally, one might speculate about the reasons for a building of such remarkable dimensions in one of the admittedly larger towns of the Mesaoria. The narthex could indicate that it once belonged to a monastery, but nothing is known from the sources about this. More probably, it was the main parish of Lefkoniko. It is thus possible, that the wealth and population of the town increased during the Venetian period. A parallel case might be the town of Kythrea, which until around 1910 possessed a rather elaborate Venetian period parish church, even if it was domeless [XXXI]. In Lefkoniko, however, the church was not entirely taken down in the 19th century but only remodelled and complemented by further parish churches.

¹⁴² Papacostas 1999, II, p 12.

LOCALITY: Liopetri	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa
GEO-DATA: 35.009845, 33.893093		CAT. NO: 132
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Liopetri		
TYPOLOGY: cruciform domed structure with polygonal apse and elongated western cross arm		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault with transversal arches; dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.6596–6597 (1963); J.72.190–195, 74.546–560, 75.228–238 (1993).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century: erection of the original building		
- late 19 th century: western expansion, southern porch, bell tower		
- 1990s: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 326.		
ARDAC 1993, p 26; 1994, p 25; 2003, p 29.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010 ¹⁴³		

¹⁴³ The interior was not accessible, neither was it possible to find photographs.

The village church of Liopetri, dedicated to the Panagia, has been ignored by most scholarly publications. Even Rupert Gunnis has little more to say than that it is “a small medieval building with a dome”.¹⁴⁴ Presumably, this lack of interest is caused by a late 19th century restoration of the building, which resulted in a disproportionately elongated western expansion, the addition of an open, arched porch with bell tower to the south and the replacement of all portals and windows.

The original church, which survives largely intact as the eastern half of today's building, is of some interest, nevertheless. It is indeed of modest dimensions, erected in irregular rubble masonry, with only few ashlar (as far as can be recognized through the thin plaster) over an unusual cruciform plan. Unlike the cruciform churches in the Pafos region, here the cross arms only protrude slightly from the main body of the church. As a result, the church somewhat resembles a dome-hall structure with omitted corner compartments. With the typologically similar buildings such as the Panagia in Chlorakas [52], the church of Liopetri shares the low, rather squat proportions and the round dome drum. The apse, however, is constructed polygonal with three sides of an octagon. The interior was not accessible at the time of the on-site research.

Gunnis is certainly right in dating the church to the medieval period. Despite the lack of clear dating evidence, due to the removal of original windows and portals, one might assume a 15th century origin.

¹⁴⁴ Gunnis 1936, p 326.

LOCALITY: Liopetri	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos
GEO-DATA: 35.009262, 33.895298	CAT. NO: 133	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the south-eastern quarter of the village of Liopetri, surrounded by modern houses		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: pointed recesses containing rectangular doorways with simple quarter circle corbels		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults in the west and east, central dome with externally octagonal drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: blazons above the western portal		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.795 (1935); B.874–875 (1941), J.6581–6595, B.15.221–222 (1963); J.15.822–824 (1969); J.21.388–394, 463 (1970); J.25.684–693 (1972); B.66.829–831 (1984); J.71.467–472 (1992).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th century: erection of the church- 19th–20th century: several extensions of non-architectural character- 1963: 19th century narthex replaced- 1992: narthex of 1963 removed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a larger 16 th century cycle remain in the eastern bay and apse as well as the western lateral recesses. In the apse bishops, a Communion of the Apostles and a Virgin Orans flanked by the Archangels; in the bema vault the Ascension of Christ; on the triumphal arch medallions with (largely destroyed) busts; in the lower wall zone saints, that in the south-western recess flanked by three donor figures.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 326–327.		
ARDAC 1995, p 21; 1996, p 22.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.107a.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 04.03.2013		

The church of Saint Andronikos in Liopetri is a little studied dome-hall building of considerable artistic quality. While following the traditional concept of a dome-hall in the sequence of a barrel-vaulted western bay with lateral recesses, a central domed bay, an eastern bay mirroring that in the west and an apse, the proportions already betray the rather late building date. The central domed bay is two times as wide as the western and eastern bays, which results in a more or less centralized appearance of the church.

On the exterior, the church differs profoundly from the buildings of Famagusta nearby. Unlike those, it is apparently built from rubble, which has been coated in a beige plaster in the last restoration of the 1990s (incorporation of older plaster fragments). The exterior displays the structural composition of the church, with low corner compartments and raised central gables to the pitched roofs on each side. The octagonal dome drum rises above the apex of the lateral roofs; each polygon face is pierced by a rectangular window. The polygonal, three-sided apse has approximately the same dimensions as the drum. The portals consist of pointed arched recesses, which contain simple rectangular doorways with quarter circle corbels. The western portal, slightly larger than the lateral ones, shows three empty blazons – perhaps once intended to be painted with the coat of arms of the church patrons.

The interior is spacious, dominated by the large dome. The western and eastern barrel vaults are rather short, while the southern and northern dome arches are formed as deep recesses, underlining the centralized character of the church. The shortness of the eastern and western bays results in a compression of the lateral recesses, which surely cannot be identified as ‘founders tombs’ as done by Gunnis (they are only around 1 m wide). The engaged dome piers are of uncommon, circular shape with semicircular shields on three sides functioning as capital. This motif can be found more often in Middle Byzantine dome-hall churches, the closest late *comparandum* being the church of Saint George of Attalou near Charkeia [51].

The interior of Saint Andronikos lacks any sculptural decoration but retains a fragmentary painted cycle in the bema bay and the western lateral recesses. While the iconography of the apse, with bishops, a Communion of the Apostles and a Virgin Orans flanked by Archangels, is rather common, the whole bema vault contains a multi-figure Ascension of Christ, the latter depicted in the apex of the arch and thus above the praying Mary in the apse behind. The south-western recess shows three small donors beside the large standing Saint, presumably the patrons responsible for the creation of the painted cycle.

Despite the clear references to 14th century urban architecture, such as the blazons and the octagonal dome drum, the lack of sculptural decoration makes it hard to find a precise date of building. The paintings, certainly of the 16th century, provide a *terminus ante quem*, while the polygonal apse points towards a date after 1400. Presumably the building was erected before the Venetian period, the painted decoration executed several decades later.

LOCALITY: Lysos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chryseleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.995449, 32.511439		CAT. NO: 134

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Lysos, on a plateau

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse

WINDOWS: dome: rectangular; lateral apse faces: pointed lancets; central apse window: cusped double lancet with standing trefoil crowning, outer pointed blind arch, protruding mitred hood mould

PORTALS: mitred recesses with hollow moulding frame, containing rectangular doorways with foliage corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults in the west and east, central dome with externally octagonal drum

MISCELLANEOUS: fragments of a rich western portal with blind tracery, blazons and foliage capitals incorporated in later western extension

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th century: erection of the dome-hall church
- 19th century (?): western expansion, restoration of most wall surfaces
- 1995: restored after earthquake damage, removal of the 19th century pitched roof and belfry

PAINTED DECORATION:

A Virgin Kyriotissa in the niche of the walled-up central apse window, presumably 16th century. For the dating of the painting see Olympios 2014c, p 164–165, fn 41, who refers to Sophocleus 1993, p 333 and Weyl Carr 2005a, p 323.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 410; Gunnis 1936, p 331–332; Weyl Carr 1995b, p 348–352; Olympios 2014c, p 161–165, 176. ARDAC 1995, p 26, fig 21–22; 1996, p 28; 2004, p 49; 2005, p 42; 2006, p 37, fig 57–58. MKE, 9, p 234–235.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.07.2007¹⁴⁵; 22.03.2012

¹⁴⁵ I wish to thank Michalis Olympios for sharing his photographs of the interior of the church, which was not accessible during the author's on-site research.

The parish church of the Panagia in Lysos is one of the most remarkable rural church buildings of the Latin period. Considering its structural typology, it is a classic dome-hall church with hierarchized layout, thus lower corner compartments and a cruciform shape of the roofline. The church of Lysos already surprises with its considerable size and the use of regular ashlar masonry. The western end, a rectangular space of the same width as the church, is the result of a later intervention of the 19th or early 20th century.

Plain surfaces, rarely interrupted by sculptural elements or openings dominate the exterior. Apse and dome drum are shaped polygonal and the only curved lines, those of the gables, seem to be an addition of the 19th century restoration. The few windows of the building are simple rectangles (as in the dome drum) or lancets (in the lateral apse faces, presumably inserted later). The central apse window, in contrast, is of an unusual sophistication and elaborateness. It is composed of an outer pointed arch, which contains a heavy tracery infill. Two cusped lancets are crowned by a standing trefoil. A mitred hood mould on two corbels surmounts the unusual window, which was subsequently walled up and appears as blind tracery today. The portals are somewhat unusual as well: they possess a flat, mitred top similar to the inside of many 14th century portals in Famagusta and Nicosia, here used as decorative shape and adorned with a continuous hollow moulding. The doorway is rectangular with foliage corbels. As these corbels, resembling of capitals, are carved from the same ashlar as the adjoining moulding, they seem to be unchanged. The upper part of the moulding is narrower, the stones of the unusually shaped arch somewhat irregular, indicating later changes. The tympana of both, northern and southern portal are plain today, certainly result of a 20th century restoration which transformed the doorways into windows. Jeffery, describing the church in the early 20th century, only mentions the two current portals in the western extension, both surmounted by plaques with coats of arms:

"Each panel contains two shields of arms [...]. In one panel is a plain shield charged p.p.p. dexter, a six-pointed sun, sinister, a plain cross. Side by side is a shield couche beneath a helmet with wreath but no crest, charged with a seven-pointed sun. This is doubtless the cognizance repeated twice over of some member of the once powerful family of the Gourri or Urri. The second panel contains two shields side by side, one of which is charged p.p. fess six fleurs-de-lis, three above and three below ; the second shield is charged p.p. fess six crosses patée, three above and three below. The first of these two coats of arms occurs on the tombstone of Dame Alice de Nevilles in the Armenian Church, Nicosia, and elsewhere in Cyprus. These specimens of carving although appearing of a mediaeval style

are so well preserved as to seem hardly so old as the XVIth century ; they remind one of the similar coat of arms in the church of Omoloyitades near Nicosia."¹⁴⁶

Olympios has recently suggested that one might identify one of the northern coats of arms, 'une fasce accompagnée de six fleurs de lis, 3, 2 et 1' as that of the important Frankish Beduin family.

Other fragments, belonging to a third, lost portal, are included in the extension masonry as well. Among them, there are two combined capitals, with foliage decoration. They indicate that the portal was of the stepped columned type with a single step / column (to which the capitals belong) and a protruding hood mould (carried by the larger corbels adjoining the capitals). The doorway itself was rectangular and covered by a lintel resting on the smaller corbels, which also form part of the same decorated blocks. Two large stone blocks with blind tracery (cusped lancets and trefoils) are placed above the western window, which, due to their curved sides, can be identified as part of the original lintel.

The interior lacks such creative, elaborate elements of decoration. It follows the standard patterns of dome-hall churches, here with elongated eastern and western barrel-vaulted bays and deep lateral dome arches. Arched recesses occupy the lower zones of the lateral walls in the east and west. A simple string course with hollow moulding occupies the level of the vault springer, but appears to be recurved or astonishingly well preserved. The central apse window has been transformed into a cupboard, presumably for chalices and other liturgical equipment. Its backside is covered with a painting of the Virgin with Christ, while the sides show depictions of chalices. These paintings are somewhat surprising, as no other part of the church shows any remains of a painted decoration (albeit this might have been removed during the 19th century restoration).

The date of the church, as well as its original use, have been subject to different interpretations. The ornamental decoration of the apse window and the fragments of the original portal lead Olympios to suggest a pre-1374 date. This would be corroborated by the identification of the coat of arms as that of the Beduin, as this noble family had members in high positions during the 14th century, but vanishes from the sources later on. However, if we accept this early date, the polygonal apse surprises: unlike polygonal dome drums, present from the early 14th century onwards, almost all 14th century buildings possess semicircular apses. Could it be that the foliage and blind tracery, despite copying 14th century urban models, are in fact sign of a 15th century rural rendition? This would be in better accordance with the shape of the apse and the general characteristics of the 15th

¹⁴⁶ Jeffery 1918, p 410.

century architecture. Or is the Panagia of Lysos indeed one of the few preserved 14th century churches outside of the urban centres, testifying to the patchy spreading of new architectural forms in rural regions?

The question of patronage has to remain open as well: Despite the presence of coats of arms, one must wonder if the church should indeed be interpreted as a Latin building, as done by Gunnis. Rather one might see the coats of arms, if they indeed are from the same period as the church, as sign for a cumulated patronage. It is not altogether impossible that Latin families with considerable landholdings in the surroundings of Lysos would have contributed financially when a new parish of the village was to be built.

LOCALITY: Lythragkomi	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Kanakaria
GEO-DATA: 35.478535, 34.165377	CAT. NO: 135	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the western part of the village of Lythragkomi

TYPOLOGY: basilica with aisles and semicircular apses, western narthex

WINDOWS: round arched, dome windows: mitred

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular with round arched, recessed tympanum; western portal: rectangular with profiled corbels

VAULTING: nave: barrel vault, central dome, drumless dome in the eastern bay; aisles: barrel vaults; narthex: transversal barrel vault, dome

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Drummond 1754, p 279, gives a short description.

PICTORIAL: Drummond 1754, fig 7; Soteriou 1935, pl 32–33.

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Late Antiquity (5th century?): erection of a column basilica
- mid-7th century: destruction in Arab raids, rebuilt as pier basilica (perhaps with barrel vaults)
- mid-12th century: renewal of barrel vaults, domes (?); narthex added or remodelled
- 13th–14th century: southern aisle and porch (re)built
- mid-14th century (?): central dome added or renewed
- late 18th century: central dome vault rebuilt

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of the various decoration phases, beginning with the (now stolen) apse mosaic of the 6th century, fragments of the 10th century, but mainly from around 1500, among which an Annunciation on the bema arch, a Virgin in the portal tympanum. See extensively Megaw, Hawkins 1977, p 37–160; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 43–48.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 261–263; Gunnis 1936, p 332; Megaw, Hawkins 1977, esp. p 1–36; Čurčić 2000, p 11–12; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 108–110; Stewart 2008, p 49–50; Stewart 2010, p 174–177; Langdale 2012, p 133–138. ARCAD 1954, p 12; 1966, p 9 & fig 13–14.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and sections: Soteriou 1935, fig 20, 22 (drawn by T. Mogabgab); Megaw, Hawkins 1977, pl B–G; Stewart 2010, fig 22.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 16.04.2009; 15.09.2010; 26.02.2013

The Panagia Kanakaria in Lythragkomi can be considered one of the central ecclesiastical monuments on Cyprus. Until 1974, it preserved fragments of a Late Antique mosaic in its apse, which remains from the original basilica together with considerable other fragments such as immured columns. The complicated building history continued with rebuilding phases in the 7th or 8th as well as the 12th century. During this period, the column basilica with wooden roof was transformed into a vaulted pier basilica. In particular the unusual feature of doubled arcades (that is, vertical joints separating inner and outer arcade shell) has caused a debate as to whether the vaults were already introduced in the presumed second or third building phase: Megaw, Hawkins 1977 and Stewart 2010 have presented the entire evidence in detail, with differing conclusions.

It is here not the place to discuss the early phases of the church further. What seems clear is that during the early Latin period, the church already had received more or less its current typological shape: a basilica of a nave and two aisles, three eastern apses; the nave covered with a barrel vault interrupted by a central, high dome and a lower, drumless one in the eastern bay, the aisles with barrel vaults. A narthex in the west was in existence at least since the 12th century, it is unusually wide and surmounted by a central dome. To the south, an open canopy porch shelters the southern portal.

The first clearly visible change that occurred during the Latin period concerned the eastern part of the southern aisle and the open porch. Despite being built in archaic forms and with repurposed ashlar, the steep proportions and overall different treatment of surfaces indicates a later date for these parts than for the adjoining nave. Megaw has suggested the 13th century for these additions, but they might have as well happened in the early 14th century. If it was a reaction to structural damage or to a renewed interest in the church due to a new use, has to remain open.

For this study, in particular the central dome of the nave is of relevance. Its substructure consists of double stepped arches, the lateral ones placed in front of the older nave walls. The inner arches seem to be later than the outer ones, perhaps underpinning the latter as a reaction to structural problems. Megaw suggests the outer arches, and thus the concept of a dome above the original basilica, to be an addition of the third phase. The underpinning he dates to a phase of rebuilding, which according to him might have happened after 1500. A graffito giving the date 1598 can hardly be enough evidence for a *terminus ad quem*, as stated by Megaw. In contrast, it cannot be doubted that the paintings adorning the dome arches serve as reliable *terminus ante quem* – their dating, however, varies from 15th to 16th century.

Thus, we have to wonder, when the concept of a central dome was first introduced and when the dome and its drum renewed. Considering the vague typological similarity with cross-in-square churches, where the central dome surmounts a transept-like space, it is indeed possible that the dome was already installed in the middle Byzantine period. The repair works, however, might have occurred well before the 15th or 16th century. The simple character of the engaged piers and (mitred) dome windows does not provide evidence for a dating based on style. Nevertheless, the rather plastic treatment of surfaces does rather fit earlier architectural tendencies. Thus, a date in the early 14th century for the rebuilding of the aisle as well as the dome substructure and drum, seems far from improbable.

While the building served as monastery during the Ottoman period, the precise use of the church during the Latin period is not known. The scale and artistic quality of the church seem out of place in a small, remote rural settlement. In this context, one might wonder, if the 14th century building phase could be seen in the context of the changes in the ecclesiastical structures during the 13th century: in this period, the Greek bishop of Constantia, later the bishopric of Famagusta, formally resided on the Karpas peninsula. Usually, it is assumed that his see was in Rizokarpaso, thus Saint Synesios in this village would have been the cathedral.¹⁴⁷ But perhaps the high age, visible through the preserved mosaic, of the Kanakaria church made it a central building within this 'exile bishopric'. In the absence of sources, we might only speculate, if it could have served as cathedral. The position of the church next to the road from Rizokarpaso to Famagusta would have made it a much frequented site during this period in any case.

¹⁴⁷ Papacostas 1999, II, p 75; Papacostas 2006a, p 228; Papageorgiou 2010, p 356–357.

LOCALITY: Makhairas	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Onoufrios
GEO-DATA: 34.958247, 33.213733		CAT. NO: 136
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in an unpopulated mountainous area north of the Machairas Monastery		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 14 th century (?): erection of the building		
- ca.1915: destroyed by a fire		
- 20 th century: complete restoration, replacement of original portals and windows, renewal of the masonry		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
[modern]		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 335.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: not visited		

The church of Saint Onoufrios is situated in the mountainous eastern Troodos woods, next to one of the main access roads to the monastery of Makhairas. It is a dome-hall church on rectangular plan with a polygonal apse and a western narthex. Not much of antiquity is visible today, as a fire destroyed the original church before the 1920s. However, Gunnis' short remark on this event seems to indicate that only the interior was destroyed, but the church not replaced subsequently. Indeed, the current building seems to corroborate this. In its proportions it is in accordance with 14th century dome-hall churches elsewhere, featuring elongated eastern and western bays with pointed barrel vaults and a high, round dome drum. The irregular rubble masonry visible on the exterior might be original, even if the mortar was certainly renewed in a 20th century restoration, which also led to a replacement of the ashlar adorning the building corners. Of the latter, only the lower ones, more weathered and of a different colour, seem to remain from the original structure. The five-sided apse was either renewed in the same 20th century restoration, or points towards a 16th/17th century restoration phase. All windows of the church were renewed, even if the round arched dome windows might follow the original design. The western narthex, imitating an open porch whose arches were walled up subsequently, is certainly post-medieval, most likely an addition of the post-fire renovation. The interior, plastered and with a number of modern paintings, only retains the spatial proportions of the medieval church.

The character of the 20th century post-fire restoration, which removed most characteristics of the medieval church, inhibits any precise comments on the original date of building. The 14th century date given by Gunnis has to be treated with some care, as he errs rather often and was already confronted with a ruined structure, even if apparently not restored yet.

LOCALITY: Makrasyka DISTRICT: Famagusta DEDICATION: Panagia

GEO-DATA: 35.078747, 33.761290

CAT. NO: 137

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north of the village centre of Makrasyka, on the western edge of a raised plateau

TYPOLOGY: two naves, one of which ending in a semicircular apse

WINDOWS: round arched

PORTALS: south-east: pointed arch with roll moulding; south-west: rectangular, chamfered, with profiled corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder and belfry on eastern gable of the southern nave

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- before 1300 (?): erection of a first building of uncertain shape
 - 15th century: addition of a southern aisle
 - 16th century: addition of a western annexe to the original church
 - 17th–18th century: replacement of the original church (keeping parts of the north-western corner), expansion of the southern aisle
 - 19th century: addition of a southern porch
-

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a painted decoration emerge, where the plaster fell off the nave arches.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 336; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 408–410.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground Plan: Kaffenberger 2013.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012; 22.02.2013

The Panagia church in Makrasyka, presumably an important settlement during the Middle Ages, belongs to the group of much-altered and often enlarged double aisle churches, which can be found throughout the Mesaoria plans west of Famagusta. Today derelict, the building is covered in white plaster, evoking the impression of a rather late church and presumably the reason for its absence from most scholarly studies up to now.

The church consists of a main nave with semicircular apse and a western bay, which is less wide than the nave itself; to the south an aisle ending in a straight wall; and an open porch along the southern façade of the building. The latter is evidently an addition of the 18th or more likely 19th century, clearly later than the adjoining southern aisle (as evidenced by vertical joints). The church itself is mostly plain on the exterior and observations on the chronology can largely be made where the plaster fell off. In the west, one can remark that the smaller western annexe of the nave is built from regular, even if not too well-cut ashlar, while the western end of the southern aisle is made from rubble. The eastern end is built from small rubble as well, but the corner (towards the later porch) is built from ashlars. The southern wall of the aisle contains three portals, the regular ashlars of which contrast with the surrounding rubble masonry. The central portal is rectangular, chamfered and shows profiled corbels, while the one further east is pointed with a framing roll moulding. West of the latter portal, a vertical joint along a row of ashlars embedded in the masonry testifies to a later change of the portal, which might have originally been of the same type as the central one. The northern nave does not show much of interest from the exterior, except on its junction with the western annexe, where the lower wall courses seem to be aligned differently than the wall above. The eastern wall possesses, except for the lower part of a flagstaff holder in shape of a pyramidal corbel, a belfry with roll moulding framing its large round arched opening.

The interior reveals even more clearly that the current building is a product of different phases. Both, nave and aisle are covered by barrel vaults supported by transversal arches on (mainly) double quarter circle corbels. Most remarkably, the northern nave and southern aisle are separated by an arcade of four arches, all of different size and shape. The easternmost arch is nothing more than a small passageway, originally connecting the bema areas of nave and aisle. The next arch rests on square engaged piers with a horizontal, profiled impost frieze. Where the later plaster fell off, one can see roll mouldings on the corners of the pier and the arch; the latter was once decorated with paintings in vivid colours, of which some ornamental fragments remain. The central and western arch are flatter, as the piers on which they rest have higher imposts. Their corners are chamfered

and the arch shows a simple step, as far as one can judge through the thick plaster, which might cover a more elaborate decoration. The westernmost arch is slimmer, indicating that it was built when the vault to its north was already in existence. The latter is even wider and rests on a sloped step, mediating between the vault and the arch below.

It is here, where one might try to start disentangling the various phases – the ideas presented here should be considered as of a preliminary nature, until a future restoration will reveal the entirety of the masonry and allow further observations. Two phases are clearly medieval, one comprising the western annexe of the northern nave, the other one the western half of the southern aisle with its arcades. As it seems, they were both added to the original church, which stood in the place of the current nave. This nave was presumably replaced in the Ottoman period, as is indicated by the large proportions, combined with a small apse, of the current structure. It is unclear, how the original church looked like, but remains of its western wall seem to be incorporated in the wall adjoining the western annexe, thus the misalignment of the lower courses. The large arch, connecting the nave with the western half of the southern aisle indicates, that this wall remains of the first building as well, which was thus older than annexe and southern aisle alike. The latter is one of the few more or less precisely datable parts of the church. The central southern portal as well as the combined ashlar-rubble-masonry point towards the 15th century. While the arcade is rather generic, the roll moulding does not exclude this date. The western annexe was presumably built during a different period, as the masonry differs. The not very carefully cut ashlars point towards the 16th century, even if the lack of sculptural decoration does not allow for a more precise suggestion. The most problematic part is the western end of the southern aisle and the two western arches. The latter might well go back to the late Venetian period, where such flat arches were rather common in the region. However, they are certainly from a different phase than the eastern arcade: a vertical joint runs across the central pier and its stone layers differ. A relative chronology cannot be established with certainty, but it seems somewhat likely that this part of the church was renewed before or together with the northern nave.

In general, the multitude of phases directed at an expansion or renewal of the complex indicates its importance well into the Ottoman period. A better understanding of this (and similarly often changed structures) could help to get a better understanding of the development of rural population in the Venetian and Ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Makrasyka	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.075212, 33.762172		CAT. NO: 138

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Makrasyka

TYPOLOGY: (originally) two naves, one of which ending in a semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: (originally) pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the nave with apse
- 16th century (?): addition of a second nave (?)
- 20th century: ruined church rebuilt, later modelled as a mosque

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 336; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 407 [here: Saint Efstathios].

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012

The village of Makrasyka seems to have retained a number of ruined medieval churches in the early 20th century. Today, it is not possible to identify most of them with final certainty, except for the Panagia north of the village. Jeffery only speaks of “traces of ancient churches”¹⁴⁸, while Gunnis mentions a “large sixteenth-century double-aisled church dedicated to Saint George” and “a church dedicated to Saint Eustathios [with] remains of paintings on the north walls”¹⁴⁹.

Indeed, the building used as village mosque at least since 1974 does incorporate the remains of a Venetian period church. Today, it is a single nave building with irregular buttresses on both lateral walls. Windows and portals have been replaced, a doorway opened in the apse. The interior is covered by an open pitched roof, which rests on three freestanding transversal arches springing from double quarter circle corbels. The northern wall seems to curve inwards in the upper part, perhaps the last rest of the original barrel vault. A low semicircular apse in the east underlines that the building was once built as a church. Interestingly, a row of *pierres d’attente* is visible on the north-eastern corner of the building, suggesting that there was a second nave or annexe to the north (in the west there is a modern corner strengthening, which presumably hides similar signs of an originally continuous wall).

While it remains unclear, how the two naves might have been connected on the inside, and how much of the structure remained before it was rebuilt in the 20th century, it is rather likely that the building is the church of Saint George described by Gunnis. It is not necessarily a large structure, at least not in today’s reduced state, but it is the only church building in the centre of the village and at least shows vague signs of a second nave. Probably the church was rebuilt in the 1930s or 1940s, shortly after Gunnis described the structure as ruined, using the stones of the northern aisle, which was thus taken down. The second restoration, which turned the church into a mosque, certainly happened in the second half of the 20th century.

¹⁴⁸ Jeffery 1918, p 200.

¹⁴⁹ Gunnis 1936, p 336.

LOCALITY: Mandres	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia tou Tochniou
GEO-DATA: 35.348738, 33.827809	CAT. NO: 139	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the southern slopes of the Pentadaktylos mountain range, east of the village of Mandres

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: apse: rectangular; western façade: rectangular with profiled frame; dome: round arched slits

PORTALS: pointed, chamfered arches

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, central dome over pendentifs

MISCELLANEOUS: triple roll profile along apse and dome arches

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA J.7782–7802 (1965); J.17.998–19.005 (1969); B.26.180, J.21.480–485, 826–828 (1970); B.29.916–917, 30.014–017 (1971); B.31.901–906 (1972).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 12th century: erection of a dome-hall structure with circular piers
- 16th century: renewal of the upper parts and vaulting of the church
- 1969–71: restoration of the church, rebuilding of monastic buildings
- after 1974: north wing of monastic buildings partly destroyed
- late 20th century: restoration of the remains

PAINTED DECORATION:

Small fragments of two phases. On the north-eastern dome pier fragments of a 12th century decoration (zigzag-ornament in the lowest zone). In the north-western lateral niche, the main doorway and the dome small fragments of a cycle which once covered the whole church. In the niche two standing saints (one Demetrios?), above a Keramidion; in the doorway ornamental decoration, in the dome vestiges of a Hetoimasia. In the niche north of the apse blackened plaster, perhaps once depicting a Man of Sorrows. The later phase attributable to the late Venetian period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 444–445; Papacostas 1999, II, p 76; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 115–116; Prokopiou 2006, p 65–82; Papageorghiou 2010, p 258–264; Langdale 2012, p 155–156.
ARDAC 1969, p 9, fig 26, 27; 1970, p 11; 1971, p 11; 1973, p 16.
MKE, 13, p 136.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Prokopiou 2006, p 68; Papageorghiou 2010, p 258.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2010

The small monastery of the Panagia tou Tochniou is situated on the southernmost slopes of the Pentadaktylos towards the Mesaoria plains, 2 km east of Mandres. It consists of low, partly ruined monastic buildings forming an open court and, in its centre, the katholikon.

The church follows the classic hierarchized dome-hall type, a cubic block, which is diversified on roof level: lower corner compartments, four gables surrounding a rectangular block, from which the round dome drum emerges. The apse is semicircular and, unusually, pierced with three rectangular windows. Another rectangular window is placed in the western façade gable, here surrounded by a triple roll moulding frame. The dome windows are small slits, covered with round arches carved from single ashlar. Two simple pointed portals, in the west and south give access to the interior.

On the inside, there is a certain deviation from classic dome-hall models. While the proportions and general spatial distribution (two barrel-vaulted bays accompanying a central domed bay) are not too remarkable, the semicircular shape of the engaged dome piers surprises. These engaged piers possess rectangular, profiled capitals / imposts at a height of around 2,5 m, from which the arches of the lateral recesses in the eastern and western bays spring. As a result, these recesses do not appear to be pierced into the wall, as it is the more common solution, but seem to be coincidental result of a lateral blind arcade with two small arches and a central big one – the dome arch. The latter, as well as the apse conch show another peculiarity: the corners are lined with a moulding profile consisting of a number of stacked rolls, similar to that of the eastern window. The dome itself, usually place for richly decorated string courses, lacks any such feature. This is presumably due to a once comprehensive cycle of paintings, covering all surfaces of the interior with the exception of the profiled arches. These fragmentary remains of paintings, belong to two phases of execution, corresponding to the two building phases of the church.

It has not been recognized in previous scholarship, which mostly suggested a 12th to 14th century date, that in fact the church was built in two phases, explaining some of the architectural oddities. The lower courses, including the semicircular engaged piers, were part of the first church on the same site. Upon close examination, a change in the exterior masonry can be observed above ca. 2,5 m, where the number of large ashlar in the rubble decreases significantly. The date for this phase is not only indicated by the unusual shape of the piers, comparable to for example the Panagia of Trikomo [232] only 10 km further south, but also a fragment of painting on the back side of the north-eastern pier. Here, a characteristic zigzag ornament remains, which, just as the architectural features, points

towards the 12th century as date for the first phase. Apparently, the vaults of this church had collapsed in the course of the Latin period, so that the upper part of the church was rebuilt. The unusual moulding profiles could indicate a date in the 15th or 16th century. The fragments of painting of the second phase, including two saints and a Keramidion in the north-western recess, ornamental decoration in the main doorway and a badly damaged Hetoimasia in the dome, should rather be dated to the Venetian period. Presumably, they were executed right after the rebuilding of the church, which can thus be dated to the 16th century.

The monastic buildings, albeit damaged and restored several times alone in the 20th century, retain some of their original features. One of these is the main gateway in the south-western corner, consisting of three undecorated pointed arches, of which at least one rests on spoliated marble columns. In the northern wing, partly destroyed after 1974, there is a considerable number of further *spolia* (columns and capitals), perhaps coming from the site of Salamis on the eastern coast. While it is not clear, when the monastic buildings were erected the presence of *spolia* accords well with the suggested 16th century date, a period during which the investigation of antique sites lead to a new conscience of the island's past and an increasing interest in the use of antique fragments.

LOCALITY: Margo	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Thekla
GEO-DATA: 35.100070, 33.493221		CAT. NO: 140
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the site of the former village of Margo		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: two oculi in the west and east gables [?]		
PORTALS: rectangular with pointed tympanum [?]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.19.704–707 (1965).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- early 16th century: erection of the church- 19th century: western annexe, removal of the southern porch- since 1974: in a military garrison, current state unknown		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>"On the semi-dome of the apse, the Virgin Mary was depicted between the Archangels while on the semi-cylindrical wall of the apse the Communion of the Apostles and, below, co-officiating bishops, were painted. Murals surviving in good condition on the west wall included the Crucifixion and the Betrayal." (Papageorghiou 2010, p 266)</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 183 [here: Saint John the Baptist]; Gunnis 1936, p 339; Papageorghiou 2010, p 266–268. MKE, 5, 377.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not accessible]		

The village of Margo was largely deserted already in the mid-20th century, as a result of the sale of the surrounding lands to a Jewish community in 1885, but its Greek parish church had survived relatively intact, as pictures from 1965 show. Since 1974, the church is located inside a military garrison. There are no current pictures to indicate the state in which it is, even if the Google Earth view of the site indicates that the church still stands and retains its roof.

The church is a single nave building with semicircular apse, erected from irregular ashlar masonry. Remarkably, there is a tiled roof above the inner vault, a far-from obligatory feature. The two published exterior views show that there were two oculi, in the gables of the eastern and western walls. The southern portal seems to be a simple rectangular opening with a pointed tympanum. The only visible detail is a flagstaff holder on the western gable. Three corbels on half-level indicate that there was a southern porch at some point, which was at the latest taken down, when the church received a low western expansion, stretching out to the southern front as well.

On the inside, the nave was covered with a barrel vault, presumably with transversal arches. The walls in the only published interior photograph appear to be whitewashed, but Gunnis as well as Papageorghiou describe significant remains of a painted cycle, including the Communion of the Apostles in the apse, a Crucifixion on the western wall and a Betrayal. These paintings, dated to the early 16th century by Papageorghiou, might indicate a date of building in the Venetian period.

LOCALITY: Mari	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.741530, 33.299792		CAT. NO: 141
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Mari		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: (originally) round arched with deep chamfers and protruding hood moulds		
PORTALS: (originally) southern portal: rectangular chamfered doorway, recessed pointed tympanum		
VAULTING: (originally) rib vault with zigzag moulding		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Courtauld, Conway Library, No 181738 (ca. 1910); Gunnis Archive Leeds, Box 25: three photographs (~1920); DOA B.862–865 (1940); B.38.701–703 (1975); B.47.014–017 (1977).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 16th century: erection of the church- after 1958: collapse of apse and southern wall- 1976/77: cleaning of the ruin, partial rebuilding of the apse		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Until 1958: Communion of the Apostles in the apse, below a row of standing saints (bishops?), in the conch a Virgin Orans flanked by the Archangels, framed with a fake marble ornament; somewhere else in the church a Saint Nicholas (?). A nativity scene 'on the dome', mentioned by the ARDAC 2003, is somewhat mysterious, as the church did not possess a dome. The paintings were certainly executed in the Venetian period.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 340. ARDAC 2003, p 27; 2004, p 35 [14 th century date proposed].		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010; 17.04.2012.		

The old parish church of Mari, dedicated to Saint Marina, was relatively well-preserved until the beginning of the century, as is shown by various historic images taken in between ca. 1910 and 1940, some preserved in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute, others in the private photographic collection of Rupert Gunnis, today part of the Gunnis Archive Leeds.

All that remains today, after most of the structure collapsed in the 1940s, is the fragmentary ruin of a single nave church with semicircular apse and irregular buttresses, built from rubble, partly weathered down to be an amorphous mass of stones. Even of this reduced state, parts were rebuilt in a restoration phase in 1976/77. Thus, the extraordinary character of the architecture can only be grasped through the old photographs.

An exterior view of the southern wall, taken by Rupert Gunnis, reveals that the wall was separated into three parts by flat vertical buttresses. These framed a central portal, consisting of a simple rectangular chamfered doorway with monolithic lintel and recessed pointed tympanum. In the eastern and western bays, there were two windows with round arched, deeply chamfered and surmounted by hood moulds. The latter were also described by Gunnis: "The two windows on the south wall have arched dripstones, after the Gothic style [...]"¹⁵⁰. The original appearance of the western façade remains unknown, as it is not depicted on any historic image. The lower courses of the western portal would suggest that it had the same shape as the southern one.

One remarkable feature of the interior can already be deduced from the exterior view: the presence of two large windows in the upper lateral wall indicates a cross vault instead of the more usual barrel vault, which would have inhibited lateral windows at this height. And indeed, while most of the vault was already gone around 1900, the oldest photograph shows the springer of a diagonal rib in the south-eastern corner of the nave. Even more, the rib seems to have been decorated with a zigzag moulding, only comparable to the transversal arches of the Panagia Odigitria in Nicosia [156]. It is not clear, if two or three rib-vaulted bays covered the nave, but the placement of the windows, which are rather close to the exterior buttresses, would indicate only two bays. In consequence, the transversal arch between the bays would have ended right above the portal and not been supported by the buttresses, perhaps one of the reasons for the structural problems of the building.

Apart from the architectural peculiarities, the church was also remarkable for a painted cycle of presumably high quality. On the early images, one sees that around 1900

¹⁵⁰ Gunnis 1936, p 340.

mainly the decoration of the apse and the conch above remained. The former was decorated with a lower zone of bishops and a Communion of the Apostles, much reminding of that in the Panagia in Pyrgos [199]. At the end of the Communion, on the frontal wall of the apse, there were depictions of deacons (?). The scene in the conch is not as easily discernible, but it seems to have been a Virgin Orans flanked by two Archangels. All depictions, as well as the lateral nave formeret were additionally decorated with ornamental frames.

The similarity of the zigzag-ribs with those of the Panagia in Nicosia, as well as the paintings, surely attributable to the later Venetian period, would indicate that the church was erected in the 16th century. Gunnis' suggestion that it might have been a Latin building is solely based on the use of 'Gothic' elements, unusual for Cypriot rural churches. Moreover, while the presence of a wealthy patron (resulting in the unusual lavishness) is certain, in particular during the Venetian period this might have been a member of one of the leading Greek families.

LOCALITY: Maroni	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.753516, 33.357382	CAT. NO: 142	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south of the village of Maroni, surrounded by a cemetery

TYPOLOGY: single nave church with polygonal apse

WINDOWS: [recent]

PORTALS: slightly pointed arches

VAULTING: barrel vault on three transversal arches springing from quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the church
- 19th century: addition of heavy buttresses
- 20th century: restoration, opening of the western door, belfry

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 340.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012

The church of Saint George, situated within the cemetery south of the village of Maroni, is a simple single nave building with an irregular apse, appearing to be polygonal, but with slightly curved polygon faces. Most of the church is built from irregular ashlar and rubble, while the apse shows more regular ashlar, which might be part of a later restoration. The heavy leaning buttresses, which surround the church, were certainly added in the 19th century as is shown by the characteristic blind arch connecting two of the southern buttresses. One of the western buttresses includes a medieval *spolium*, a fragment of a frieze with a double dogtooth moulding, the provenance of which is unclear. Two portals, simple slightly pointed arches, lead into the church.

The interior is similarly plain as the exterior. The low, only slightly pointed barrel vault is supported by two transversal arches on rough quarter circle corbels. The apse string course consists of a simple chamfer.

The character of the whole church is very rustic, indicating a secondary importance of the building. While the style is too generic to make precise statements about the date of building, we might assume that the church was built at some point during the Venetian period.

LOCALITY: Masari	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Anthony
GEO-DATA: 35.185251, 33.074174		CAT. NO: 143

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the southern end of the village of Masari, on the southern slope of a hill

TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: western window: pointed, chamfered

PORTALS: pointed arch

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arch on engaged piers

MISCELLANEOUS: three flagstaff holders or belfry (?) above the façade

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the building

- 19th century: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

Gunnis reports fragments above the western doorway, which are not visible anymore today.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 340; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 637.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2012

The church of Saint Anthony stands on the southern edge of the plateau on which the village of Masari is built. It is a single nave church of very modest dimensions with a semicircular apse. Lateral walls and apse are entirely made of rubble of rather poor quality. A single buttress of regular ashlar is placed in the centre of each lateral wall; the western façade is entirely made of well-cut ashlar blocks. The church is thus an interesting example of a building, where the patron apparently intended to evoke a certain sophistication through the commissioning of a rich façade, while the rest of the church was planned in the cheapest possible way. The façade is dominated by the main portal, a simple pointed arch, accentuated by well-cut voussoirs interrupting the regular ashlar layers of the surrounding wall. Above, there is a (today walled up) large windows, pointed, with a chamfered frame. The semicircular gable shows in its highest part three corbels, which allow for two possible interpretations. They might have been used as flagstaff holders, even if no other occasion of three flagstaff holders next to each other is known. More likely, they indicate that the gable once ended in a small belfry, similar to the (also destroyed) ones of the nearby monasteries of Saint George Rigates [119] and Prophet Elijah [3].

The interior of Saint Anthony is simple, the barrel vault supported by a single transversal arch on heavy engaged piers – an unusual solution for later barrel-vaulted churches, which can for example also be found in the 16th century church of Galataria [83]. As the interior has been whitewashed at least since the early 20th century, nothing is visible of the paintings, whose existence Gunnis supposes due to a fragment above the western entrance, still visible in 1936. Nevertheless, the architectural features suffice to date this interesting small church to the 16th century – perhaps, one might speculate, it was a private foundation of a rich landowner in the region. As a parish church, one would expect the building to have been enlarged later on.

LOCALITY: Mathiatis	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Eftychios
GEO-DATA: 34.947301, 33.362894		CAT. NO: 144

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in an unpopulated area between Mathiatis and Sha

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: barrel vaults, central dome

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA 4 pictures w/o number, C. Allen Skouriotissa (ca. 1915), J.8270–8272 (1966), B.42.121–123 (1976).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th century (?): erection of the building
- before 1900: collapse of the south-western corner
- before 1966: collapse of the dome and bema vault
- since ca.2010 reconstruction according to the original plan

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments in the dome reported by Gunnis, destroyed when the dome collapsed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 341; Chotzakoglou 2012, p 236.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012; 7.12.2014

The church of Saint Eftychios is situated between Mathiatis and Sha, on a hill between the light woods of the fertile lands south of Nicosia. There is no settlement anywhere nearby, so it either belonged to a vanished hamlet or, more likely was the katholikon of a long abandoned monastery. Today the church, reduced to little more than the lower perimeter walls by 2000, undergoes a thorough reconstruction, which strives to bring it to its original shape, but might wipe away most of its original substance in the process.

When described by Gunnis in the 1930s, the church certainly was in a better state, as he calls it a 'round', perhaps meaning 'centralized', building with a dome, which apparently retained fragments of paintings. From this time or even earlier there are four preserved photographs in the archive of the Department of Antiquities, Nicosia. They show that the south-western corner of the dome-hall had already collapsed, but the northern and eastern dome arches were still complete and held three quarters of the dome drum with the cupola. All this collapsed before 1966, when a second set of photographs shows only parts of the northern wall and apse remaining. Two general features of the church are remarkable. First, the eastern and western bays are rather short, its barrel vaults being hardly wider than the lateral dome arches. As a result, the church indeed took the almost centralized character alluded to by Gunnis. Second, the building was erected from irregular, mainly dark coloured rubble of a local volcanic stone. Only the corners and arches were accentuated with white limestone. This type of masonry is similar to for example that of the 15th century Royal Chapel in Pyrga, only some 20 km further east. Little is left of the building details: the arches seem to have been only slightly pointed. The portals had already been destroyed at the beginning of the 20th century. Only the apse window remains, albeit (faithfully) restored. It is semicircular on the outside but rectangular on the inside, a type predominantly used in the Venetian period.

While there is little left to decide the question of the original building date, aspects such as the rather steep proportions, the masonry and the shape of the apse window point towards a date in the 15th or even 16th century.

LOCALITY: Melandra	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 34.989151, 32.524733		CAT. NO: 145

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of the (now deserted) village of Melandra, next to the village mosque

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.41.076 (1975); B.41.779 (1976); J.76.398–400 (1994).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- medieval period: erection of the church
- 19th century (?): destruction of the apse
- after 1994: reconstruction of apse and western wall, southern portal changed (removal of round arch)

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 341 [here: Saint Luke].

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.3.2012

Melandra is one of a number of villages in the Pafos area, which had been inhabited predominantly by Turkish families until 1974 and are largely deserted now. The medieval roots of the settlement are demonstrated by the survival of two ancient churches. That of Saint John Prodromos, situated in the upper part of the village, retains remains of paintings, which date it to the period before 1300.

In the lower village centre, next to a Mosque of the Ottoman period, there is the second small church of Saint Nicholas, a single nave building with semicircular apse. Presumably, Gunnis means Saint Nicholas, when he refers to a deserted church of Saint Luke in 1936. Indeed, the apse and western wall of the building were only reconstructed after 1994, until which year it had survived as a shell of two lateral walls with a pointed barrel vault. The original southern portal, apparently covered with an arch, has been replaced by the same type of rectangular doorway, which was also used for the new western portal. This leaves the church with hardly any distinctive element to narrow down the date. The rubble masonry with enforced corners built of larger stone blocks was in use throughout the medieval period, so was the pointed barrel vault. The increased rural building activities of the Venetian period might offer a possible frame, but an erection as early as the 14th century is thinkable as well.

LOCALITY: Mesana	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George Komanon
GEO-DATA: 34.843243, 32.720677		CAT. NO: 146
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the village of Mesana, in the upper Diarizos river valley		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular doorway with framing profile and ornamental decoration, profiled corbels, protruding pointed hood mould; southern and northern portals: rectangular with simple roll moulding, profiled corbels.		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.81.496–499 (1989); J.76.251–261, 696–701 (1994); J.88.989–993 (1996);J.85.002–009 (1997).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- late 15 th or early 16 th century: erection of the present building		
- 1988–1994: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
East of the iconostasis in the south, an Archangel Michael flanked by 'vita' scenes; opposite scenes from the life and martyrdom of Saint George. Presumably datable to the 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 387; Gunnis 1936, p 343–344.		
ARDAC 1988, p 28, fig 21–22; 1989, p 33; 1994, p 28, fig 24–25; 1997, p 26; 2006, p 37–38, fig 59–60.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003; ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012; 07.03.2013		

On the western slope of the upper Diarizos valley, not far from the village of Mesana, lies the church of Saint George Komanon, according to Gunnis once the katholikon of a now vanished monastery.

It is a surprisingly large building of a single nave with polygonal apse. The exterior is largely plain and unarticulated; the walls consisting of irregular stones that had been collected in the surrounding fields. Only the apse corners are accentuated with more regular ashlar, which were fabricated for the specific location and show an ornamental treatment of their surfaces. Lateral walls as well as the apse polygon are set back by ca. 1 m in their upper parts; these thinner walls hide the rather low vaults of the interior and form the frame for the tiled roof. While the two simple windows in the east and west are of very simple character, the portals received a more elaborate treatment.

The western portal consists of a rectangular doorway and a protruding hood mould. The doorway is framed by a rather classic roll and hollow moulding, which runs along jambs and lintel. This is accompanied by a flat chain moulding and, on the lintel, a fishbone ornament. The same ornament occupies the sides of the two profiled, hollowed corbels, which carry the lintel. A number of peculiar flat reliefs surround the portal: ears of wheat and three spiral or radial ornaments. The hood mould rests on two corbels, which are profiled with a sharply carved but most unusual sequence of rolls and quirks. The arch itself is decorated with two rolls framing a central rope ornament. A triple dogtooth occupies the lower parts of the inner rolls of hood mould and doorjambs. The two lateral portals are much simpler but follow the same constructive patterns. The rectangular doorways are framed by a single roll, which also shows the simplified dogtooth at the bottom. The corbels are of the same shape as those of the western portal, but lack the unusual ornamental relief. All three portals share an unusual technique: their jambs are made from ashlar of various sizes, which are only dressed on four sides, while those surfaces, which connect with the surrounding wall, were left unworked. The same is true for the extraordinarily large stone blocks, which form the lintels. As a result, the portals seem to grow into the surrounding rubble masonry. Technique, as well as ornamentation of the main portal, indicate that a group of masons is responsible for the portals, which was well aware of current portal designs but at the same time found creative new solutions. The fragmentary portal of the nearby church of Agios Nikolaos [11], which possessed the same rope moulding as the western hood mould of Saint George Komanon, suggests that this group of masons was, at least for a certain time, indeed working in a locally restricted area.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ See chapter 5.3.

The interior of the church is somewhat disappointing, as it shares the plainness of the exterior but lacks the interruption by more elaborate decorative elements. The barrel vault, with a length of around 13 m and a width of nearly 6 m one of the largest in a medieval Cypriot rural church, does not even possess the usual transversal supporting arches. The one single element of architectural sculpture are small impostes with cavetto moulding on the two arch springers of the apse, which are not even continued as a stringcourse, as it would usually be the case. The only larger element, which structures the interior walls, is a pointed niche in the northern wall, which has been broken in at a later date – clearly indicated by the resulting damage to the painting above. This painting is in fact a large rectangular panel of scenes from the martyrdom of Saint George, the Saint himself being absent due to the interruption of the niche (the latter presumably was constructed to either house an icon or a fresco of the Saint in a more pronounced way). To the left, there is a smaller panel with two standing saints, while across on the southern wall there is a large depiction of the Archangel Michael surrounded by smaller scenes in the type of a vita icon. While the painted panels are damaged and fragmentary, there is no reason to believe that once the whole church was covered – perhaps it even remained unplastered. The result of the lack of windows and decorative elements is a rather gloomy and uninviting space.

The paintings are probably works of the 16th century; the church is datable to the late 15th or early 16th century through the character of the portals. Remains of a 16th century iconostasis, probably the original one, which Gunnis still saw, have been removed in the course of the 20th century. A restoration in 1994 secured the substance but did not result in any structural changes.

LOCALITY: Miliou	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Fotios
GEO-DATA: 34.944668, 32.459802		CAT. NO: 147
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north of the village of Miliou, on a hillside		
TYPOLOGY: single nave (?)		
WINDOWS: [destroyed]		
PORTALS: [destroyed]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral recesses (?)		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- Ottoman period: disuse and ruin		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: not visited ¹⁵²		

¹⁵² A photograph provided on <http://www.milioucyprus.org/index.php/el/our-village> [26.2.2016] was used for this catalogue entry.

On a hill north of Miliou village stands the ruin of an ancient monastic church dedicated to Saint Fotios. The origins and the historical context of this monastery are entirely obscure.

Today, the site is heavily overgrown and hard to locate. All that remains is one wall of the nave, showing a triple arcade. While the central arch is open on the backside, the lateral ones are closed. This indicates a single nave church with lateral arched recesses rather than a church with aisles. Most likely, the church was built during the Venetian period.

LOCALITY: Monagri	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.808569, 32.909718		CAT. NO: 148
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Monagri		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral arched recesses		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 109.		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th century: erection of the church- 1872: renovation; replacement of windows and portals, addition of a bell tower, western expansion (?)- early 20th century: new pitched roof- since 2002: restoration, addition of southern wooden porch		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>On the vault remains a well-preserved cycle of paintings: there are Passion scenes, a Last Judgement, a scene of the Three Holy Children and a Daniel in the Lions' Den. The paintings seem to be of the Venetian period, but have not been studied in detail yet. Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 238 date the cycle to the late 15th century. The ARDAC 2002, p 38–39 to the 16th century. Here also a detailed description of the iconographical program.</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Jeffery 1918, p 361 ["insignificant village church"]; Gunnis 1936, p 346; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 238. ARDAC 2002, p 38–39; 2006, p 35, fig 47–48.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012		

The parish church of Monagri, dedicated to Saint George, is an inconspicuous building with a modern appearance, caused by an almost complete makeover of the exterior in 1872 and again in the early 20th century. Consequently, Jeffery dismisses it as 'insignificant'. Gunnis already recognized the old age of the building, best demonstrated by a well-preserved late 15th or 16th century cycle of paintings, covering most of the eastern half of the barrel vault.

The church as it presents itself today is a single nave structure with a semicircular apse, an open wooden porch to the south and a bell tower in the south-east. A buttress on the southern wall marks a vertical building joint: the wall protrudes further west and, strangely, the cornice is interrupted for a few metres. In the northern wall, a corresponding joint is less conspicuous but visible as well. It seems clear that the western end of the church was added to the original building in 1872, date of the renovation, which is placed above the (new) southern portal. The original southern portal was walled up and replaced with a large window. All of the exterior architectural sculpture was renewed as well. With the exception of the paintings on the pointed barrel vault, the interior is rather plain. There are, however, lateral pointed recesses, forming a continuous blind arcade, which carries the barrel vault. This solution resembles for example that of the Panagia Ambelikiotissa in Kapileio [93].

The character of the architecture (as much as it can be perceived after the 19th century changes) and the paintings suggest an original date of the church in the Venetian period, presumably the late 15th or 16th century.

LOCALITY: Morfou	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.200468, 32.991037		CAT. NO: 149
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village Centre of Morfou, in the centre of a formerly closed monastic compound		
TYPOLOGY: hall church with nave and aisles, central semicircular apse; porches in the west and north		
WINDOWS: nave and apse: slightly pointed lancets; dome: rounded lancets; western gable: triforate window with profiled round arches, profiled jambs and monolithic middle columns		
PORTALS: central western portal: stepped columns portal (three steps) with unfinished capitals, stepped archivolts and recessed pointed tympanum; lateral western, northern, southern portals: rectangular chamfered doorways with profiled chevron corbels, monolithic lintel, recessed tympanum with roll moulded frame; north-eastern portal: simple, mitred doorway		
VAULTING: slightly pointed barrel vaults, dome with a round drum above the central nave		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: mentioned in various documents in the Vatican Archives (1510, 1549); described as established monastery in the will of Eugene Synglitico (1538) and by Etienne de Lusignan (1580); Descriptions of the monastery in various later travelogues, most notably by Vasily Barsky 1735 (Grishin 1996, p 19–21) and Alexander Drummond (Drummond 1754, p 267–268).		
PICTORIAL: Drawing by Drummond (1754, in Drummond 1754, p 254); Photographs of Enlart (1896, in De Vaivre 2012, p 339); Soteriou 1935, pl 44; DOA A.3026–3028 (1949); A.3546–3547 (1951); B.6939–6940 (1955); A.4823–4825, B.7857–7863, 7902–7905, 7924–7925 (1957); C.4997–5011, 5027–5028 (1958); B.10.384–385 (1961); J.4312–4314, 4384–4390, 4445–4446, B.11.673–675 (1962).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- middle Byzantine period: one or more earlier building stages- around 1530: clearing of the previous structures and erection of the present church- around 1900: erection of the lateral porches, perhaps replacing earlier structures- 1957–62: renovation of the church (roof and dome), excavations, renovation of the monastic precinct		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Depictions of the Apostles Peter and Paul on the two columns integrated in the iconostasis (16 th century?).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
De Mas Latrie 1852–1861, p 34; Enlart 1899, p 188–194 [Enlart 1987, p 166–170]; Jeffery 1918, p 221–223; Gunnis 1936, p 348–349; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 123–124; Bacci 2009b, p 29–30; Papacostas 2010a; Hadjichristodoulou 2010b; Jones, Milward Jones 2010 [wherein on the history and architecture: Severis 2010; Remsen 2010]; Papageorgiou 2010, p 283–288; De Vaivre 2012, p 337–339; Langdale 2012, p 184–192; Papacostas 2013.		
ARDAC 1970, p 9.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, pl 40 (frequently replicated); excavation plan (1958): Hadjichristodoulou 2010b, p 24; full set of plans: Jones, Milward Jones 2010, appendix C.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 08.04.2009; 25.03.2010; 07.04.2012		

The monastery of Saint Mamas in Morfou is one of the central pilgrimage places of the Venetian and Ottoman period in Cyprus, housing the (supposedly miracle-working) tomb of the Saint. The origins are unknown but remnants of several predecessors were uncovered under today's building in an excavation of the late 1950s. The earliest written testimonies date to the Venetian period (1510). Travellers of the Ottoman period were aware of its importance and in particular Alexander Drummond gives an interesting account of the state of the monastery and the church in 1754, stating that "Morfou is a very chearful [sic] place, about a league and an half from the sea, and its church is the handsomest building of its kind in the whole island."¹⁵³

What we see today is an ashlar-built church of roughly 20 m by 14 m. The cubic exterior, surmounted solely by the dome with a round drum, indicates that nave and aisles only differ slightly in their height, representing the classic type of a hall church. The central nave terminates in a semicircular apse and the two aisles possess apsidioles hidden in the thickness of the straight eastern walls. Round arched arcades on columns with rich foliage capitals separate nave and aisles and carry the seamlessly emerging barrel vaults. Of the six arcade axes, the three western ones correspond to the nave, while above the following two the dome is placed. The last arch of the arcade is behind the iconostasis in the bema area. The interior is illuminated by eight round arched windows in the dome drum and the slightly pointed ones piercing the aisle and apse walls. Six portals give access to the interior: three in the west, two in the north and one in the south. Only the small north-eastern portal and the tomb of the saint, placed as a niche in the northern aisle wall, interrupt the symmetry of the building.¹⁵⁴ In the general typological features and some building details, the church of Morfou strongly resembles the katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery near Tala [222]

The date of Saint Mamas has always been debated: it was perceived that, while employing Gothic elements such as the portals and especially the foliage of the capitals and the Saint's tomb, the overall character was not that of the 14th century churches of Famagusta and Nicosia. Already the early scholar of Cypriot history, Louis de Mas Latrie, expressed the thought that the church might have been begun under the Latins and finished by the Greeks with the dome (perceived as a marker of identity). Enlart later underlined in his meticulous description of the church that there are no conspicuous breaks in the building progress visible, as the ashlar masonry does not show larger joints. While there are in fact some changes and joints in the northern wall, these indeed do not indicate

¹⁵³ Drummond 1754, p 267.

¹⁵⁴ A detailed discussion of the building's architecture can be found in Remsen 2010 and Papacostas 2013 and is thus not repeated here.

more than one building phase for the main structure. Enlart then refers to the foliage decoration of the capitals to date the building around 1400. For some inexplicable reason, Enlart's evaluation of the material evidence was ignored by Jeffery and Gunnis, both dating the church to the 1720s, when apparently a restoration following a fire took place. Recent scholarship has unanimously agreed that the church is in fact a work of the Venetian period, more precisely the 16th century. In particular one written source strongly indicates a date in the 1530s: in his will of 1538, Eugene Synglitico declares that 2000 ducats annually should be given to the monastery so that a new church and monastic buildings could be erected. Evidently, it is not clear, if the church funded by Synglitico is identical with the current building, but it seems highly likely.

While indeed the portals, in particular the main western one, resemble 14th century models, details such as the multiplication of the cone-and-sphere motif on the column bases give away their late date. The same is true for the chevron corbels of the lateral portals – a phenomenon present as early as the 14th century but being used more often only from the mid-15th century onwards.¹⁵⁵ The foliage of capitals and tomb, including large, meaty leaves and occasional 'Green Men', is in accordance with the retrospective sculpture of 16th century Nicosia, as represented by the portals of the northern façade of the Greek cathedral. While there numerous references to the current Renaissance style can be found, those are few in Morfou. In the arch of the Saint's tomb appears a grape vine ornament, which is clearly not thinkable before the 16th century and finds a *comparandum* for example in the 16th century western portal of the Acheiropoietos monastery in Lambousa [126]. Furthermore, the use of round arches and pilasters instead of profiled engaged piers at the ends of the arcades creates an atmosphere vaguely reminiscent of Renaissance churches.

The church of Morfou seems to be a major example indicative of several trends in the church architecture in Venetian Cyprus: there was a certain focus on refurbishing veneration sites of local saints, mostly with buildings using the architectural vocabulary of the 14th century but dissolving it into a 'byzantinizing' blend. In particular the aspect of the veneration of Saint Mamas has certainly contributed strongly to the shaping of the building.¹⁵⁶ Other aspects, such as the use of *spolia* seem to be indicative of a general trend of the period as well: apart from the saint's sarcophagus integrated in the northern wall, there are numerous columns in western portal and window as well as the liturgical furnishings.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ For stylistic observations see chapter 5.2.3 as well.

¹⁵⁶ See chapter 6.3.

¹⁵⁷ For the aspect of *spolia* in Morfou see chapter 6.4 in detail.

LOCALITY: Moronero	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Gennadios
GEO-DATA: 34.815137, 32.524768		CAT. NO: 150

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the western slope of the Ezousa river valley, surrounded by ruins of the deserted village of Moronero

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arch

MISCELLANEOUS: lateral pointed recesses

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: —

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the original church
- 19th century: fell into ruin
- 2009–2010: restoration and consolidation of the ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 348.

ARDAC 2009, p 29, fig 52–53.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.3.2012

On the western slopes of the Ezousa river valley, several kilometres north of the village of Episkopi, stands the small church of Saint Gennadios. Its location, surrounded by the ruins of Ottoman period village houses, suggests that it was once the parish church of Moronero. This village, carrying a name of apparently Latin origin, was inhabited by Muslims at the beginning of the 20th century. Its existence since the medieval period is, apart from the church, also attested by numerous fragments of Venetian period pottery and medieval glass littering the surrounding fields.

The church itself is a modest rubble-built single nave building with a semicircular apse, resting on top of a masonry platform levelling the slope of the hill. Today, the outer walls and the western end of the vault remain, while the east has collapsed. A large part of the walls has been stabilized and partly rebuilt in recent years (in particular the apse). The exterior of the building was rather simple, with a single portal in the west and one in the south giving access to the interior. Both portals lost their upper parts, their remaining jambs suggest simple undecorated openings executed in ashlar. The interior was covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault, supported by a single transversal arch. The remaining northern corbel is decorated with an unusual ornament of semicircles. The lateral walls of the nave are pierced by two pointed arched recesses, usually containing depictions of the patron saint and the Archangel Michael.

The vita of the ominous Saint Gennadios, as recounted by Gunnis, tells of him being the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died (of cold) on his way to the nearby hermitage cave of Saint Hilarion (in Episkopi). The local legend seems to suggest that this church was the place of burial and veneration of the saint, aptly frequented by those who sought relief for colds. However, nothing within the church indicates a specific burial place such as a sarcophagus or even any deviation from the standards of rural Cypriot church architecture.¹⁵⁸ Today, the church presents itself as a rather common example of a modest Venetian period rural church, perhaps built in the 16th century.

¹⁵⁸ A number of human bones were found during the recent restoration works and, at the time of the author's visit, carelessly collected in a bucket. It is probable that this was a normal burial, perhaps of a later patron. The evidence is unpublished.

LOCALITY: Nata	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.787114, 32.586699		CAT. NO: 151

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: around 2 km east of the village of Nata, on the bank of the Xeros river

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch (rebuilt?)

VAULTING: barrel vault with (later) transversal arches [mainly destroyed]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Turner 1820, p 554: " [...] on the east [of Nata] we passed a small ruined Venetian church."

PICTORIAL: DOA J.74.106–109 (1992); J.74.435–441 (1993); J.85.063–076 (1997).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the original church
- 16th century: addition of transversal arches and external buttresses to stabilize the vault
- Ottoman period (?): replacement of the western portal with a wide arch, addition of a narthex (?)
- before 1820: fell into ruin
- 1953: further damaged in earthquake (only lateral walls and foundations of the apse remaining)
- 2000–2010: largely rebuilt from ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of two large depictions of Saints on the Northern wall, perhaps equestrian saints. Pre-16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

ARDAC 2000, p 35–36, fig 16–20; 2001, p 42, fig 14–15; 2004, p 49–50, fig 41–42.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2012

The church of the Panagia Eleousa, situated near the banks of the Xeros river, around two km east of the village of Nata, presumably once served as church of a small monastery. The rubble-built single nave church was already in a ruined state in 1820, when it was mentioned as 'small ruined Venetian church' by Turner in his travelogue. The church remained a ruin until the early 1990s, when the rebuilding started, ending in the 2010s with the addition of a roof above the rebuilt outer walls.

Of the original structure, the lateral walls and the western façade (with the exception of the portal) remained, while vault and apse had collapsed. The vault springers of the original barrel vault remain, indicating an unusually wide and flat proportion. The presumable imprint of the vault has been integrated into the new eastern wall, which thus pretends to be part of the original substance. Five corbels with some voussoirs resting on them indicate the former presence of transversal arches. On the northern wall, three corbels remain, the central of which does not have a corresponding partner on the southern wall – presumably, this part of the wall, above the (rebuilt?) southern portal had collapsed as well. These transversal arches, all placed in varying distances from each other and two of them cut through the faint fragments of two large depictions of saints. Thus, the transversal arches were inserted only in a second phase, presumably at the same time when the southern wall was stabilized with large buttresses, in order to prevent the malproportioned vault from collapsing. While this endeavour was not successful for long, as the ruined state showed, the corbels deliver some helpful dating evidence. One of them is a simple quarter circle corbel, another two are of the double quarter circle type. The central northern one is similar to the latter but the upper quarter circle is flattened and occupied with a rope motif. The south-eastern corbel has the shape of a quarter circle corbel placed atop an impost with octagonal 'base'. Rope motif and the unusual octagonal lower corbel part strongly indicate a 16th century origin for the changes to the building. The original church was built in either the later 15th century or the early 16th century.

LOCALITY: Neo Chorio	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint John Prodromos
GEO-DATA: 35.235191, 33.474046		CAT. NO: 152

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the northern quarter of Neo Chorio

TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse

WINDOWS: round arched eastern window, oculus in the west, rest destroyed

PORTALS: rectangular with wooden lintel and protruding hood mould

VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches on quarter circle and double quarter circle corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the church

- 20th century: western and southern expansion

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 557.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012

The church of Saint John Prodromos, today half-abandoned, is a small, later expanded medieval building of rustic character in the village of Neo Chorio near Nicosia. It consists of a single nave with irregular engaged buttresses to the north and an externally polygonal low apse. Modern annexe rooms occupy the southern and western sides of the building, while the original parts are covered in concrete plaster. This inhibits to some extent the evaluation of possible building phases (it might be, for example, that the polygonal apse coating is a later addition). The only original portal is that to the north, a simple rectangular opening with wooden lintel and a protruding hood mould sheltering a recessed tympanum. Those in the west and south have been changed due to the later expansions. There are only two windows, a round arched one in the gable above the apse and an oculus in the western gable.

The interior is covered with the usual barrel vault with two transversal arches, the latter resting on large corbels with quarter circle and double quarter circle shape. In the 18th century, ceramic plates were inserted into the plaster of the vault. Where the plaster flaked off, the masonry is revealed: long, flat, roughly hewn stones, somewhere between regular ashlar masonry and rubble. The lateral walls are structured asymmetrically: that on the south being entirely plain, that on the north showing two large blind arches, which are only slightly lower than the apse.

There is little evidence to suggest a precise date, but considering the polygonal apse, one might assume a rather later than earlier origin, perhaps during the Venetian period.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael Trypiotes
GEO-DATA: 35.171249, 33.362587		CAT. NO: 153
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the south of the walled city of Nicosia, on Solonos street		
TYPOLOGY: nave with aisles and central polygonal (5/12) apse		
WINDOWS: dome drum, eastern aisle gables: round arched windows; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: northern portal: rectangular doorway with roll moulding, different profiled corbels, marble lintel with coat of arms of the Podocataro family; north-western portal: rectangular chamfered doorway with decorated <i>spolia</i> corbels and lintel, discharging arch imitating a tympanum with a heraldic shield; central western portal: pointed doorway, profiled jambs with horizontal imposts, profiled archivolt and hood mould; southern portal: rectangular chamfered doorway with decorated <i>spolia</i> corbels and lintel, discharging arch imitating a tympanum		
VAULTING: three pointed barrel vaults, that of the central nave interrupted by an internally drumless dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 54, 140; DOA A.698, 712 (1936); G.1797–1798 (1945); A.3064, 3318 (1949); B.62.564–566, I.46.708–714 (1980); B.78.829 (1986).		
OTHER: Inscription above the southern portal mentions the erection of the church having been commissioned by the Archbishop Germanos in 1690 or 1695.		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mid-16th century: erection of the original church - 1690: restoration (rebuilding of the outer wall shells?) - 19th century: addition of a southern porch, replacement of most windows - 1980: smaller repair works 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 181–184 [Enlart 1987, p 160–163]; Jeffery 1918, p 45–47; Gunnis 1936, p 75–76; Papageorgiou 1982a, p 223; Schabel 2012, p 169; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 286–287.		
ARDAC 1982, p 15; 1997, p 17.		
MKE, 13, p 174–175.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, section: Soteriou 1935, fig 43.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2010; 03.04.2012; 21.12.2014		

The church of the Archangel Trypiotes, situated in the south of the walled city of Nicosia close to the D'Avila bastion, is one of the largest preserved Greek churches in Nicosia, which date to before the Ottoman conquest. It is said to have been the *katholikon* of an urban monastery, but there are no sources shedding light on the origins of the building. It is an ashlar-built structure of a central nave with wide lateral aisles, resulting in an approximately square plan, and a polygonal apse. Nave and aisles are separated by arcades on slender round piers and covered by barrel vaults. That of the central nave is interrupted by a dome.

The striking typological resemblance of the building with Morfou [149] and the Neofytos *Katholikon* [222], has been recognized in the past. In particular, the decentralized position of the dome, occupying the third and fourth bay of five, just as in the Neofytos Church, underlines the probability of a certain connection between the buildings. Furthermore, the Trypiotes Church follows the same method of integrating the arcades seamlessly into the nave walls, omitting any vertical interruption of the plain wall surfaces on the inside. Major differences if compared with the two other churches lie mainly in the treatment of the exterior. Here, the walls are structured by regular engaged buttresses, some of which are linked by arches on the northern side. This is a strong contrast to the cubic overall character of for example Morfou. Unlike there, the dome drum of the Trypiotes Church appears polygonal on the outside. Strangely, the interior of the dome does not possess a drum; the windows are cut into the lower part of the rather steep dome itself. In addition, the four portals of the church are not designed for their places, but assembled from various *spolia*. In particular, this last difference to the other two buildings (in combination with the almost total replacement of the windows in the 19th century) makes a chronological assessment of the building complicated.

In fact, few churches illustrate better the methodological problem posed by seemingly reliable written sources such as inscriptions mentioning a building date. In the case of the Trypiotes Church, a lengthy inscription above the southern doorway refers to the Archbishop Germanos, honouring him as responsible for the erection of the church in 1690, in the course of solely six months. Scholarship has mostly followed this inscription as reliable source, beginning with George Jeffery in 1918. For him, the case was clear, as he had also dated the typologically or stylistically similar buildings of Lakatamia [123] and Morfou to the Ottoman period. The church has until recently mostly been seen as a manifestation of the survival of medieval building traditions. If it is nevertheless included in this study, this is, because – as already Camille Enlart believed – there are a number of

arguments, which might indicate that it is in its core a church of the last years of the Venetian reign. First, the typological model was only in use in the Venetian period, while churches of the earlier Ottoman period tend to be rather big single nave structures. Second, the few remaining sculptural elements, which were tailor-made for the church, do not exclude a pre-1571 date. Albeit the clumsily simplified egg-and-dart ornament, which adorns the nave piers, is of remarkably low artistic quality, the reinterpretation of a Renaissance element would be in accordance with the architectural trends of the mid-16th century. The transversal arch corbels, in quarter circle shape with continuous frame, are rather common in the 16th century as well. Third, the type of masonry, consisting of small ashlar marked with simple masons' marks, was introduced during the Venetian period, even if more prominently seen in the case of the walls of Famagusta. Unfortunately, this is only indicating a vague *terminus post quem*, as there are few examples of the use of these simple masons' marks after 1571 as well. On the other hand, elements such as the very regular five-sided apse and the lateral external buttresses are more in accordance with 17th / 18th century building habits.

While more in-depth research on site will be necessary in the future, a possible solution might be indicated by the fact, that the interior resembles the 16th century *comparanda* much more closely than the exterior. In fact, one aspect of the church exterior has not been sufficiently considered hitherto: the perimeter walls end horizontally, with the eastern and western gables not rising from the wall top; instead, they are set back by between 50 cm and 1,5 m. Could it be that the date 1690 rather refers to the encasing of the original church in a new outer wall shell? This technique was already used for the Greek cathedral in Nicosia in the Venetian period, and perhaps this was remembered as an apt method to enhance a church without the necessity for excessive funds. This idea might be corroborated by the fact that the northern portal, placed between the second and third buttresses from west, is integrated in a deeper wall layer than that of the wall rising above. The differing wall levels are somewhat veiled by the arch, which connects the two buttresses on half-level and shelters the portal below. This arch, as well as the large window in the next bay and another arch are later changes of the current exterior wall, surely datable to the 19th century. The window in the first bay of the northern wall, however, seems to be original part of the wall. Its simple, chamfered shape is typical for the early Ottoman period, and it does not sit in the same wall layer as the portal. In consequence, it seems as if the portal is the only part of the former exterior, which was left free during the encasing of the original church.

Unfortunately, the evidence is not consistent. The northern portal consists of jambs with a roll moulding, two unequal corbels, which carry a marble lintel with the coat of arms of the Podocataro family. The latter would, due to its Renaissance forms, belong to the 16th century. The corbels are clearly in secondary use, the whole portal appears to be assembled from *spolia*. The same is true for the other portals of the church, those in the west including decorated fragments of the 14th/15th century (north-western portal) and 16th century (central portal). The southern portal, with remarkable figural carvings, perhaps of the pre-Latin period, follows the same scheme as the northern and north-western ones in employing *spolia* as lintel and corbels. Except for the northern one, all portals seem to be integral part of the exterior wall. However, the fact that they are made from *spolia* again leaves a range of possibilities open. Was the northern portal exchanged in 1690 as well? Why would then this particular part of the wall have remained without later coating? Or were the *spolia* already included in the 16th century building and again reused in the 1690 transformation? Currently, it is not possible to answer this question with certainty. It is at least thinkable, that some of the *spolia* came to the church, which might have still been unfinished, in the 1560s during the construction of the city walls. Then, numerous older buildings had to be demolished, creating a possible source for the very varied fragments. The latter do not help to provide context: they might stem from churches as much as city palaces (in the case of the Podocataro-marble-lintel).

Overall, and despite of the numerous unsolved detail questions, it seems probable that the layout of the church and much of its interior appearance go back to the late Venetian period. The exterior was then changed profoundly in 1690 (or 1695), triggering the (exaggerated) claim of the responsible archbishop that he had commissioned the erection of the church in that year. The 19th century added some further elements such as the southern porch and numerous new windows.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Holy Cross of Missiricou
GEO-DATA: 35.173631, 33.363079		CAT. NO: 154
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the old town of Nicosia a few metres east from the Faneromeni Church		
TYPOLOGY: three naves of only one bay each, the central nave ending in a polygonal (3/8) apse, the lateral ones in straight walls		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: rectangular doorways with stepped, continuous framing profile, in the west surmounted by a profiled hood mould		
VAULTING: central nave: dome with an octagonal drum and an adjoining groin-vaulted bay; aisles: barrel-vaulted (south), groin-vaulted (north)		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Engraving by Emile Deschamps, 1897 (in: Bağışkan 2009, p 98) ; DOA C.4791 (1957); J.6416–6417 (1963); J.68.973–977 (1992).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- mid-16th century: erection of the building- Ottoman period: strengthening of the southern dome arch, replacement of the southern aisle vault, transformation into mosque- 1927: restoration- 1963: northern aisle vault entirely renewed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
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BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 44–45; Lucchese 1992; Bağışkan 2009, p 98–100; Imhaus 2004, I, p 277–278; Lucchese, Zanverdiani 2008, p 69; Schabel 2012, p 164; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 277. ARDAC 1970, p 9; 1985, p 18; 1988, p 21; 1994, p 18. MKE, XX, 81–82.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Complete set of plans: Lucchese 1992; sketch plan: Bağışkan 2009, p 100.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2010; 03.04.2012; 22.11.2014		

A few metres east of the famous church of the Virgin Faneromeni, rebuilt in the 19th century, stands a small building today known as Arablar mosque or Stavros tou Missiricou Church. It is one of the most unusual creations of Cypriot late medieval church architecture.

Presumably owing to a restricted building plot, the church is around 14 m wide compared to a length of less than 10 m. The interior is divided into three naves of two bays each, the central one terminating in an exteriorly polygonal, five-sided apse. The dimensions seem to be defined by the western bay of the nave, the approximately square plan of which was necessary to allow for the vaulting with a dome. The eastern bay is much shorter, also the original division of the aisles into two unequal bays. A minaret has been added to the northern aisle.

As peculiar as the plan are the sculptural decorations adorning the exterior. Heavy, stepped buttresses with drip moulds are placed on the western and southern fronts. That in the south-west is decorated with an engaged shaft on the corner, which pierces through the drip mould in a combination of base and capital, decorated with a serially multiplied cone-and-sphere motif. The upper part of the corner shaft is thinner and ends in foliage. The three other corners of the building show the same type of engaged shaft, despite not being occupied by a corner buttress. The interrupting base / capital and the finishing foliage differ in their design and execution. The southern aisle and the western gable of the northern aisle possess an exceptional string course, consisting of a bell moulding, a dentil frieze and a concluding scroll ornament – except from here only to be found at the church of Potami [187]. The three remaining portals are wide, low rectangles, framed by a continuous stepped profile. The central western portal is surmounted by a profiled hood mould. Another portal in the west of the northern aisle has been removed except for its roll-moulded lintel. Most windows were replaced during the Ottoman period, but of the central apse window a curiously decorated lintel remains: it shows the upper part of a decoration with alternating semicircular and rectangular parts, presumably once belonging to some sort of tracery imitation.

The interior is dominated by the dome vaulted central bay. Remarkably, the dome does not rest on a drum on the inside, while the exterior shows an octagonal drum, a similar construction as in the Archangel Trypiotes church [153]. The eastern bay of the nave is covered with a groin vault. The two bays of the northern aisle are groin-vaulted as well, and were reconstructed in 1963, while the southern aisle shows a pointed barrel vault. Originally, the dome rested on four arches with bell-moulded edges, springing from four thin round piers with simple capitals. Those in the west were engaged to the western wall,

while those in the east were freestanding and followed by small archways, connecting the eastern bays of nave and aisles. Both, freestanding and engaged pier of the northern arcade remain in more or less their original disposition (the small arch in the east is filled with a wall today), while those of the southern arcade have been encased in thick additional masonry. This has presumably happened as an answer to structural problems of the rather fragile pier construction.

One might speculate, if this stabilizing of the dome arch can be connected with some of the inconsistencies of the exterior and the differing aisle vaults. In fact, the masonry of the southern aisle seems somewhat scrambled in parts, perhaps suggesting that it was not the transformation into a mosque, which caused the interventions but rather a collapse of the southern aisle vault. This idea seems to be corroborated by the thickness of the stabilizing masonry in the southern arcade. The question, when the original church was built and when this rebuilding happened, reveals that the evidence is more problematic as one might think from a brief glimpse. The continuously framed portals of the church as well as the engaged shafts on the corners with their multiplied cone-and-sphere motifs, leave no doubt that the church was built in the mid-16th century. While the capitals of the dome piers are rather connected to the 14th century architecture, the bell moulding of the dome arches corroborates the 16th century date. The same is evidently true for the decoration of the string course, dentil and scroll moulding being genuine elements not traceable on the island before the first decades of Venetian rule. The only partial presence of this latter motif and its concentration on the southern aisle poses some problems for the suspected building chronology. If the southern aisle was indeed originally groin-vaulted as the northern aisle, there would have been gables. The 16th century string course runs along today's horizontal roof line; thus, either the stones from the original string course were reworked to fit the new façade in the process of rebuilding, or the collapse happened already shortly after the church was erected and only the rebuilt parts received the new decoration. Upon closer examination, it seems most probable that the ornamented string course was reused in a later rebuilding, as some of the scroll elements are cut in half, misbalancing the otherwise regular sequence. In consequence, the fact that the string course runs along the top of the single southern buttress as well, does not mean it has to be part of the first phase. It might well be a reaction to the previous collapse of the vault. The south-eastern buttress, disturbing the symmetry of the church as well, is more problematic. Its position would indeed indicate a groin vault, as the barrel vault does not develop forces towards the west, making a corner buttress rather inefficient. However, there is no buttress on the north-

western corner, where the groin vault is still present, even if in a reconstructed state. Furthermore, despite stylistic differences in the execution, the engaged shaft of the corner corresponds to the others in the general design. Therefore, this buttress was in all likelihood part of the original plan.

Matters are further complicated by a tombstone found 'on the floor' in 1910 and described by Jeffery. This tombstone, inscribed in Greek but designed in the Latin manner, is said to have carried the date 1402. Was it in secondary use? Does it testify to an earlier building on the same site? In any case, the architecture of the current building, albeit puzzling, does not at all indicate a 14th century date.

To summarize: it seems likely that the church was built in the mid-16th century, perhaps over a predecessor, which is preserved in its main features. At some point during the Ottoman period, the vault of the southern aisle might have collapsed, taking parts of the southern wall with it. Shortly after, one might presume, the building was transformed into a mosque. The groin vaults of the southern aisle were replaced by a barrel vault, the wall re-erected with the old material. In this process, the old string course was reworked and placed along the new roofline. Other parts of the string course had to be replaced later on, perhaps leading to a gathering of the remaining parts in the southern nave and western gables. When the northern vault became unstable in the 20th century, it was finally replaced in 1963 as well.

The final question to be addressed is that of the dedication and original use. The current naming convention hints towards a church of the Holy Cross, but the suffix 'tou Missiricou' is somewhat mysterious. Jeffery, followed by others, suggests it to be a derivation of Arabic 'Misr', for 'Egypt' and in consequence believes the church to have been a building of Coptic rite. However, this is highly speculative. The treatment of the interior space rather suggests that the church was built for the Greek rite. The narrow eastern bays were suitable for placing an iconostasis in front of them, creating a small bema area. The unique arrangement of the short nave with a dome on thin round piers might be a late derivative of the ancient cross-in-square type, albeit the entirely different proportions could also suggest a newly created type adapted for the needs of the site.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysaliniotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.176298, 33.369742		CAT. NO: 155
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the east of the walled city of Nicosia, near the Famagusta Gate		
TYPOLOGY: group building with a main nave, northern aisle and three southern aisles / annexe spaces		
WINDOWS: domes: round arched / rectangular; western wall of annexes: rectangular with reused foliage frame, pointed with reused capitals as imposts; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: south-western portal: pointed with profiled jambs and chevron archivolt, profile is a sequence of fleurettes, dogtooth, foliage and roll mouldings, imposts with vine leaf ornament; southern nave portal: pointed with stepped roll moulding and two volute corbels [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: nave: barrel vaults, central dome; western bay: dome with transversal barrel vaults; northern aisle: barrel vault; inner southern annexe: barrel vault with one transversal arch; southern annexes: barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: (later) flagstaff holders on western dome		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA 697 (1936); J.59.312–317 (1988).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 12th century (?): original building- 13th century (?): narthex- 14th–15th century (?): rebuilding of the northern aisle, western bay of the nave- 14th–16th century: subsequent addition of chapels and annexe spaces to the south, several phases of change- 16th century (?): addition of an open porch in the angle of the building wings- Ottoman period: further changes to the northern façade and the southern annexe chapels- 1920s: western porch added, monastic enclosure destroyed- 1980s: apses partly uncovered, revealing circular core		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 95–97; Gunnis 1936, p 64–65; Prokopiou 2006, p 384–388; Papacostas 2012, p 97–98; Schabel 2012, p 162.		
ARDAC 1987, p 19–20, fig 7; 1997, p 17; 2002, p 19; 2003, p 18; 2004, p 21.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 18.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2010; 12.09.2010; 21.12.2014		

The church of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa, situated in the eastern quarter of the walled city of Nicosia, is the product of countless rebuilding phases, rendering its original concept and building date more or less invisible.

Today, the church consists of not less than five parallel spaces, ranging somewhere between aisles and lateral chapels. The core building, the second of these spaces from north, ends in an apse, which is polygonal in its upper part. Its three bays are covered by two barrel vaults and a central dome. To the north of this, a narrow aisle of identical length and one single barrel vault was added, ending in a semicircular apse hidden in the wall thickness. To the west, the nave is preceded by a short, wide, barrel-vaulted bay with a lower northern appendix corresponding to the added aisle, the appendix being covered with a transversal barrel vault. To the west of this, there is another wide, short space in the tradition of Middle Byzantine narthexes: a central dome is flanked by two transversal barrel vaults. This agglomeration of spaces is complimented by three rectangular barrel-vaulted spaces to the south, giving the building an L-shaped plan. The northern and largest of these annexe spaces ends in an apse, the lower part of which appears polygonal on the outside. The other two annexes possess straight eastern walls.

The exterior is dominated by open porches running along the western front and the inner angle formed by the northern nave / aisles and the southern annexes. While the former is the product of a 20th century phase, the latter is of more interest. It consists of pointed, partly profiled arches, which rest on columns with elaborate foliage capitals. These certainly were brought here from a demolished 14th or 15th century church. The portals of the church (except for the renewed western entrance) seem to largely consist of reused material as well. In particular the western entrance in the angle between northern and southern wing of the church is remarkable: jambs and archivolt are decorated with an inventive sequence of ornamental decoration, including foliage, dogtooth and fleurettes. The imposts, which interrupt the decoration on the level of the arch springer, are occupied by vine leaf ornament. The arch itself follows a zigzag pattern. Overall, the portal, just as the other *spolia* integrated into window frames above and in the next façade bay, seems to be of 15th century origin.

Inside, the walls consisting of ashlar of various sizes and technical quality have been totally stripped in recent restorations. As a result, numerous joints between building phases became visible, which will require more thorough research in the future. Certainly, the two phases indicated on the most detailed ground plan published by Soteriou in 1935 do not correspond to the material evidence. Currently, it can be safely claimed that the core of the nave with its eastern dome and the lower, semicircular part of the apse is of pre-Latin origin and forms the oldest part of the church. The large stone formats and typological aspects of the western domed bay would suggest that this was added as a narthex in the 13th century

at the latest and only later opened up towards the nave. The connecting bay with the wide pointed barrel vault seems to go back to the same period in its lower parts with rounded lateral arches. The vault itself, showing small regular ashlar masonry, is without doubt a rebuilding of the Latin period. The same is most likely true for the northern aisle and its wide, low connecting arch to the main nave, even if it was probably only a rebuilding of a previously present space. The inner southern annexe was a later addition and not, as suggested by Soteriou, part of the original building. In its current shape it is certainly of the late Latin period. Its barrel vault is supported by a transversal arch assembled from a number of reused profiled ashlars, which might have been part of a portal or a rib vault. The two quarter circle corbels are different in their appearance as well. Upon considering the western exterior wall of this annexe, where the highest density of reused sculpture is gathered, the evidence gets more confusing. Here is obvious that the western wall of this annexe as well as of the following southern one (but not the southernmost) were erected in one phase, during which also the numerous *spolia* were placed there. The eastern ends of these annexe spaces show a clear vertical joint between them. In consequence, one must take into account that not only were the numerous irregular spaces added later, but the older ones also changed in these later phases. Numerous joints and ruptures in the masonry of all parts of the church testify to the ongoing modification process throughout the late Latin and Ottoman period. Due to this fact, the sobering conclusion has to be that, even if the *spolia* are comparatively well datable, they can only serve as vague *terminus post quem*. If they were built into the masonry during a 16th century phase (marked by a Renaissance coat of arms in the northern wall?) or after the Ottoman conquest remains open. Perhaps, they came from buildings, which had fallen into ruin during the phase of decline in the 15th century, perhaps from structures destroyed when the city walls were built in the 1560s.

In consequence, it is hard to connect the building, or one of its phases, with one of the attested original uses. If Gunnis claims that the church was built by Helena Palaeologina, who married John II of Cyprus in 1440, this can at most refer to a phase of rebuilding. What seems certain is that at least by the 16th century the church functioned as *katholikon* of a monastery. Jeffery still describes two wings of a monastic enclosure, entered through a rusticated portal. The latter element is distinctive enough to narrow down the date of this enclosure to the 16th century. It was largely destroyed at the same time, when the western porch was added in the 1920s.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Odigitria (Bedesten)
GEO-DATA: 35.176177, 33.364218		CAT. NO: 156
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Nicosia, immediately south of the Latin cathedral of Saint Sofia		
TYPOLOGY: nave ending in a polygonal apse (irregular 5/12) with two southern aisles ending in twin apses developed within the wall thickness; one northern aisle ending in a polygonal apse (compressed 5/8)		
WINDOWS: dome: pointed, roll and cavetto-moulded frame; southern wall, eastern bay: pointed, chamfered frame with single roll moulding; central apse window: pointed, chamfered frame with engaged colonettes, hood mould with foliage finial; northern apse window: rounded, roll and hollow-moulded frame, hood mould; eastern gable: slightly pointed, bell-moulded frame; eastern bay of the northern wall: slightly pointed, bell-moulded frame, hood mould; central northern bay: pointed, chamfered frame with engaged colonettes, hood mould with 'Syrian' volutes; western bay of the northern wall: pointed, chamfered frame with engaged colonettes, hood mould; oculi with various frame profiles in the northern and western walls; [rest destroyed]		
PORTALS: central western portal: rectangular, chamfered with roll and hollow-moulded corbels, above moulded rectangular frame ending in volutes; north-western portal: round-arched, jambs with triple roll profile and foliage capitals, archivolts with inner roll moulding and two outer rows of foliage, rectangular moulded frame above; western portal of the northern wall: rectangular doorway with moulded jambs / engaged colonettes with individual foliage capitals and moulded archivolts (foliage and roll-moulding), recessed tympanum, hood mould with foliage on two corbels, lateral pinnacles; central northern portal: rectangular doorway with a continuous moulded frame and corbels, flanked by engaged colonettes with crocket capitals, separated by a continuous floral frieze, moulded archivolts with foliage, rectangular frame around the entire portal; north-eastern portal: rectangular doorway with floral frame and corbels, deep, chamfered jambs with foliage-decorated niches, quintuple archivolt with varied foliage, triangular gable with tracery-filled oculus and finial; [rest destroyed]		
VAULTING: nave: [destroyed] rib vault with transversal ribs in zigzag-shape, dome over octagonal drum, rib vault above the apse; northern aisle: rib vault springing from corbels, barrel vault in the east; southern aisles: rib vault on central piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: multiple zoomorphic gargoyles and smaller figures along the northern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: dedication to the Odigitria first mentioned in 1343 (see Papacostas 2012, p 93).		
PICTORIAL: photographs of J. Thomson, 1873; Courtauld Image Archive, Conway Library (ca. 15 photographs of 1910–1950); KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (ca.50 images, ca. 1935); DOA C.97, 100, 102, 105–110, 116, 121–126, 132–133, 140–141, G.346 (1935); A.172–173, 224–226, 239, 751–756, C.151, 219,233 (1936); A.578–580, 606–609, 849–853, 1001–1002, 1011–1013, 1019–1025, 1065–1066, 1135, 1152–1158, 1211, 1222–1227, B.251–253, D.455–472 (1937); A.1543–1549, 1590–1605 (1938/39); A.1626–1631, 1732–1740, 1854, 1864–1867, 1909–1913,1922, G.1335–1336 (1939–41); A.1999–2001, 2094–2099, 2202, B.1036–1046, 3043 (1942); B.1302–1308 (1943); B.2229–2243 (1944); A.2213–2218, 2228–2232, 2252–2259, 2271, 2304–2317, 2453, 2464–2468, B.2818, 2827–2829, 2875–2876 (1946); A.2622, B.3042–3045 (1947); A.2740–2749, B.3355–3361 (1948); A.3281–3284 (1949); A.3599, 3696–3700 (1951); A.3795–3801, 3861–3862, 3874–3888, 3895–3916, 3938–3946, 3957, 3979 B.4893–4894, 5137, (1952); A.4046 (1953); A.4785, B.7710–7727 (1957); B.9038–9040, 9141–9143 (1959); I.15.572–582 (1969); J.68.978 (1992); B.89.658–660 (no year).		
OTHER: –		

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Late Antiquity: first church: a basilica with three apses or a single nave church remodelled subsequently
 - 14th century (?): rebuilt as rib-vaulted hall church
 - 15th century: addition of a second southern aisle, northern aisle rebuilt
 - 16th century: nave and northern façade rebuilt (during subsequent phases)
 - Ottoman period: nave vault replaced, western end of southern aisles collapsed
 - 1930s: restoration: removal of the Ottoman subdivision and nave vault, tie beams inserted in dome
 - 2000s: restoration / rebuilding: new roof above the nave, southern nave wall partly reconstructed
-

PAINTED DECORATION:

Today, nothing remains of the painted decoration. In a lunette above the arcade between the southern aisle and the nave, there was a depiction of an enthroned Virgin with donors (?), today lost (Conway library, A 37/ 1055). Old photographs in the Department of Antiquities Archive also show a standing bearded saint, not locatable anymore.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 17–18; Jeffery 1906, p 482–483; Jeffery 1918, p 84–89; Carøe 1932, p 47–49; Gunnis 1936, p 55–58; Hilton 1936, p 3–4; Megaw 1939, p 97; Megaw 1951, p 191–192; Megaw, Mogabgab 1951, p 172; Boase 1977, p 174–175; Willis 1986; Leventis 2005, p 23–25, 285–299; Plagnieux, Soulard 2006c, p 181–189; Soulard 2006a, p 365–371; Papacostas 2010a; Papacostas 2010b, p 166–167; Langdale 2012, p 272–275; Papacostas 2012, p 93–94; Schabel 2012, p 160–161; Cozzolino, Mauriello 2014; Olympios 2015b, p 412.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Soulard 2006a (erroneous); UNDP (unpublished).
Elevations, sections: UNDP (unpublished).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 11.03.2010; 03.04.2012; 16.12.2014

The Greek cathedral of the Panagia Odigitria in Nicosia, better known as 'Bedesten' due to its use as Market hall under the Ottomans, is probably the single most puzzling medieval church in Cyprus. Today half-ruined / half-rebuilt, the evidence is obscured by a multitude of building phases combined with the results of two intrusive restoration campaigns in the early 20th and the early 21st century. During the latter, executed under the auspices of the UNDP, not only the structural stability was reinstated but also were the walls re-grouted, partly rebuilt and an ungainly modern roof added. A documentation was only published in the form of very general posters exhibited within the building, so that it is now nearly impossible to distinguish original parts of masonry and those replaced using original stone material. Detailed phase plans, apparently created during the restoration, are not accessible for further discussion (except for that of the western façade).

In view of this problematic access to recently accomplished material, and with forthcoming publications on the building in mind, this catalogue entry does not strive to be a complete in-depth study of the structure but rather give a general frame for the aspects discussed in this study.

The early phases of the church were uncovered in several hardly published excavations. In particular the semicircular central and northern apses, west of the current eastern end, testify to a large late antique structure on the same site. If this was a basilica, as claimed by Willis 1987, or a single nave church later expanded with a northern aisle, as recently suggested in the UNDP ground plan, has to remain open. In any case, it seems that this was the church of Saint Barnabas described in sources as being used by the Orthodox episcopate of Nicosia from 1260 onwards.¹⁵⁹

A Greek cathedral of the Panagia Odigitria is attested since the 1340s and the oldest standing parts of the current building seem to go back to this period. It consists of a nave, a single northern aisle and double southern aisles. The nave is now newly roofed in the west, a dome with octagonal drum is placed decentral above the second bay from east, followed by a rib-vaulted choir polygon to the east. The southern aisles are destroyed in their western part, in the east they are covered with rib vaults of equal height, springing from the high arcade piers separating the aisles. The northern aisle shows a rib vault throughout, except for the easternmost half-bay with a pointed barrel vault.

The most ancient parts of this building appear to be preserved in the inner southern aisle, together with parts of the western wall. If this is indeed the case, the 14th century

¹⁵⁹ The problematic issue of identifying the main churches of Nicosia mentioned in sources of the period discussed in Papacostas 2012, p 93–94. In particular, where the first Greek cathedral of the Saint Sofia stood is disputed. It might have been replaced by the current Latin cathedral, which inherited its name.

church was already of considerable length, with six bays in the nave and aisles. As the latter are approximately square, those of the original nave would have been wide and rather short.

Olympios has recently (convincingly) argued that the two southern aisles, despite being of almost identical shape, are not of the same period but in fact the southern aisle and the vault of both aisles was product of a later (re)building phase. During this process, some of the arcade piers were equipped with 14th century spolia (in particular the crocket capitals of good quality and the characteristic octagonal pedestals with overhanging round bases on small corbels). The eastern arcade pier possesses, however, a capital only resembling the 14th century models but including blazons of a later shape. Furthermore, the ribs of the vault above do not spring from the capital directly but emerge from a circular core rising above the abacus. This solution is typical for the European late Gothic and thus not thinkable before the 15th century in Cyprus. Furthermore, the central corbel of the eastern wall, from which the central rib of the arcade springs, shows signs of adaptation from the original corner corbel to its current function.

It is not clear, how the nave and northern aisle looked at that time, but presumably still in the 15th century a thorough rebuilding took place. Of this, in particular the eastern parts of the northern aisle are preserved.¹⁶⁰ They show a rather austere variation of 14th century forms, such as the prismatic engaged piers, which once carried the transversal arches of the pointed barrel vault. The four western bays of this aisle are much larger than the short eastern bay, preserved from the 15th century phase: they are covered with later rib vaults on small corbels.

The bay intervals of the aisles accord with those in the heavily damaged nave. These parts were presumably erected around 1500, replacing the previous structure. The choice of rather low and wide arches with a stepped profile is characteristic for the period and the quatrefoil plan of the arcade piers found succession in, among others, the Avgasida Monastery [208]. The increased width of the nave bays caused a rather unfortunate encounter of arches and vaults in the southern arcade, towards the southern aisle with its high but rather short bays. Evidently, the new arcades were built in an *en-sous-oeuvre* process, during which the ribs of the older vault were capped and placed on very awkward corbels emerging from the new arches [156.38–39]. The vaults of the new nave were quite exceptional in some respects as well. Structurally, they were common rib vaults, but the use of profiled formerets and zigzagged transversal arches deviates from all local standards.

¹⁶⁰ See chapter 5.1.

Also the engaged round piers, from which the vaults sprung (rising from the inner semicircles of the quatrefoil piers) were without older models on the island.

A problematic aspect in the nave is the chronological sequence of western bays and the eastern domed bay with the choir. Here, the mouldings are sharper cut and the general range of forms appears to be slightly older, so that one might consider these parts to be from one of the 15th century periods, as well. Ultimately, only the publication of the restoration documentation or further research will solve this question.

Anyhow, the final phase of (re)building concerned the northern front, which faces the Latin cathedral. In an unprecedented procedure, the entire northern aisle was supposed to receive a new outer (and inner) layer of ashlar, encasing the older structure. This project was never finished and the new façade breaks off after three bays with a row of *pierres d'attente* [156.23]. The new façade is one of the main works of 16th century architectural sculpture in Cyprus. Not less than three different portals are placed here, and a variation of zoomorphic and humanoid creatures occupy the upper façade zones as cornerstones and gargoyles. The main peculiarity of the portals is their partially close imitation of 14th century models, in particular of the main (eastern) portal. Future studies will be necessary to describe more precisely the place of these works of sculpture in the Eastern Mediterranean context. These studies will have to include an evaluation of the question, whether parts of the portals came here in secondary use, as promulgated in the past, or if they were created in an entirely retrospective manner.

The importance of the church lies in its use of unique forms throughout its medieval building history and the grand final phase of the northern wall, which demonstrates as hardly any other urban structure the purposeful use of retrospective forms during this period.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.177622, 33.370303	CAT. NO: 157	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: north of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa, currently inaccessible in the UN buffer zone

TYPOLOGY: nave with northern aisle and semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [?]

PORTALS: [?]

VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the nave
- Ottoman period: addition of the aisle, further changes

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments of a fresco reported by Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 63–64; Gunnis 1936, p 64; Petropoulou 2008, p 50–53; Papageorghiou 2010, p 297; Yiakoupi 2011, p 27–28; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 284.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan, section and elevation: Department of Housing 2008 (in Petropoulou 2008, p 50–52).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [inaccessible]

The church of Saint George is a small building north of the Panagia Chrysaliniotissa, today inaccessible in the UN buffer zone cutting through the old town of Nicosia. The church is described by Jeffery and Gunnis as a 17th century structure incorporating remains of a medieval building. It consists of an elongated nave with semicircular apse and a narrow northern aisle. The nave is structured by buttresses on the outside, corresponding to the transversal arches on the inside, which carry the barrel vault. The available pictures and plans of the church do not allow for a more detailed assessment of the attested 'medieval' remains. In the southern exterior wall, there seems to be an arched recess of unclear function, perhaps an external wall tomb comparable to the structure at Saint Mamas in Sotira [210]. Above the western doorway is a fragment of a sarcophagus inserted, which, according to Jeffery's description, displays the coat of arms of the Gourri family.

The church is included in this catalogue as a building with certain medieval origins, even if currently it cannot be said if the 17th century date first proposed by Jeffery and only recently questioned by Papageorghiou is correct or not.

LOCALITY: Nicosia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint James
GEO-DATA: 35.176728, 33.368014	CAT. NO: 158	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: west of the church of Saint Kassianos, currently inaccessible in the UN buffer zone

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall (?) with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [?]

PORTALS: [?]

VAULTING: [?]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: “a small building with four barrel vaults” (Ludwig Salvator, 1873, in Salvator 1983, p 42)

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the building

- 18th–19th century: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

[?]

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 95; Petropoulou 2008, p 46–49; Papageorghiou 2010, p 298; Yiakoupi 2011, p 26–27; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 292.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [inaccessible]

The church of Saint James is situated close by the 18th/19th century church of Saint Kassianos, and is inaccessible due to its location in the UN buffer zone.¹⁶¹ It is a dome-hall church of certainly medieval origin, which apparently underwent a restoration during the Ottoman period (as is attested by Jeffery's suggestion that it is 'modern'). The few published photographs indicate that the church is ashlar-built and combines elongated barrel-vaulted eastern and western bays with deep lateral dome arches – an interior structure that is displayed on the exterior in the form of lateral gables. The dome is pierced by eight narrow, high windows in the high dome drum. The southern portal seems to be surmounted by a protruding hood mould.

The church is part of a former monastic precinct, which Jeffery dates to the 19th century due to it not being mentioned in a list of monasteries before this period. However, the perimeter wall to the south of the church appears to include a corbelled doorway in medieval design. Evidently, this might be reused from other ancient buildings in the surroundings – here, only a future accessibility of the church will help to evaluate, which parts of the building are of medieval origin and of what character were the post-medieval interventions.

This is of some interest, as a monastery of Saint James is in fact, adversely to Jeffery's opinion, mentioned in Ottoman period sources. Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012 recounts the history of a church of 'San Giacomo' being purchased by a Capuchin convent in Nicosia in 1638 and subsequently functioning as Latin cathedral – at least until being described as in danger of collapse in 1661. In 1793, the church and convent were sold to Hadjgeorgakis Kornesios; and the entry in his list of possessions corroborates the identification with the building still standing: 'monastery of Agios Iakovos in the parish of Agios Kassianos'. Apparently, the church was restored around this time and used by the Dragoman as his family chapel, before being donated to the Greek community for the installation of an orphanage in the course of the 19th century. While this assemblage of information only concerns the post-medieval period, it testifies to an interesting history of changing uses, which might have displayed in changes to the original, pre-1571 building.

¹⁶¹ For Saint Kassianos, which contains a number of medieval spolia, see Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 2012, p 284.

LOCALITY: Ormideia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George Angonas
GEO-DATA: 35.007769, 33.804329		CAT. NO: 159
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: between Ormideia and Avgorou, at the site of the vanished village of Angona		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse and western narthex		
WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with recessed tympanum; southern portal: rectangular, chamfered, with quarter circle corbels		
VAULTING: narthex: sail vault; nave: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the façade gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.23.726–735 (1971).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 12 th century: addition of the narthex to an older church		
- 16 th century: erection of the current naos in the place of the previous building, retaining its narthex		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Several fragments of at least two phases: in the narthex standing saints (among which the exceptionally well-preserved Saint Nicholas, Saint Kyriaki) and dim traces of the evangelists in the pendentifs of the vault. The vault arches with ornamental decoration. This phase dates to the time before the Latin conquest. In the naos a depiction of Saint Paraskevi on the lateral wall, an Annunciation on the eastern wall and in the apse a row of bishops in a painted arcade. In the centre a Man of Sorrows. Along the apse cornice an inscription. This phase is certainly a work of the 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 26; Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 357–358.		
ARDAC 2001, p 30–31; 2002, p 31–32.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan, sections: L'Anson, Vacher 1883, fig 40–45.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010		

The church of Saint George at the former settlement site of Angona is one of the earliest rural Cypriot churches to be noticed by scholarship. Presumably found by coincidence while travelling to Famagusta, Sydney Vacher described the building as model example for the multitude of Cypriot rural churches in 1883. He even took the time to draw quite accurate plans and sections, which testify that indeed little has changed since the late 19th century.

The church consists of an approximately square narthex in the west, surmounted by what seems to be a dome from the exterior but in fact is constructed as a sail vault resting on four deep lateral arches. As a result, the inner plan of the narthex is cruciform. Remains of 12th or 13th century paintings on the inside provide a firm *terminus ante quem* for the narthex, which was presumably one of many narthexes added to middle Byzantine churches during the 12th century.¹⁶² Of interest for this study is the naos, which at some point, presumably in the 16th century, replaced the former church except for its narthex. In its dimensions, it reacts to the older structure by maintaining the alignment of the lateral walls. Constructed as a single nave building with semicircular apse and barrel vault, it is indeed, as claimed by Vacher, a rather common structure with few decorative elements. The portals are rectangular, chamfered and with simple quarter circle corbels, while the corbels of the transversal vault arches are of the double quarter circle type. There are considerable remains of paintings in the 16th century nave, even if the Annunciation above the apse, described as best-preserved part by Gunnis, has almost vanished, the bust of Christ in the apse described by Vacher is entirely lost. What remains of the Annunciation is the central part between the Archangel and Mary, showing an unidentified coat of arms with a parted dark red and a white blazon. Furthermore, there is a Saint Paraskevi on the northern wall and the decoration of the lower apse zone already drawn by Vacher. In the centre, there is a depiction of Christ as Man of Sorrows, flanked by six bishops under a painted arcade in Renaissance forms. An ornamental frieze and an inscription on the string course follow on top. The apse front is occupied by a deacon on the southern side. Overall this decoration corroborates the assumed 16th century date of the rebuilding.

The same might be true for the iconostasis. George Jeffery refers to a church of Saint George 'Venechió' near the village in a location 'Ongaro', which at his time was said to contain an iconostasis with an inscription datable to the end of the 16th century. Even if 'Angona' and 'Ongaro' do not necessarily indicate that Jeffery was talking about the same building, it is somewhat likely. The current iconostasis in the church of Saint George is ancient, but no inscription could be identified. A 16th century date (presumably before 1571, though) is very likely.

¹⁶² For narthexes see Papageorghiou 1982b.

LOCALITY: Ornithi	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Artemon
GEO-DATA: 35.156590, 33.570768		CAT. NO: 160

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the Mesaoria plain, ca. 1 km west of Afanteia at the settlement of Ornithi

TYPOLOGY: nave with semicircular apse, northern aisle and choir annexe

WINDOWS: biforate apse window

PORTALS: western portal: pointed with horizontal moulded imposts and roll-moulding; southern portal: pointed

VAULTING: barrel vault, partly with transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: coat of arms with an eagle above the eastern gable

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.8417–8418 (1959).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 13th–14th century (?): erection of the original church (today main nave)
- 14th century (?): addition of the northern chapel
- 15th–16th century (?): addition of the northern aisle
- 16th century (?): western expansion of the nave

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments appear, where the plaster has fallen off: on the nave piers and in the apse vault. Motifs are hard to decipher, but the apse seems to have been occupied by a standing Virgin with Archangels flanking (only *sinopie* left). Date unclear, but seem to be late medieval.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 198; Gunnis 1936, p 359; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 107; Papageorgiou 2010, p 310 [as 'Saint George']; Papacostas 2014c, p 192.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 26.03.2010; 12.04.2012; 25.02.2013.

Already when Jeffery described the church of Saint Artemon in 1918, it was the last standing building of the medieval village of Ornithi, mentioned in different historical sources as property of the Chapter of Nicosia. The church, described as 'poor specimen of rustic architecture' by Jeffery, remains one of the most ancient and puzzling buildings in the central Mesaoria.

The church consists of a main nave in the south, ending in a semicircular apse, a northern annexe in the east and a larger aisle to the west of this annexe. Already the exterior indicates that at least four building phases are distinguishable. The original nave and the northern annexe are much lower and slightly misaligned compared to the western bays of almost identical shape, the latter with irregular buttresses. Most of the church, with the exception of some corners in ashlar, is erected from irregular rubble. This makes the recognition of building joints rather complicated. Only in the southern wall, west of the southern portal, a vertical joint proves what the different roof levels indicate: the western part of the nave was added later. A less clear joint might be recognizable between the original nave and the northern annexe. Neither portals nor the few windows suggest an interest in decorative stonemasonry. The window of the apse, the walls of which are inclined towards the top, is formed as a small biforate opening with central pier and two monolithic arches above. The portals in the south (simple, pointed) and in the west (pointed, with roll moulding and profiled imposts) are additions of the last phase, hardly distinctive standard models. The most curious detail is a coat of arms with an eagle placed in the apex of the eastern gable above the apse. Already Jeffery suggested – rightly – that this might have come from one of the surrounding ancient buildings, which must have fallen into ruin in the Ottoman period.

The interior corroborates the impression of a complex building history. Apart from the fact that hardly any wall is parallel to another, the irregularity of the vaults, numerous steps in the wall surfaces and, where the plaster fell off, more building joints draw a picture of a typical rural Cypriot church. It was constantly adapted to new requirements of use without an underlying general architectural concept. The eastern half of the nave is recognizable as a unit with a continuous, uninterrupted narrow barrel vault. The apse in the east takes up the entire width of the nave, but does not reach its height, leaving space for a window in the gable above. In the bema bay, a recessed, slightly pointed blind arch in the southern wall is opposed to an equivalent in the northern wall, the latter partly opened up to give access to the northern annexe. The western bay of this original nave shows two larger, higher arches of the same kind. Here, as well, the southern one is a blind arch (with certain irregularities in

the lateral engaged piers), while that in the north has later been opened up to connect nave and northern aisle. Where the plaster fell off on the inside of the piers, fragments of paintings and vertical building joints are revealed: nave and aisle do not share a common wall, but the aisle was added as autonomous unit, effectively redoubling the thickness of the piers. In the west, the older part of the nave is concluded with a transversal arch resting on two large engaged piers with chamfers and moulded imposts. Certainly, it was here where the original western wall stood, before the current western expansion was added. The latter is covered with a high barrel vault with one transversal arch springing from quarter circle corbels. It is connected with the aisle via a second large arch, less thick than the central one. The aisle has a barrel vault with transversal arches springing from quarter circle corbels as well. In its eastern wall, there is a narrow, high opening with an oddly misplaced arch above, which leads into the northern annexe – a simple, barrel-vaulted space with a raised step and niches at its eastern end.

While a comprehensive evaluation of building phases would require a removal of the thick modern plaster in the future, first preliminary results can be presented here. It seems that the building was originally a single nave structure with two bays, defined by the lateral blind arches. The fact that these are slightly pointed would indicate a post-12th century date, but they might have also been changed later. The apse vault, made from regular ashlar, is rather indicative of a post-14th century date, but might as well be the result of a later repair. In any case, this church was not contemporary with the small northern annexe room, in itself not precisely datable. One must assume that the annexe was added to the church, even if the possibility of a predecessor of today's main nave cannot be totally excluded. The expansion in the west is certainly datable to the 15th or 16th century, but it remains somewhat open, if both, nave expansion and aisle were built at the same time, or if one of the two preceded the other. The mismatching vault arches would rather indicate that the aisle was built first: its western arch, aiming in an odd angle at the central pier, might have indeed aimed at what was the façade (and thus the structurally most stable part of the nave) at that time.

The numerous expansions might be explained by the presumable function of the church. Gunnis mentions its dedication to Saint Artemios. Recently, Papacostas has suggested to link the church to a cult of Saint Artemon, a saint said to have been a miracle worker in Late Antique Cyprus. While there are, according to Papacostas, no later medieval sources mentioning the saint, his cult, or a relic, the function of the church as a local pilgrimage shrine for the veneration of a saint is corroborated by the architectural features.

It cannot be verified, if indeed there is a subterranean burial chamber under the church, as described by Papacostas, as today (last visit February 2013) the church is filled with hay and serves as a garbage dump. However, the northern annexe with the raised step on its eastern side and access from the nave bema as well as through a small doorway from the aisle, would be suitable to serve as architectural frame for a saint's sarcophagus or relic shrine. A veneration of rather local importance would also explain, why it is not mentioned in sources and why, despite the apparent need for repeated expansions, the architecture is far from sophisticated.

LOCALITY: Orounda	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.098365, 33.086342	CAT. NO: 161	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south of Orounda, overlooking the Peristerona river, within monastic enclosure

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: dome: round arched with smoothly waved bell-moulded continuous frame; lateral gables: pointed, identical frame; lower zone: biforate window, chamfered jambs; apse: rectangular with roll-moulded frame; western gable: oculus with stepped roll moulding and quatrefoil tracery

PORTALS: northern portal: rectangular, chamfered, with chevron corbels; western portal pointed with framing roll, separate hood mould, above a rectangular, framed panel with a lion of Saint Mark

VAULTING: dome; pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches on stepped corbels

MISCELLANEOUS: prismatic flagstaff holders on the dome drum

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: DOA D.119 (1936); B.6483–6484 (1955); B.11.176–177 (1961); B.40.839–840 (1975); B.47.028–029, 48.040–045, 296 (1978); B.86.307–310 (1990s); J.87.38–547 (1998).

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the church
- 1793: restoration (?)
- 1976, 1996–2002: restoration (replacement of eroded stones, reconstructions of walled up windows)

PAINTED DECORATION:

—

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 359; Petropoulou, Philokyrou 2011, p 145–147.

ARDAC 1976, p 13–14; 1977, p 13, fig 3–4; 1995, p 17, fig 2–3; 1996, p 19; 1998, p 21; 1999, p 20; 2000, p 24; 2002, p 24–25; 2003, p 23.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2012; 06.12.2014

Little is known about the origins of the monastery of Saint Nicholas near Orounda. Founded presumably in the later Venetian period and restored in 1793, it seems likely that the monastery was abandoned and transformed into a farm in the 19th century. Semi-ruined, except for the church, the monastery was re-established only in 1990, with further buildings being erected in 1999.

The church, in the centre of the monastic precinct, has survived the Ottoman period almost unchanged, with smaller repair works carried out in 1976. It is a dome-hall church of well-planned character, erected from accurately worked ashlar masonry. The cubic outline of the nave is interrupted by two stepped buttresses with drip moulds on each lateral wall. In the east, there is a semicircular apse, flanked by two shallow, low buttresses. In the west, a (rebuilt) porch shelters the main portal – indicating how many late medieval wooden church porches, of which only beam holes remain, might have been constructed. A high, round dome drum surmounts the building. It is flanked by the two lateral gables, which have a semicircular outline. The gables in the east and west share this shape, but are made part of an overall triangular gable. As a result, there are small, inelegant spandrels besides the circular part. It is not entirely clear, if this is a result of a later change, but the fact that the cornice of the gable does not break off, but ends in a corner situation, indicates that the central part of the gable was always treated in this exceptional way. The exterior of the church shows a number of carefully designed elements of architectural sculpture. The cornices of the nave and the dome show an identical roll and hollow profile, similar to the bell moulding framing the relatively large pointed windows in the lateral gables. The dome windows are round arched, their frame consists of a smoothly waved hollow. The interesting variation of window forms is complemented by a rectangular apse window with roll moulding, the lower southern window formed as a double lancet (reconstructed in 1976), and the oculus in the west, filled with an (original, as it seems) quatrefoil tracery, framed by a triple stepped roll moulding. A similar moulding profile was used for the rectangular frame surrounding a panel with the winged lion of Saint Marc above the western portal. The relief itself possesses an inner frame with heavily weathered Renaissance moulding and was traditionally interpreted as a local imitation of the state symbol of the Serenissima. The portal below consists of a pointed doorway with asymmetric roll and hollow profile with cone-and-sphere decorations, reminding of 14th century models, and a protruding hood mould. The keystone is decorated with a cross relief, bearing the clumsily executed carving of the year 1793 (not 1733, as read by Gunnis). The different technique of this inscription part proves that it was later added to the more

ancient carving of the cross and presumably refers to a restoration phase. The lateral northern portal consists of a simple rectangular chamfered doorway with two chevron corbels. The latter are peculiar in that they point downwards and bear foliage carving and a small rose medallion on their upper parts.

The interior of the church is whitewashed, indicating that in 1976 no traces of paintings had remained. The large dome creates an almost centralized character of the interior. In the north and south, the dome rests directly on the lateral walls, the pendentifs emerge seamlessly and without formerets from the latter. In the west and east, transversal arches support the dome. They spring from remarkable corbels (only the western ones are visible, while the others are obstructed by the iconostasis). The corbels consist of a lower trapezoidal part with small rose motifs on the bottom, followed by two projecting layers of cushion-shaped impostes and a quarter circle corbel. The one in the south is decorated with a simplified dogtooth, while the northern one presumably remained unfinished. While these are the only sculptural elements of interest, the two wooden doors deserve some attention. They appear to have been fitted in new frames in the 18th century (certainly before 1976), but the doors themselves and in particular the iron door fittings seem to go back to the 16th century as well.

The church of Saint Nicholas in Orounda is a key monument for the understanding of retrospective architectural tendencies in the 16th century. This date is not only corroborated by the plaque with the lion (which admittedly might have come from elsewhere), but also by the smooth moulding profiles of the dome and gable windows as well as the cornices. At the same time, the portals show very clear adaptations of 15th and even 14th century models. Only the modified corbels of the northern portal and the somewhat incomplete profile of the western portal reveal their later date. A similar amalgamation of elements can be observed in the general treatment of the cubature. While the proportions and the lack of hierarchized corner compartments are more typical for the 16th century, the type of buttresses is strongly inspired by the models of Gothic 14th century architecture. Astonishingly, Renaissance ornaments are not part of this amalgamate (with the exception of the Lion relief), even if nearby churches such as Potami [187] show their general presence in the area during the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Pachna	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Stephen
GEO-DATA: 34.760184, 32.790404		CAT. NO: 162
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of Pachna, surrounded by ruins of an ancient settlement		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with apse in wall strength		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: [destroyed]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with chamfered transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Late Antiquity (?): erection of a first basilica- before 1300: rebuilt as single nave church above the southern aisle- 16th century: vault rebuilt- 1991–1994: restoration of the ruin, vault rebuilt again		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 360.		
ARDAC 1991, p 24; 1994, p 24, fig 12–13; 1999, p 29, fig 20–21.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012		

Approximately 2 km south of Pachna, surrounded by traces of a vanished settlement, lies the ruined church of Saint Stephen.

Today, it is a single nave building, the eastern end of which is half-underground due to the sloping hill on which it is built. The eastern apse is encased in a rectangular structure on the outside; to the north, the fragment of a second, larger semicircular apse is visible in the shrubs. The western end of the church with the western and northern portals is only preserved in its foundations and lower courses of the walls, while the eastern half is again vaulted, since a 1990s rebuilding. The medieval church was unusually elongated and consisted of four bays, separated by three transversal arches of which the eastern two are standing today. On the axis of the westernmost transversal arch, today marked by a single impost on the wall fragments, a wall was erected at some time, presumably to prevent the vault from collapsing.

The interior of the eastern bays reveals that the building must have been altered several times. The masonry is composed of irregular ashlar in the lower part up to the level of the string course, which mainly consist of irregularly placed flat ashlar with a stepped profile. Above this level, there is a course of remarkably large ashlar, from which the pointed barrel vault springs. The two transversal arches are chamfered, ending in a simplified double diamond motif. The eastern arch rests on corbels with a double roll separated by a quirk, while the central one springs from pieces with the same stepped moulding as the string course. Masons' marks in the shape of a cross and an L are visible on some of the ashlar of the transversal arches. The apse is low and possesses a semicircular vault made from large format ashlar, while the wall above is made from smaller stones alike those of the barrel vault (these parts are most likely entirely rebuilt). On the floor of the apse, there is a remarkable fragment of a monochrome mosaic floor next to the altar, the latter made from an antique column shaft.

The building chronology requires further archaeological research to be clarified. From the visible evidence, it seems that the first building on the site was a basilica, presumably of the late antique period. This had fallen into ruin or was destroyed at some point, after which only the southern aisle was rebuilt as the present chapel. It is not completely clear, if there was a rebuilding in the Middle Byzantine period, or if the rebuilding occurred only in the 16th century. In any case, at that point the vault was rebuilt (again?), using mainly the stone material from the late antique building. The stepped profiles of the string course and the western corbels remind of the hood moulds of the Kanakaria church [135]. The only newly fabricated parts of architectural sculpture are the chamfered transversal arches and the two easternmost corbels, presumably dating to the Venetian period. In the 1990s rebuilding, mainly original stones were used, which makes it hard to decide, which parts were affected (except for the clearly new apse vault).

LOCALITY: Pafos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysopolitissa / Saint Kyriaki
GEO-DATA: 34.757892, 32.414282		CAT. NO: 163
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: near the harbour of Kato Pafos, built on the site of a larger late antique basilica		
TYPOLOGY: cruciform with elongated nave and aisles, polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: dome drum: rectangular; western gable: pointed, chamfered		
PORTALS: western nave portal: rectangular with quarter circle corbels, lintel and (open) tympanum modern, hood mould springing from corbels with simple ornament; western aisle portal: pointed, roll moulding		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 37; DOA A.3457–3466, 3541–3543, 3595, 3603 (1951); A.4112, 4119–4121, 4155–4156, 4192–4194, 4286–4287, J.1746–1747 (1953); A.4480–4482, 4498, 4530, 4549, 4599–4600, 4649–4652 (1954); A.5123, B.8556–8557, 8689–8697 (1958); B.9266, 9269 (1959); B.19.843–844 (1965); B.61.811 (1983); B.69.693–699 (1985, aerial pictures); B.94.901 (1999, tombstone).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 15th-16th century (?): erection of the original cruciform church - 15th-16th century, second phase: addition of the aisles in the east and west - 16th century: expansion of the western cross arm - 1951: repair of the roof, south and east wall - 1953–59, 1972: heavy earthquake damage, subsequently fabric strengthened, bema vault replaced, insertion of steel / concrete beams around the dome, renewal of belfry and main portal 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Jeffery 1918, p 403; Gunnis 1936, p 142 [dated to the 11th or 12th century]; Papageorgiou 1996, p 83. ARDAC 1972, p 14; 1973, p 18; 1974, p 21; 1990, p 30–31.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plans: Soteriou 1935, fig 28; DOA C.17.003, 17.303, 18.020, 18.239, 19.022–024, 19.483–484, 19.672, 19.887, 20.233–234, 20.281, 20.324, 20.330, 20.531.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2008; 27.03.2012		

The church of Saint Kyriaki, also known as Panagia Chrysopolitissa (or Saint George / Saint Paul, according to Jeffery) stands in the centre of Kato Pafos, today surrounded by the vast excavations of the late antique Chrysopolitissa basilica. While there is no precise evidence, it is quite likely that it served as Greek cathedral of Pafos in the later Middle Ages. Legendarily, here was the site, where Saint Paul was flogged on a column, before converting the Roman governor Sergios to Christianity, thus the origins of the Christian belief on the island. While today a small inconspicuous column in the northern area of the site is marked as pillar of Saint Paul, in the past, before the excavation of the late antique basilica started, the three large granite columns in the east of the latter, still standing and protruding from the ground, were thought to be the legendary site.

Much of the originality of the medieval building has been lost during the numerous earthquakes that shook the Pafos region in the past, most notably in 1953. Afterwards, the entire fabric had to be strengthened and re-grouted. Concrete beams were inserted (again in 1972) and the bema vault replaced, followed by a renewal of the western portal, using stones of the original one. Nevertheless, it is possible to distinguish three main medieval building phases. The church was originally erected on a simple cruciform plan with cross arms of equal length. This type is typical for the Pafos region, the earliest examples dating to the 11th or 12th century (Saint Theodore in Achelia), presumably prompting Gunnis to assume such an early date also for Saint Kyriaki. It is not entirely sure, if indeed there was such an early building phase, but it seems more probable that the church was built in the 15th century or later, the octagonal drum of the central dome surely excluding a pre-14th century date. The regular ashlar masonry of the exterior (less disturbed than those of the interior, in particular of the crossing), with even layers and small ashlar formats, would suggest the same. The polygonal apse might also be part of this phase and would indicate a rather late date of origin.

In a second phase, presumably not much later, aisles were added to the eastern and western cross arms, somewhat recreating the concept of a cross-in-square church. Those aisles connect with the main cross arms through low pointed arches, while their pointed barrel vaults (of differing height) open to the northern and southern cross arms in their full height (some of these openings were strengthened after the earthquakes). While on the inside, the new arches are integrated rather seamlessly, mostly not showing conspicuous building joints, the vertical joints on the exterior are a clear evidence of this second phase. This building development is parallel to that of the Panagia in Emba [64], which received the aisles during a second phase as well.

In the third phase, the western cross arm was doubled in length, as is indicated by the joint running across the lateral walls above the aisle façades and the pointed barrel vault on the inside. The masonry is rather irregular, but the façade (today dominated by a 19th century belfry) was treated with more care. The western portal, with quarter circle corbels and a protruding hood mould reveals the late date. The corbels of the hood mould are of the book-type, but combined with a cross relief on the bottom. In the gable, there is a simple chamfered lancet window. It is likely that this expansion took place in the 16th century.

In general, the architecture of the church is a prime example for general tendencies of building in the Pafos region during the late medieval period.¹⁶³ Exterior as well as interior are very plain, the vaults emerging seamlessly from the walls, the arches lacking any moulded profiles. Solely the dome drum possesses simple chamfered string courses. This plainness combined with small windows and low arches give the building a heavy, somewhat rustic appearance, which is even enforced by the numerous abutting walls and irregular buttresses placed in particular around the eastern cross arm.

¹⁶³ See chapter 5.3.

LOCALITY: Pafos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Anthony
GEO-DATA: 34.757563, 32.417248		CAT. NO: 164

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Kato Pafos

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with quarter circle corbels, monolithic lintel and recessed pointed tympanum

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault; dome

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders on the dome drum

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 12th century (?): erection of the original dome-hall
- 14th–15th century: western expansion, dome renewed (?), southern aisle (?)
- after 1953: in particular dome heavily restored, recent narthex removed

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 403; Gunnis 1936, p 142–143.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 27.03.2012 [exterior only]

The small church of Saint Anthony stands among the modern houses in Kato Pafos. Today, it presents itself as a dome-hall building with elongated western bay and a narrow semicircular apse. Low corner compartments and the cruciform treatment of the roof, which forms triangular gables in all four directions, as well as the irregular rubble masonry with enforced ashlar corners, give the building a rather archaic appearance. This is only contradicted by the dome, the round drum of which is made from ashlars and occupied by four flagstaff holders, and the western portal. The latter is rectangular, with quarter circle corbels carrying the monolithic lintel under a recessed, pointed tympanum.

As the western bay is rather elongated, we might assume that the original dome-hall was indeed erected before the Latin period, perhaps in the 12th century, and the western bay later, perhaps in the 14th or 15th century replaced. Gunnis, describing the church in the 1930s, mentions a narthex and remains of a southern aisle. Nothing of this remains today, but if indeed a southern aisle existed, this might have been added during the same period. The absolute lack of traces of this, as well as the absence of the narthex, underlines the strongly restored state of the church. Presumably, these restorations also comprised the dome, the string course of which seems to be made of concrete. The interior of the church was not accessible for an evaluation during the on-site research.

LOCALITY: Pafos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.758587, 32.415317		CAT. NO: 165

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Kato Pafos

TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (3/8) apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: rectangular, chamfered

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: decorative waterspouts

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th century: erection of the present church

- 20th century: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 403 [only name listed, otherwise unpublished].

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.03.2008; 27.03.2012

The church of Saint George is a single nave building of modest dimensions, situated in Kato Pafos. It is built from rubble and irregular ashlar, with extremely large sized ashlar forming the nave and apse corners. Presumably, the building material is reused from the numerous ancient ruins of the surroundings.

The exterior is very plain, the portals consisting of simple rectangular openings with chamfered frame. Oddly, there is no portal in the plain western façade, even if it is oriented towards a road. Solely the apse cornice with thick bell moulding and the four waterspouts with ornamental bottom sides indicate a decorative interest. These and the polygonal shape of the apse would indicate a date in the 15th century or even later. The interior is entirely plain and covered with a pointed barrel vault.

LOCALITY: Pafos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.760969, 32.415150		CAT. NO: 166

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the northern part of Kato Pafos

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.4753 (1956).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–16th century: erection of the church
- 19th century: disused and ruined
- after 1936: rebuilt from ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 140–142.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 27.03.2012

The church of Saint Marina, located in a backyard in the northern quarter of Kato Pafos, is a single nave church with semicircular apse and a modern tower over the western façade. It was described as a ruined 15th century building by Gunnis in 1936. Today, the church is rebuilt and entirely plastered from the inside and outside, all windows and portals having been renewed in the process. As a result, few aspects of antiquity remain. Solely the two low buttresses on each lateral wall and a certain irregularity of the outer walls remind of the medieval origins. The former might indicate that the pointed barrel vault was once supported by two transversal arches, corresponding to the buttresses, but no trace remains on the completely plain current vault. A marble column with an inscription commemorating the donation of a Deacon Isidoros, which was described by Gunnis, is not stored in the church anymore.

As a result of the complete lack of original decorative elements, the date of the church can only be guessed as late medieval in general, without narrowing this down to a precise century.

LOCALITY: Pafos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Sophia (Mosque)
GEO-DATA: 34.779861, 32.419387		CAT. NO: 167
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the north-western quarter of Ktima Pafos		
TYPOLOGY: irregular cruciform plan with northern aisles and semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: mainly round arched; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular doorway with roll and hollow moulded, continuous frame; lintel with profiled string course, on which the recessed pointed tympanum with profiled frame rests; south-western and western portal: rectangular, roll moulded frame; northern portal (transformed into window): moulded frame, rest destroyed		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, central dome with drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Gunnis Archive Leeds, Box 25: one photograph (~1920).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Middle Byzantine period (?): first cross-in-square church (?)- 16th century: erection of the current church (within the ruins of the previous structure)- 1592/93: conversion into a mosque- 1901: minaret rebuilt after the previous one was damaged		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 406; Gunnis 1936, p 147; Der Parthog 2006, p 57; Bağışkan 2009, p 318–324. ARDAC 1989, p 31 [15 th century date proposed]; 1990, p 32 [14 th century date proposed]; 2000, p 38, fig 30–31; 2002, p 43, fig 19; 2003, p 36–37, fig 24–25 [16 th century date proposed for current building]; 2004, p 50, fig 43; 2005, p 42, fig 26–27; 2006, p 38–39, fig 61–62; 2007, p 36; 2008, p 35; 2009, p 28, fig 46–47.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Der Parthog 2006, p 72 (erroneous); Bağışkan 2009, p 319 (partly erroneous).		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2012		

The only preserved medieval church of Ktima Pafos is today known as Great Mosque – a function, to which the building was converted already as early as 1592 according to Bağışkan. Presumably, this changed function is the reason, why scholars seem to have mainly ignored this relatively large building during the last century. Even Gunnis and Jeffery, who usually devote some attention to central monuments, are rather dismissive or short on the matter. Jeffery solely remarks that “the mosque of Ktima is supposed to contain within its structure fragments of a Christian church dedicated to St. Sofia.”¹⁶⁴, while Gunnis strangely claims that “the Mosque of St. Sophia [sic] was in all probability a Latin church”.¹⁶⁵ The only more detailed study of the church by Bağışkan focuses on the later Ottoman history of the building, but nevertheless presents the most thorough analysis of building structure and possible later transformations, as well as a relatively correct sketch plan.

The building, as we see it today, is erected from a mixture of rubble masonry with large ashlar stabilizing the corners, layered rough stones and regular ashlar for the dome. The church is built over an irregular cruciform plan with a large square bay in the centre, which carries the dome. The eastern and southern cross arms are very short, resembling deep dome arches, while the western cross arm is as long as the crossing and the eastern cross arm together. The length of the northern cross arm is somewhere in between, roughly at half the length of the western one. It is part of a northern aisle, which in the east protrudes further than the semicircular apse of the eastern cross arm. The aisle ends in a semicircular apse as well, which is however hidden behind a straight eastern exterior wall. The southern wall of this chapel-like annexe presents possible explanations for the irregular ground plan: one notices the remains of a semicircular apse with larger diameter, approximately 2 m east of the current apse, as well as a walled up connecting arch in the southern wall of the chapel.

It seems likely that, when the present church was built, it made use of the remains of a ruined predecessor. Presumably, of this church the northern aisle wall and the apse (including the rest of the central apse) remain. This would indicate either a basilica or, more likely a cross-in-square or a first cruciform church. A thorough (photogrammetric) survey of the northern wall might reveal joints within the irregular masonry, which are not visible now. In any case it seems as if the lateral walls of the northern cross arm are part of the previous building as well, even if the width of it, which also defines the size of the dome, is rather remarkable. In any case, when the remains were integrated into the new building, it was decided to reduce the length of the eastern cross arm, perhaps avoiding the then still standing remains of the old apse, instead of including them. The southern cross arm was

¹⁶⁴ Jeffery 1918, p 406.

¹⁶⁵ Gunnis 1936, p 147.

largely omitted – presumably, there was no need for the complex system of lateral spaces a symmetric construction would have created. Bağışkan's theory that the cross arm might have been reduced in length to only provide the space needed for the installation of a *mirhab* in the late 16th century has to be rejected. There are no signs of a rebuilding of the wall, and it contains a walled-up portal, which would have hardly been placed here in a rebuilding for decorative purposes only.

The exterior displays the complex structure of the church, even if most wall surfaces are entirely plain. The western wall, obstructed by a modern wooden porch and surmounted by a minaret (rebuilt in 1901), contains a simple but large portal with continuous roll moulding, flanked by two modern windows. The same portal type is repeated in the western part of the southern façade, under the arch supporting a strange exterior staircase. The latter was added later on, perhaps during the conversion, and ends in mid-air today. The second portal of the southern front is placed in the façade of the cross arm. Walled up today, its frame consists of only five large, exceptionally well-cut pieces. The portal is surrounded by a moulding profile consisting of a sequence of an inner roll-hollow-roll, followed by a step and a bell moulding. The profiles of the horizontal frieze above the lintel and the recessed tympanum are less elegant but of considerable sophistication as well. The portal certainly belongs to the Venetian period, presumably the early 16th century. It is similar to other portals of the period in Cyprus, but the combination of a profiled horizontal frieze and a framed recessed tympanum above points towards an inspiration by Cretan or Rhodian examples (the latter not uncommon in the Pafos area, as the examples of Emba [64] and Chlorakas [52] indicate). The octagonal dome drum, each face of which contains a window with blind round arch is erected of regular ashlar masonry fits the 16th century quite well, even if it might also have been a century earlier.

The interior is surprisingly large, an impression created by the width of the central domed bay and the nave. The vault springers sit rather low, which contributes to the dome dominating the interior. The vaults seem to be entirely part of the rebuilding phase and not incorporate older rests (this is not sure for the northern aisle / annexe, as this was not accessible during the on-site research).

Overall, the church shows certain similarities with other 15th and 16th century churches of the area, but its spaciousness and the elaboration of the southern portal indicate, that it must have been of considerable importance when it was built, perhaps not only serving as a simple parish church.

LOCALITY: Paralimni	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia / Saint Anne
GEO-DATA: 35.038466, 33.982584		CAT. No: 168
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the main square of Paralimni, south of the parish church of Saint George		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse and southern aisle		
WINDOWS: round arched, northern window rectangular with quarter circle corbels		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed arch; [southern portal replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches on quarter circle corbels; dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 14 th century (?): original dome-hall erected		
- 16 th –18 th century (?): western expansion, southern aisle		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a painted decoration in the dome-hall uncovered in 1983. Further fragments of the Ottoman period in the southern aisle.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 369.		
ARDAC 1983, p 23–24.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 20.04.2009		

The church of Saint Anne is the oldest of the three churches located on the main square of Paralimni. While the two newer churches of Saint George were built in the 19th and 20th centuries respectively, that of Saint Anne might go back to the medieval period.

It is an elongated structure of two parallel naves, the northern of which ends in a semicircular apse. Both are surmounted by pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches springing from quarter circle corbels. In the north, this is interrupted by a dome in the eastern part. Evidently, the church was built in (at least) two phases; the original church was a dome-hall, which still constitutes roughly the eastern half of the northern nave. This dome-hall has lateral gables and slightly lowered corner compartments. The dome with a round drum is relatively large. The structure is erected from regular ashlar, but devoid of architectural sculpture. While the original portals were destroyed by the expansion, the windows of dome and apse remain: they show simple round arches. The interior is rather plain as well. Its relatively steep proportions and pointed barrel vaults do not help to narrow down the date entirely. It seems nevertheless that the original church was built at the earliest in the 14th century, despite its rather archaic appearance.

The expansion is similarly problematic. The low, pointed connecting arches are not moulded; the quarter circle corbels of the barrel vaults are rather generic. Gunnis refers to 18th century paintings in the southern nave, which define a *terminus ante quem*. While the forms of the expansion might well go back to the 16th century, it is not excluded that it was only built during the Ottoman period. The blind arcade developed over the buttresses of the southern front as well as the southern portal are 19th century additions.

LOCALITY: Paramali	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.686521, 32.801238		CAT. NO: 169
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north of Paramali, at the site of a vanished village		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: façade: oculus with cavetto moulding; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular doorway with recessed tympanum		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 14 th –15 th century: erection of the original church		
- 16 th century: western expansion		
- later 20 th century: heavily restored, belfry added		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Gunnis reports already in 1936 that “time has destroyed nearly all the frescoes”.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 370.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012		

The church of the Panagia is situated at the site of a vanished village, the ruins of which were still seen by Gunnis in the 1930s – roughly 2 km south of the ancient village of Paramali, now deserted as well, and 3 km north of its homonymous modern successor.

The church consists of a single nave with irregular shape and a semicircular apse. It is built from rubble, including some reused *spolia* in the apse, except for the western façade. The stones of the latter received a straight surface on one side to imitate ashlar masonry (the unworked backside of the stones is visible on the building corners). The simple interior is covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault, which shows a step at around half its length. The same step is visible in the lateral exterior walls, indicating that the original church was doubled in length at some point.

The chronological assessment of the church is complicated by the current, heavily restored state of the building. Already partly ruined in the 1930s, the 1970 Ordnance Survey map lists the church as 'ruin'. In the subsequent rebuilding, portals and windows have been renewed. The western portal, part of the fake-ashlar wall, seems to have survived: a simple rectangular doorway with a recessed, pointed tympanum (of crude workmanship) above. Solely the cavetto-moulded oculus in the façade reveals a certain level of decorative treatment and indicates a 16th century date for the western expansion. Thus, the original church might be a 15th century or earlier structure.

LOCALITY: Parekklesia	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Holy Cross
GEO-DATA: 34.745109, 33.160574		CAT. NO: 170
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the northern quarter of Parekklesia		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: central apse window: biforate with ornamented central column; lateral apse windows: rectangular, deeply chamfered; dome windows: round arched		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: dome surrounded by four barrel vaults of different depth		
MISCELLANEOUS: rich cornice with dentil and dogtooth; flagstaff holders		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.46.922–926, J.21.470–474 (1970); B.46.917–925 (1977); B.53.343–348 (1980); J.76.214–235 (1994); J.79.858–864, 81.212–215 (1995); J.83.922–934		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- mid-16th century: erection of the original dome-hall church- 19th century: western expansion, renewal of portals and nave windows- 1980, 1995: restoration (paintings, dome)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>In the main apse an enthroned Virgin with Christ, flanked by Archangels and a small donor figure, below a Communion of the Apostles; in the bema vault scenes of the life of the Virgin and Christ (north: Annunciation, Herodes, Baptism; south: Christ teaching in the temple); in the domed bay: on the northern wall Saints Constantine and Helena, Archangel Michael, Saints Peter and Paul, Saint George.</p> <p>The paintings are of remarkable quality, probably dating to the mid-16th century.</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Jeffery 1918, p 354; Gunnis 1936, p 369; Frigerio Zeniou 1998, p 234.</p> <p>ARDAC 1980, p 17; 1995, p 23–24, fig 14–16; 1999, p 29; 2002, p 39.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012; 08.03.2013; 18.12.2014		

The church of the Holy Cross in Parekklesia is one of the most inventive creations of the late medieval church architecture in Cyprus. The proximity to the originally medieval parish church of the Archangel Michael [XLVIII] in the village centre raises the question, which purpose this spacious building of considerable artistic sophistication might have once served. Was it a monastic building, or did it perhaps hold relics of the True Cross? As it is not mentioned in the sources, no clear answer can be given.

The building, erected from a mixture of ashlar and rubble, is of a single nave, ending in a seven-sided polygonal apse. The building type is unique in Cyprus: the eastern bay is surmounted by a large dome, the deep supporting arches of which create the allusion of a cruciform plan. The western bays are lower and elongated and were clearly added in a second phase during the Ottoman period (when most portals and windows were replaced and a bell-tower built as well). Thus, the original church followed the model of a dome-hall, but the large size of the central domed bay created a somewhat centralized appearance. This is best perceived on the inside, where the bema bay is in fact of the same size as the lateral dome arches. The required space for the bema is only created by the unusual depth of the apse, which, as is usual in Cyprus, is semicircular on the inside despite its polygonal exterior.

While one might assume that the church is indeed a derivative of the dome-hall type, its exterior shares only few aspects with more classic specimens of this type. The domed bay is surmounted by a rectangular block, on which the slightly inclined, high dome drum rests. The gables surrounding the rectangular block are round arched, the lateral ones flanked by high, massive buttresses. The corner compartments and the apse reach the height of the buttresses and a common string course runs across the top of the whole building, including the gables. It is part of the exceptional architectural sculpture, which decorates the church: a rather simple chamfer but crowned with a small-scale dentil frieze. The moulding of the gables consists of a corner roll with flanking dogtooth moulding. While most of the portals were destroyed during the expansion, the lower jambs of the southern one remain. They show an unusual floral moulding, resembling a line of opening flower buds. Perhaps, the single hand holding a stick or a piece of cloth, which is placed in the northern gable today, was once part of a figural portal decoration. A second detached hand clasps around the corner of a buttress. Similarly mysterious is a relief next to the southern window, which shows a small corbel, from which a stick and tendril carvings emanate. Further up, there is a rhombic opening surrounded by small rose reliefs. Untouched and in their original context, the apse windows show the creative potential of the masons employed at this church. The

central window resembles Romanesque biforia, in that it combines two round arched lancets with a central column. This column is octagonal but awkwardly carved to resemble a twisted round column. The two lateral windows are rectangular and deeply chamfered, so that the factual opening is less than a quarter of the size of the window. The simple moulded frames are only executed in the lower part.

On the inside, the role of the sculpted decoration is very limited, even if there are heads carrying the formerets of the dome arches. These might well be part of the expansion phase, just as the trapezoidal corbels of the transversal nave arch. The paintings, which adorn the entire eastern part of the church and much of the domed bay have only partly been uncovered. In the apse, an enthroned Virgin with Christ, flanked by Archangels and a small donor figure is depicted. Below, there is a Communion of the Apostles. In the bema vault, as the apse awaiting an urgent restoration, various scenes of the lives of the Virgin and Christ are shown. In the domed bay we find on the northern wall well preserved depictions of the Saints Constantine and Helena (discovered in 1995) and the Archangel Michael, surmounted by a monochrome depiction of lions and tendrils, somewhat reminding of an antique temple tympanum. This is peculiar, as the shape of the motif means that it does not fill the space of the arch but creates a triangular top, which does not match the architectural evidence. Can we imagine a wooden canopy placed in front of this painting? On the opposite wall, only the Saints Peter and Paul and a Saint George are uncovered up to now. The paintings are of relatively high artistic quality and certainly date to the mid-16th century.

While the creativity of the sculptural decoration might also be a sign for a 15th century building, the presence of various types of tendril moulding and dentil friezes rather hints towards the 16th century. As the paintings were doubtlessly executed in the last decades of Venetian rule on the island, the church is most likely attributable to the same period.

LOCALITY: Parekklesia	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Neoforoussa
GEO-DATA: 34.746560, 33.161860		CAT. NO: 171

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the cemetery to the north of Parekklesia

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [destroyed]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: [destroyed]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the original church

- in the 1920s: rebuilt from ruin

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments on the northern wall.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 354; Gunnis 1936, p 369.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012 [exterior only]

The small cemetery church of the Panagia Neoforoussa reveals its ancient origins only when being assessed from its northern side. It is a single nave structure with semicircular apse and a single pitched roof sloping towards south, incorporating a low concrete porch. Already Gunnis reports as early as 1936 that nothing except the northern wall remains and the rest was rebuilt. Presumably, this happened in the 1920s, as Jeffery does not mention a modern rebuilding.

Except for the roof, the original structure of the church presumably did not differ from today's, as the apse seems to be built over ancient foundations, if it is not entirely part of the original church. As the church was not accessible for evaluation of the interior, the current state of the paintings mentioned by Gunnis as well as possible remains of the original vault cannot be described. Thus, the date of the church has to remain open as well, even if the presence of a 16th century icon in the 1930s might indicate that it was built during the Venetian period.

LOCALITY: Pelathousa	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine (?)
GEO-DATA: 35.027709, 32.476482		CAT. NO: 172

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Pelathousa

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse and southern annexe

WINDOWS: [renewed]

PORTALS: western portal: large pointed arch

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault; flat wooden roofs

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.40.986–989 (1975); B.53.349–350 (1980).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–15th century (?): erection of the original church
- 16th century: western expansion
- 19th century (?): transformation into mosque, southern annexe and minaret
- 1990, 2006–2008: restoration, opening of original doorways

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 372, Bağışkan 2009, p 359–361.

ARDAC 1990, p 33; 2006, p 39–40, fig 65–68; 2007, p 37–38.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.03.2012

The small mosque of the village Pelathousa, in the mountains east of Polis, was certainly once a medieval church. Gunnis states that it had been dedicated to Saint Catherine, but no written evidence corroborates this statement. The current building, restored in the last decades, consists of a short rubble-built nave with semicircular apse, an ashlar-built western expansion, and a rectangular southern annexe above which the minaret rises.

Bağışkan suggests that the church was originally cruciform, with a dome above the crossing, and considers the northern annexe to be the rest of the northern cross arm. The evidence proves that this suggestion has to be rejected. In fact, the original church remains virtually unchanged: it is the short, rubble-built single nave structure forming the core of today's building. The lateral blind arches, which carry the barrel vault, were part of the original plan (a comparable solution for example in the Panagia Ambelikiotissa in Kapileio [93]). Presumably, this modest church was built in the 14th or 15th century as village church. It was then expanded westwards with the ashlar-built, unvaulted western bay, which received a representative large western portal (carefully built, even if of plain design). This expansion might have taken place in the 16th century. The southern annexe is surely a result of the transformation into a mosque. During this process, the northern lateral recesses were opened and redoubled to serve as connecting arches. The south-western recess was walled up and plastered over. If any paintings remained by that time, they were lost subsequently.

LOCALITY: Pentalia	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia tou Sindi
GEO-DATA: 34.836461, 32.639176	CAT. NO: 173	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the western bank of the Xeros river, between the villages of Pentalia and Salamiou

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse

WINDOWS: dome windows: round arched; apse window: pointed, chamfered, with hood mould; western gable: large oculus

PORTALS: western portal: chamfered rectangular doorway with moulded corbels, recessed tympanum with roll and hollow moulding, hood mould; northern portal: rectangular doorway with continuous roll and hollow framing moulding, volute corbels, recessed tympanum with roll and hollow moulding, hood mould; southern portal: rectangular, chamfered doorway with waved corbels, discharging gap.

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault, central dome above an exteriorly polygonal drum

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: Description by Vasily Barsky, 1736 (in: Grishin 1996, p 59–60).

PICTORIAL: Drawing by Vasily Barsky, 1736 (in: Grishin 1996); DOA J.57.800–819 (1987); J.75.992–76.016 (1994); J.79.612–629 (1995); J.83.857–859 (1997).

OTHER: Carved Inscription in the vault: 'ΑΦΜΒ' (1542).

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- mid-16th century (1542?): erection of the church
- 1994–1997 renovation, rebuilding of the monastic structures

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 388; Gunnis 1936, p 262; Stylianou, Stylianou 1956; Petropoulou, Philokyprou 2001; Chrysochou 2000–2001; Chrysochou 2003; Kokkinofas, Teocharides 2006; Petropoulou, Philokyprou 2011, p 148–151; Papacostas 2016, mp 8.

ARDAC 1997, p 27, fig 24–25.

MKE 12, p 213.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Comprehensive set of plans executed during the restoration works, exhibited in the premises and partly in Petropoulou, Philokyprou 2011, fig 5. Ground plan: Chrysochou 2000–2001, fig 1.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 23.03.2012

The origins of the Panagia tou Sindi monastery, situated on the banks of the Xeros river, in a remote location between Pentalia and Salamiou, are somewhat obscure. Mentioned as early as the 15th century as a toponym, the monastery must have been founded at the latest during the Venetian reign in the 16th century. The date ΑΦΜΒ (1542), carved into a stone of the vault springer, has been interpreted by Chrysochou as indicative of the time of erection of the church. Indeed, the architectural features corroborate this assumption. The monastery remained functional during the Ottoman period, albeit, as the Russian travelling monk Barsky describes, the number of monks was restricted to three in the 18th century. The buildings of the monastery are still described as in a good state, the church as an imposing building, well cared for. Indeed, the church has remained virtually unchanged, whereas the monastic buildings, which were partly restored in a mid-1990s campaign, partly remain as ruins.

The church is a considerably large and tall dome-hall building, mainly erected from the locally available stone material, the rubble from the riverbed. Solely the corners and decorative elements are executed in regular ashlar. In the east, there is a remarkably flat, three sided polygonal apse with a central pointed window with hood mould, the latter reminding of much earlier urban models. The exterior is hardly interrupted by other windows, with the exception of a large western oculus, but structured by lateral buttresses, supporting the high dome. The presence of these lateral buttresses, interrupting the otherwise plain walls, hints towards a change of the structural concept of construction, if compared to older dome-hall churches. Unlike in most older examples, here the pendentifs of the dome rest directly on the outer naos walls instead of singled out dome piers. The result on the exterior is, that additional abutting was required and that square, cubic structure hiding the pendentifs rests directly on the outer walls. On the inside, it results in an abandonment of the otherwise common lateral niches in the western and eastern bays and instead creates large, unarticulated wall surfaces. Thus, the interior, unarticulated – apart from the simple bell moulding of the apse string course – and dimly lit, has a more imposing than welcoming appearance, somewhat resembling the spaciousness and plainness of the barrel-vaulted Saint George Komanon Katholikon [146]. Presumably, a decoration with paintings must have been planned but never executed.

Sculptural decoration is largely restricted to the three portals. The southern one is rather modest, a simple chamfered doorway with waved corbels. Instead of a recessed tympanum, the 14th century technique of a relieving joint above the horizontal lintel was used, to take pressure from the latter. The western one consists of a chamfered rectangular

doorway with waved volute corbels and a recessed tympanum above; with a roll and hollow moulding that possesses small cone-and-sphere decorations and a hood mould. The most distinctive portal is the northern one, which is of the common 16th century type that combines a rectangular framed doorway – here with cone-and-spheres instead of the more common horizontal returns on the bottom – and a recessed tympanum above. While the tympanum is surrounded by a hood mould, a clearly retrospective element, the richly carved volute corbels testify to the 16th century date. This arrangement of portals gives an interesting insight into the practice of designing doorways according to their use. Albeit it is not sure, which portal was opened during which occasions, one can remark that the southern doorway, the only one connecting the church with the space outside of the monastic enclosure, is the most simple in its design. Presumably, it was used by locals, peasants, perhaps even pilgrims such as Barsky in the 18th century. The richest portal is the northern one, facing the monastic buildings and thus most likely serving for the regular masses of the monks. The simpler western portal might have served the same purpose; the differentiation of design could indicate a differentiation between various types of masses.

Due to the attested building date of 1542 and its almost unchanged state of preservation, the church of the Sindi monastery is one of the prime examples for the variety in the retrospective approaches of 16th century Cypriot architecture.

LOCALITY: Pera Oreinis	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.032090, 33.251795		CAT. NO: 174
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the eastern quarter of Pera Oreinis village		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: simple large rounded arches		
VAULTING: central dome, surrounded by short barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.52.376 (1980); B.70.596–598, 769–775, 990 (1985); J.55.007–009 (1986); B.79.830 (1988); J.62.139–140 (1989).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the present church		
- ca. 1890: restoration, erection of a southern porch and western annexe		
- 1985: restoration, removal of annexe		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 209; Gunnis 1936, p 376.		
ARDAC 1985, p 19, fig 5–6; 2005, p 27 [17 th century date suggested].		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 25.04.2012; 20.12.2014 [exterior only] ¹⁶⁶		

¹⁶⁶ Access to the interior was not possible on both occasions, even if the church is apparently an icon museum now.

The church of the Archangel Michael is situated in the eastern quarter of Pera Oreinis, which, judging from the surrounding houses, is the ancient village centre. Nearby stands the parish church of the Panagia (1882, but incorporating remains of a predecessor), making it rather probable that the church of the Archangel once belonged to a monastery.

The building consists of a single, domed space of relatively squat proportions, surmounted by a conspicuous dome. The exterior is plain and dominated by the geometric shapes of the three-sided apse and the octagonal dome drum (remarkably avoiding consequently any semicircular shape). The corners of the lateral walls are strengthened with heavy buttresses, or rather blocks of masonry, framing the flat triangular gables of the walls. In fact, the concept of the dome-hall church is present in this building, but due to the wide, low proportions and the shortness of the western and eastern bays, the church receives a strongly centralized appearance. The portals and windows are extremely plain, the former perhaps replaced during a restoration of ca. 1890, when (presumably after a fire) a western annexe (removed in 1985) and a southern porch were added.

Unfortunately, the interior was not accessible for evaluation during repeated on-site visits. Reportedly, fragments of a 16th century iconostasis remain inside and the church was transformed into an icon museum.

The lack of architectural sculpture and the uncommon squat, centralized variation of the dome-hall type make it hard to assess the original date of building. Gunnis dates it to the 17th century, based on his assessment of the iconostasis. However, the almost total absence of domed churches erected during the Ottoman period would rather indicate a pre-1571 date, perhaps around the mid-16th century.

LOCALITY: Pergamos	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.074535, 33.718820		CAT. NO: 175
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: next to the connecting road between Pergamos and Kondea		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with narthex or western expansion and semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [destroyed]		
PORTALS: [destroyed]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.1302–1303 (1939); J.4621 (undated); J.28.211–214 (1974?).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century, first phase: erection of the church		
- 15 th –16 th century, second phase: western expansion		
- before 1939: disused and ruined		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a painted decoration are vaguely visible on the remains of the northern wall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 411–412.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012		

The church of Saint Mamas, situated between Pergamos and Kondea, has been in a ruinous state since at least the 1930s. All that remains today is a part of the northern wall, which shows that the church was built in two or more stages, the eastern part of the wall being slightly set back. In the west, the lower part of a seamless barrel vault remains, while the eastern wall does not show vault springers. Until recently, a part of the apse remained several metres further east, as is shown by pictures of Yapıcıoğlu 2007.

More conclusive information about the unusual original shape of the church deliver a number of historic photographs, mostly undated, which are kept in the archive of the Department of Antiquities. Two of these, presumably taken before 1974, at which date the church fall into the border region between the Greek and the occupied part of the island. The photographs show the western part of the church, built from rubble with ashlar corners, still more or less intact. While the façade had gone by the 1970s, a considerable part of the western barrel vault remained, including an ashlar-built transversal arch. To the east of the latter, the vault had already collapsed in 1939. Of the apse, there remained enough to recognize its polygonal shape on the outside. A somewhat inexplicable feature is the second, thicker wall of the eastern nave parts, which seems to have been protruding even more prominently to the south. Does it bear testimony to a late narthex added to a 15th (?) century building, or inversely to a late expansion of a previous, smaller church, the western bay of which remained? The latter seems more likely, as the older wall seems to continue within the thicker, outer wall in the north. Perhaps, with this it was intended to stabilize the older structure when enlarging the nave towards east.

Of the once rich painted decoration, which could have helped to narrow down the date, already before 1974 only indiscernible vestiges remained. These have, evidently, deteriorated even more, so that only the frames of two scenes are recognizable on the northern vault springer.

LOCALITY: Peristerona	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Barbara
GEO-DATA: 35.127689, 33.079937		CAT. NO: 176
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the southern quarter of Peristerona		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: pointed arches with chamfered jambs		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.62.489 (1982)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- ca. 1900: restored (from ruin?)		
- after 1980 and 2000: restoration of the roof and exterior		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a 16 th century decoration, which once covered the entire church. In the apse officiating bishops at a painted altar, in the apse vault above a Virgin Orans, once flanked by the Archangels. On the apse wall to the north a Man of Sorrows in the niche, above this a saint, to the left an equestrian saint; to the south Saint Symeon the Stylite and another saint. On the southern wall a Saint George killing the dragon, with three donor figures. On the western wall a Saint Paraskevi and a standing male saint with a donor figure. On the vault small fragments of scenes from the life of Christ (only the Nativity discernible).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 283; Gunnis 1936, p 379; Stylianou, Stylianou 1963; Taousianes 2002, p 208–216.		
ARDAC 1980, p 14; 1981, p 14; 2000, p 24; 2001, p 27; 2002, p 26.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 06.12.2014		

Mainly known for its five-domed parish church of the Saints Barnabas and Hilarion, the town of Peristerona also possesses a number of smaller churches, described by Ludwig Ross in 1852 as "mehrere verfallene Kirchen aus dem Mittelalter"¹⁶⁷. While the others seem to have largely vanished, in particular the small church of Saint Barbara, to the south of the town centre, deserves some attention.

The church is a cubic single nave structure with a three-sided polygonal apse. The exterior walls are plain and in the north and west interrupted by pointed simple portals with chamfered jambs. Erected from irregular stones of different formats, the corners and portals are made from ashlar. A moulded string course is the only element of sculptural decoration. The profile is composed from a bell- and a roll moulding, set apart by a quirk. The interior is similarly plain, showing a well-built pointed barrel vault with a central transversal arch springing from one quarter circle and one double quarter circle corbel.

The whole interior was once covered with paintings of the 16th century. In particular in the apse and the western end, considerable fragments remain. In the lower apse zone, there are officiating bishops surrounding a painted altar, in the semidome above a Virgin Orans flanked by Archangels. The apse wall and the adjoining nave walls show various saints, among which Saint Symeon the Stylite, in the northern niche there is a Man of Sorrows. The remaining depictions in the west show Saint George, Saint Paraskevi and a standing male saint, the former and the latter flanked by small donor figures. The Christological cycle of the vault is destroyed, except for some small fragments of the Nativity.

Judging from the paintings, one should date the whole church to the 16th century, which matches the only decorative element, the string course. Jeffery claims, that it was "rebuilt in recent years", thus suggesting a restoration phase in around 1900.¹⁶⁸ It is not clear, how ruined the church was before this, but the presence of painted plaster fragments in almost all parts of the building, including the vault, make it probable that little had to be rebuilt.

¹⁶⁷ Ross 1852, p 158 – transl. 'several ruined churches from the Middle Ages'.

¹⁶⁸ Jeffery 1918, p 283.

LOCALITY: Peristerona	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Anthony
GEO-DATA: 35.129867, 33.077772		CAT. NO: 177
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the western village centre of Peristerona		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: [renewed]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- ca. 1900: restored from ruin		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 283.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2012		

Mainly known for its five-domed parish church of the Saints Barnabas and Hilarion, the town of Peristerona additionally possesses a number of smaller churches, described by Ludwig Ross in 1852 as “mehrere verfallene Kirchen aus dem Mittelalter”¹⁶⁹. Of the church of Saint Anthony, Jeffery claims that it was “rebuilt in recent years”, thus suggesting a restoration phase in around 1900.¹⁷⁰

Today, the church is a simple single nave building with semicircular apse, erected from a mix of roughly cut stones and some more regular ashlar. There are segment-arched portals in the south and west and a bell-moulded string course. Above the western portal, a *spolium*, presumably a *cippus*, protrudes from the façade. The barrel-vaulted interior is plastered, the walls are plain.

It is not clear, to which extent the church can still be considered a medieval building. The portals are most likely part of the turn-of-the-century restoration. In the irregular masonry, two clear joints become visible. Presumably, when the church was rebuilt, the masons made use of the standing parts of the masonry and the shattered material on the site and followed the original plan of the 15th–16th century church.

¹⁶⁹ Ross 1852, p 158 – transl. “several ruined churches from the Middle Ages”.

¹⁷⁰ Jeffery 1918, p 283.

LOCALITY: Perivolia	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Leontios
GEO-DATA: 34.826855, 33.576593		CAT. NO: 178
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the village of Perivolia, surrounded by the community cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with polygonal apse and southern annexe		
WINDOWS: rectangular; eastern gable: round arched		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with roll moulded frame; northern portal: pointed arch		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches; annexe unvaulted		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.45.907–908 (1977); B.79.753–754, J.57.933–946 (1987).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<div>- 15th–16th century: erection of the original church (today eastern part of the nave)</div> <div>- 18th century: western extension of the nave, apse replaced, bell tower</div> <div>- 19th–20th century: southern annexe, bell tower replaced</div>		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Depictions of standing saints uncovered on the engaged piers in the eastern bay of the naos and the western recesses of the original nave.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 379 [identified as 18 th century church].		
ARDAC 1987, p 24–25, fig 15–16; 1988, p 25; 1999, p 23; 2000, p 27.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010; 17.12.2014 [exterior only] ¹⁷¹		

¹⁷¹ The interior was not accessible on these occasions, so the photographs of the DOA were used for the assessment of the interior.

The church of Saint Leontios is situated within the cemetery of Perivolia, around 1 km west of the village centre. It has been altered several times during the Ottoman period: today it is a single nave building of considerable size with a polygonal eastern apse and a southern annexe added in the 19th or 20th century. A tower surmounts the eastern end and regular buttresses stand along the western half of the lateral nave walls. The latter, characteristic for the 18th century architecture, might have prompted Gunnis to assume this to be the building date of the church. However, the plain eastern half of the nave was clearly built in a previous phase, surely before the Ottoman conquest of 1571. The apse of the church betrays its later date of building due to the more regular masonry and its five-sided polygonal shape, much more common in the 18th century. Furthermore, it is positioned slightly asymmetric, if compared to the axis of the central round arched window of the eastern gable, the only window remaining of the late medieval church. While the northern portal, a simple pointed arch, might well be part of the later phase, the western portal, a simple rectangle with continuous roll moulding, seems to have been taken from the older western façade and relocated to the façade of the expansion. On the inside, the two phases are evident due to the lateral blind arches in the eastern part of the nave and the fragments of a painted decoration uncovered in a restoration of 1987: standing saints decorate two of the engaged piers in the eastern naos bay.

The original church, presumably of the 15th or early 16th century, was a simple, plain barrel-vaulted single nave church with an apse of unknown shape. The interior was structured with lateral arched recesses and decorated with paintings.

LOCALITY: Perivolia tou Trikomou	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Epifanios
GEO-DATA: 35.280384, 33.907197		CAT. NO: 179
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the modern village of Perivolia tou Trikomou, perhaps on the site of the ancient village		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with quarter circle corbels and hollow moulding on the lintel; southern portal: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 20 th century: restoration, application of concrete plaster		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Yapicioğlu 2007, p 340.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012		

The church of Saint Epifanios, today situated alone in a large artichoke field, might mark the original site of the village Perivolia tou Trikomo, which lies to the north of the church nowadays.

It is a simple single nave structure with semicircular apse. The exterior has been somewhat 'modernized' in a 20th century restoration, which applied concrete plaster to the walls and renewed the roof (including the string course with a cavetto moulding). There are two portals, a simple pointed archway in the southern wall and a rectangular doorway with quarter circle corbels and a crudely moulded lintel in the west.

The barrel-vaulted interior is disused and empty today. The only decorative feature are the corbels of the two thick, heavy transversal arches. Unusually, the northern ones, quarter circles with small rolls on the bottom, differ from the more elaborate southern ones. The latter consist of chamfered quarter circles, which rest on smaller trapezoidal corbels.

In particular the shape of those latter corbels allows for a relatively certain attribution of this modest church to the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Pigi (Peristeronopigi)	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.223560, 33.756655		CAT. NO: 180
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: to the north of the village of Pigi, today part of the double village Peristeronopigi		
TYPOLOGY: two naves, the northern one ending in a semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: oculus in the eastern gable; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.36.196–198 (1974).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 11 th –12 th century (?): erection of the original church as cross-in-square building		
- late 15 th –16 th century: addition of a southern aisle, rebuilding of the western part of the old church (?)		
- 18 th –19 th century: western part of both naves rebuilt, bell tower erected		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of unidentifiable scenes in the southern and northern nave vaults (removed after 1974).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Papageorgiou 1995, p 276; Yapicioğlu 2007, p 433; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012; 21.02.2013		

Unlike most other historic churches of Cyprus, the Archangel Michael church of Pigi was omitted in both, the studies of Jeffery and Gunnis. The reason for this is certainly an intrusive late 19th century restoration of the building, which still dominates the exterior appearance.

The church, built on a hill on the northern fringes of the double village of Peristeronopigi consists of two naves of similar width and length, the northern of which ends in a semicircular apse, flanked by a lower compartment. Neither the western façade, symmetrical, both naves ending in rounded gables, flanked by a high 19th century bell tower of good quality, nor the lateral walls, plain except for wide, flat central buttresses and 19th century windows / portals would indicate any antiquity of the building. However, the eastern front with the apse and a hierarchized organization of spaces to the west of it indicates that the church includes considerable parts of medieval predecessors.

The interior corroborates this thought already in its very structure. In the west, the two barrel-vaulted naves, connected by wide, low pointed arches, are symmetrical. In the east, the northern nave ends in an odd arrangement of a lower barrel-vaulted bema bay with the apse to the south and a lateral compartment to the north, covered with a transversal barrel vault, which opens up towards the bema and connects with the nave through a low archway. A second low archway connects the bema and the eastern end of the southern nave, which ends in a straight wall. Evidently, the bema, apse and northern lateral compartment are the core of the original building, once forming the eastern end of a Middle Byzantine cross-in-square church (perhaps of the 11th or 12th century). The transversal vault of the lateral compartment is rather uncommon, but not without *comparanda*: the cross-in-square phase of Saint Epifanios in Famagusta [68] shows the same feature.

The further destiny of the two churches was somewhat comparable. In the Latin period, the cross-in-square had presumably become too small for the community it served. While Saint Epifanios was already enlarged in the 14th century with the addition of a southern nave, the same happened in Pigi, but more likely in the late 15th or 16th century. Unlike the urban example, where the old dome was reduplicated, the Archangel church received a barrel-vaulted second nave. The vault, hardly pointed, is erected from ashlar and rests on two transversal arches, which spring from quarter circle and double quarter circle corbels. Small fragments of paintings, almost illegible before 1974 and now lost, remained on the vault, proving its medieval origin. The eastern connecting arch towards the old church, and the engaged piers on which it rests, received moulded profiles, which only became visible when the 19th century plaster fell off as a result of the disuse of the church since 1974. The piers are decorated with symmetric roll and hollow mouldings on the corners, resembling the urban 14th century models, framing a plain middle stripe.

Interestingly, this profile continues almost uninterrupted on the soffit of the arch, which is decorated with a rose motif in the apex. The arch profile with its rather rectangular appearance resembles a number of 16th century arches in the vicinity, most prominently those of the destroyed Avgasida Church [208], which might have served as a model for the Archangel Church in Pigi.

Lateral steps of the engaged piers correspond to the undecorated outer steps of the arch soffit. A conspicuous vertical joint in the central pier indicates that it was originally an engaged pier as the eastern one and only turned into a freestanding pier, when the western connecting arch was built in a second phase. Despite an overall similarity, this western arch is presumably part of the 19th century remodelling of the western end of the church. It possesses simple roll mouldings on the corners of both steps of the soffit; the piers are unarticulated and show impostes. When the southern nave was enlarged in the 19th century, the interior structure was maintained and solely two western bays added to the existing three eastern bays. As the original portal was placed in the second bay from east, its off-centre position was changed in the 19th century; the old portal was walled up (and is today only visible from the interior), a new portal erected in the third bay from east.

More problematic is the assessment of the northern nave. We must wonder, if the western parts of the old church remained intact, after the southern nave was erected, or if a new barrel-vaulted nave was erected. The barrel vault of the northern nave is made from rubble rather than ashlar, and in the north, it rests on a blind arcade of flat arches, which spring from corbels at about half the height of the wall. This solution would be unique for a late medieval church, while such blind arcades on corbels do in fact appear on the exterior of some 19th century churches in Cyprus. As the easternmost of these corbels is of strangely amorphous shape, it might also be, that in a first step there was only a single (or double) blind arch on an engaged pier, the latter removed during the 19th century changes, when the blind arcade was integrated in the new design. The oculus above the lower bema area would be a common element of 16th century architecture. Thus, both options seem possible: a survival of the central and northern compartments of the cross-in-square until the 19th century, or a replacement of the latter with a shorter barrel-vaulted nave in the late 15th or 16th century, when the southern nave was built.

Overall, the multiple phases of enlargement, constantly maintaining certain parts of the previous phases, display a concept, which is rather common in the medieval and post-medieval period in particular in the eastern parts of the Mesaoria plain.

LOCALITY: Pissouri	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.683420, 32.688530		CAT. No: 181

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on the southern slope of a cliff between Alektora and Pissouri

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: on the western gable a relief of a *cross pattée*

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the church

- 1958: restored / partly rebuilt

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 385; Gunnis 1936, p 161.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012

Situated between the villages of Alektora and Pissouri, the comparatively large rural church of Saint George is built against the southern face of a cliff, which forms the northern side of the building. It is a building of a single nave with semicircular apse, a barrel vault and two transversal arches on corbels. To the north, a small tunnel, partly barrel-vaulted, leads ca. 5 m into the rock, forming a small pilgrimage shrine. This is still used for the deposition of votive candles, which are placed under a modern icon of Saint George. Nevertheless, the distinctive layout of this tunnel-shrine would rather suggest that in the medieval period an event or person specifically connected with the site in the rock – perhaps a hermit, was venerated here. Despite the different architectural design, the spatial distribution much resembles that of the 16th century shed-roof church of Saint Kyriakos in Evrychou, according to Gunnis “an untouched example of the medieval tomb church for a local saint”.¹⁷²

The church of Saint George, already described as deserted by Jeffery in the 1910s and as ‘without architectural details’ by Gunnis in the 1930s, was heavily restored, perhaps even the southern front rebuilt, in 1958. As a result, the entire building is encased in concrete plaster and lost the original portals and windows. Nevertheless, two small details avoided being covered or annihilated during the restoration. On the western exterior gable, a relief of a *cross pattée* is placed, perhaps identifying the building as a site of pilgrimage. This relief is in its original location, as mentioned already by Gunnis. On the inside, the north-western vault corbel is the only decorated specimen: it is of quarter circle shape, with an impost showing a simple chevron ornament.

One has to follow Gunnis that it is “not easy to assign the church to any definite date”.¹⁷³ Nevertheless, the decoration of the corbel and the ‘gloomy’ spaciousness of the church might point towards a rather late date in the Venetian period. This would match the theory of a local pilgrimage cult, as a number of such cults were revived through the erection of new churches in the 16th century.

¹⁷² Gunnis 1936, p 234; ARDAC 2000, p 21.

¹⁷³ Gunnis 1936, p 161.

LOCALITY: Polemidia (Kato)	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.693867, 32.999195		CAT. NO: 182

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the old village centre of Kato Polemidia

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular, chamfered doorway with flat chevron corbels, recessed pointed tympanum; northern portal: identical, but with cavetto-moulded corbels

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century (?): erection of the church

- 18th century: nave enlarged with a western expansion, belfry

PAINTED DECORATION:

In the lower apse zone bishops (late 15th or 16th century?), on the northern wall a head of Saint George, fragments of painted plaster throughout the original parts of the church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 385; Gunnis 1936, p 161.

ARDAC 1999, p 29, fig 22–23; 2000, p 33, fig 11–12; 2001, p 36–37; 2005, p 37.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2012

The old parish church of Kato Polemidia, dedicated to Saint George, is a rather common single nave building with semicircular apse. It is mainly erected from rubble, the walls are largely plain. An exception is the western end, which is supported by flat buttresses. This and a change in the masonry make clear that the original church was, presumably in the 18th century, extended towards west.

There is a number of portals and windows from various periods. The segment-arched western portal and the majority of the windows were replaced in the 19th century. A single window in the south-west, so in the 18th century expansion, is rectangular, with moulded corbels, and uses a marble *spolium*, perhaps part of a Byzantine predecessor, as lintel. Only the southern and northern portals remain of the original church. They are designed similarly, with a chamfered rectangular doorway, the corbels of which carry a monolithic lintel and, above, a recessed pointed tympanum. The corbels differ: in the south, they are decorated with an odd chevron moulding with two chevrons opposing each other; in the north, they show simple cavetto mouldings.

The interior is covered with a low, only slightly pointed barrel vault. The two chamfered transversal arches of the original part rest on crude corbels, clumsy versions of the double quarter circle design. One of those shows a zigzag moulding on the impost, similar to that of the overall similar church of Saint George in Pissouri [181]. Fragments of a painted decoration from the Venetian period are preserved in the lower apse zone, showing the usual row of bishops. Other fragments of painted plaster throughout the church are too decayed to be legible.

The architectural character of the church and the fragments of the painted decoration indicate an original date of erection in the late 15th or 16th century. A boss and fragments of a vaulting, which were seen in the churchyard by Gunnis and described as 'Gothic', must have come from a different structure or a later destroyed narthex. Unfortunately, these fragments are not preserved.

LOCALITY: Polis	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos
GEO-DATA: 35.034837, 32.422333	CAT. NO: 183	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the western part of the village centre, on a hill on the bank of the Chrysochous river

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse and northern annexe

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.2242 (1944); B.39.871–875, 928–929 (1975); B.39.667–670, 877, 43.722–745 (1976); B. 46.562–563, 927–928, 47.561, J.35.772–782 (1977); B.48.416–419, 49.355–357 (1978); B.62.583–591 (1982); B.66.265, 797–798, 67.483–490, 68.726–738 (1984); B.73.685 (1986); J.57.853–874, 923–924 (1987); J.83.865–876 (1996);
OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 16th century: erection of the church
- 19th century (?): transformation into a mosque, erection of a minaret on the apse, northern annexe
- 1947: northern annexe and minaret rebuilt
- after 1974: reconversion, restoration and uncovering of the paintings, removal of the minaret

PAINTED DECORATION:

Since the 1970s, a complex programme was uncovered: in the vault scenes from the old and new testament, in the lower zone standing saints and busts of saints, on the bema arch busts of saints and a large Mandyion in the apex, in the apse an enthroned Virgin with Christ. The paintings can be dated to the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Der Parthog 2006, p 101–102; Bağışkan 2009, p 362–363
ARDAC 1975, p 21, fig 47–48; 1976, p 20, fig 36–37; 1980, p 20–21; 1981, p 21; 1982, p 22, fig 28–29; 1983, p 23, fig 21–22; 1984, p 24, fig 24; 1989, p 33; 1990, p 32; 1992, p 27; 1994, p 28; 1996, p 28; 2000, p 37; 2003, p 37–38; 2005, p 42, fig 28–29.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan, section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 4.96 and 5.148 (identical).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2008; 22.03.2012

The church of Saint Andronikos, situated in the eastern part of the town centre of Polis, was transformed into a mosque in the Ottoman period. It is absent from all earlier scholarly studies; the modest exterior of the much-altered building did not attract much interest until more recently. It consists of a single nave with semicircular apse with a northern annexe of approximately the same size. The annexe was built before the 19th century, when the church was converted. At the same time, a minaret was built over the apse, somewhat concealing the origins of the building as a church even more. Both, minaret and annexe were rebuilt in the 1940s, the former removed in the 1970s, when its weight threatened to crush the apse vault. The exterior of the original church was entirely plain, the lateral walls being stepped in their upper part. Neither portals nor windows of the medieval period remain.

The more distinctive part of the church is certainly the interior. Here, as well, the architecture is rather simple: two low blind arches on each side structure the lateral walls. The barrel vault is supported by a single transversal arch resting on the omnipresent quarter circle and double quarter circle corbels. While the apse is rather low and just slightly pointed, the barrel vault is unusually steep, resulting in a large spandrel above the apse. The latter, just as the whole rest of the interior, is decorated with one of the most complete painted cycles of Cyprus outside of the Troodos area. The paintings in the lower zones are destroyed, presumably by entering humidity, but the vault and upper walls are largely preserved. The apse vault shows an enthroned Virgin with Christ, flanked by (rather marginalized) Archangels. The eastern wall is occupied by medallions with saints' busts and a curiously outsized depiction of the Mandylin in the apex. The vault of the nave is divided into three zones, rising above a lower zone of presumably life size standing saints. The vault shows busts of saints and scenes from the Old Testament as well as from the life of Christ and the Virgin. The paintings can be dated to the 16th century, giving a firm *terminus post quem* for the erection of the church itself. The latter might have served as monastic building. An in-depth study of the unusual painted cycle might reveal more information about the original use of the building.

The church, although a very simple structure concerning its architecture, indicates the importance of Polis Chrysochous during medieval period, which found an end only with the Ottoman occupation.

LOCALITY: Polis	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.034556, 32.423959		CAT. NO: 184

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Polis

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (?): erection of the church
- 1905: restoration, windows and portals replaced, bell tower
- 2007: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 414 [considered to be a 19th century building].
ARDAC 2007, p 38–39.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.03.2012

The small church of Saint Nicholas stands in the centre of Polis, on the site of the historic market. It is a single nave building with a semicircular apse, surmounted by a small bell tower erected over the southern wall. The church is built from rubble, with the exception of the ashlar-built apse and nave vault. The latter is supported by two transversal arches on quarter circle corbels. Two arched recesses, the southern one walled up, were once placed in the lateral walls of the nave.

Jeffery considered the church to be of 19th century origin – an inscription placed in the eastern gable mentions the date 1905. In this year, the church was in fact heavily restored, the windows and portals replaced and the tower erected. Nevertheless, the origins of the building should be sought in the late medieval period. Typology and masonry are not distinctive enough to claim this with any certainty, but one might presume a 16th century date.

LOCALITY: Politiko	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Irakleidios
GEO-DATA: 35.025463, 33.243580	CAT. NO: 185	

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on a hill south of the village of Politiko

TYPOLOGY: single nave with northern aisle, polygonal and semicircular apses, western and southern annex; dome-hall without apse

WINDOWS: [replaced]; mausoleum: round arched, oculi

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: katholikon: barrel vaults with transversal arches; mausoleum: dome with externally octagonal drum above deep dome arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: described by Vasily Barsky in 1735 (Grishin 1996, p 79–81)

PICTORIAL: Drawing by Vasily Barsky of 1735 (Grishin 1996, fig 14); Soteriou 1935, pl 43; DOA D.123 (1936); A.1992–1993, B.2217–2218, 2318–2321 (1944); B.9879 (1960); B. 11.081–085, 178 J.4034, 4080–4083 (1961); B.11.671–672, 896–901, J.4222–4227, 4621 (1962); J.5684–5685 (1963); B.16.708–755, 17.321–330, 359–363, 813–315, J.6961–6983, 7027–7130, 7186–7193, 7341–7348 (1964); B.17.816–818, 858–861, 888, 919, J.7937–7945, 8009–8029, 8061 (1965); C.10.497, J.8581–8621 (1966); B.36.389 (1974); B.75.688–689 (1986)

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 4th–5th century: erection of a column basilica next to a smaller *martyrion* above the venerated tomb
- 8th century (?): basilica replaced with a second pier basilica
- 15th–16th century: single nave church built over the central nave of the basilica
- before 1735 (in two phases): northern aisle, western narthex, southern annexe
- 1759 or 1773/1774: restoration, new paintings
- 1944: restoration of the parekklesion
- 1961–1966: extensive restoration campaign of katholikon and monastic buildings
- 2008–2010: second restoration campaign, including excavation works

PAINTED DECORATION:

Standing saints on the piers of the katholikon (8th to 12th centuries). On the screen in the mausoleum busts of the venerated saints (15th or 16th century).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 212–214; Gunnis 1936, p 396–397; Papageorgiou 1986, p 490; Papacostas 1999, II, p 36–37; Stewart 2008, p 38–40 (on the 8th century phase); Chotzakoglou 2012, p 228–232, 242–246.
ARDAC 1966, p 7; 1981, p 15; 1982, p 17; 1989, p 23; 2001, p 27–28; 2002, p 27; 2003, p 24–25; 2008, p 27–28, fig 19–20.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: DOA C.19.039–042, 19.881 (1965); Papageorgiou 1986, fig 9 (republished in Papacostas 1999, fig 116).

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 29.03.2008; 20.12.2014

One of the largest monastic sites in the region of Nicosia is the Monastery of Saint Irakleidios, south of the village of Politiko. Encased in a monastic complex, which is attested since the 18th century but was heavily restored on subsequent occasions in the 20th century, there is the *katholikon*, to the south-east of which stands a separate mausoleum, commemorating the name-giving Saint Irakleidios.

The *katholikon* presents a multitude of phases; the earliest go back to Late Antiquity. Today it consists of two naves, built above the main nave and northern aisle of the 8th century basilica, which had replaced the larger 5th century building. The precise chronology of the pre-Latin phases is unclear and the multitude of phases best reflected by the eastern end of the complex. Four apses of differing radius can be found at the east end of the main nave: a wide outer one spanning the width of all three naves of the 8th century building can be assigned to the 5th century structure; the early medieval apse corresponds in width to the nave piers, which were later integrated into the current building. A polygonal apse, reduced in height by the 1960s restoration campaign, seems to have been part of an 18th century rebuilding, encasing the semicircular apse of the late medieval church.

Of the latter, the early 18th century changes (which added a northern aisle, a western porch / narthex and a southern annexe, connecting the church with the mausoleum to the south) left the main structural features intact.¹⁷⁴ It is the common single nave building with semicircular apse, barrel-vaulted, with transversal arches on corbels supporting the vault. Portals and windows were largely changed in the 18th century, as was a new painted decoration applied to some parts of the *katholikon*. The originally open arcades of the western porch rest on columns that bear rectangular capitals with chamfered corners (partly decorated with humanoid faces) which resemble those of Agios Sozomenos [16] and might point at a building phase in the 16th century. In their current place, the capitals seem to be reused.

The more important medieval structure is the mausoleum to the south-east of the church, partly built over the late antique apse. It is an approximately square, apse-less domed building, replacing the 4th century *martyrion*, the latter built over a lower cave, probably originally a Hellenistic tomb. The building, as the oral tradition states, houses not only the sarcophagi of the saint bishop Irakleidios and Saint Mnason but also the burials of the Saints Theodoros, Makedonios, Irakleidiana (sister of the bishop) and Myron.¹⁷⁵ Its

¹⁷⁴ Unlike claimed by Gunnis, who assigns these changes to the intervention of Bishop Chrysanthos in 1759 or 1773, commemorated in a wall painting, the church had its current shape as early as 1735, when it was described and drawn by Barsky.

¹⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of the memorial aspect of the building see chapter 6.3.

exterior, built from irregular stones, which were most likely reused from the remains of the previous buildings on the same site, is generally plain. Two buttresses of different size protrude from the eastern corners, the southern one being aligned with the southern wall of the asymmetric building, which almost forms a cross arm in this direction. Rounded gables surround the square base of the dome drum, which itself is of octagonal shape. Four of the dome faces are pierced by round arched windows, the corners are accentuated with angled ashlar, made specifically for the purpose.

The interior has a cruciform appearance, created by the deep arches that carry the dome. The southern arch, as it is visible on the outside, is significantly deeper and thus creates something like a short cross-arm. The lateral walls show the same rubble as the exterior; the fact that it is reused material is evidenced by a few column drums built into the wall. On the inside, the wall edges, the dome arches, the drum and dome as well as the two string courses consist of newly fabricated ashlar. This higher amount of more costly ashlar material indicates a focus on the interior design. The curved surfaces would have hardly reached the same quality, if they had been erected with rubble. The walls themselves, plain except for a shallow blind arch in the north, were surely plastered.

The eastern half of the interior is occupied by a raised platform, above the venerated tomb. The front of this platform is made from four late antique screen panels, carved with an open work ornament incorporating central *Chi-Ro* monograms. When they were placed here as *spolia*, the decoration was surely visible and conveyed a sense of antiquity of the veneration on site. The venerated sarcophagi are placed to the right and left in front and beside the platform. At a later date, the screen panels were covered in plaster and painted with busts of the venerated saints, perhaps to give an easily understandable explanation of the veneration itself to the pilgrims. If those paintings were executed in the 16th century or during the 18th century restoration of the main church has to remain open, as they have not been studied yet.

The building of the mausoleum itself can be dated to the Latin period: the octagonal shape of the dome drum and the use of ashlar in its fabric betray a date of erection well into the mid-14th century. A later date is thinkable, but as the results of the 1960s excavation, presented in a widely disseminated ground plan, revealed, the mausoleum is earlier than the rebuilt single nave katholikon. If we assume the latter to be of the 15th or 16th century, a 14th century date for the mausoleum remains the most probable suggestion.

LOCALITY: Pomos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysopateritissa
GEO-DATA: 35.138790, 32.577936		CAT. NO: 186
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: around 5 km north-west of Pomos, in an uninhabited mountainous region		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: rectangular with recessed pointed tympanum		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: three arched recesses in the outer southern wall, two in each inner wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- ca. 1520: erection of the original church and monastery		
- 1816: western expansion		
- 1961: western expansion rebuilt		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Very small fragments on the intrados of the lateral blind arches indicate the former presence of paintings.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 416; Gunnis 1936, p 399.		
ARDAC 2001, p 42–43; 2002, p44, fig 20–21.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited] ¹⁷⁶		

¹⁷⁶ The description based on photographs from panoramio.com [03.02.2016].

The small monastic church of the Panagia Chrysopateriotissa, situated in the mountains west of Pomos, is one of the very few (late) medieval buildings, which survived in this mountainous, hardly populated region of Cyprus.

It consists of a more ancient eastern half – a single nave chapel with semicircular apse – and a western expansion. The ancient part is built from large rubble. In its northern wall, there is a rectangular doorway with pointed recessed tympanum, while the southern wall is occupied by three arched recesses. The latter were interpreted as founders' tombs by Gunnis, but the arches might also be rather part of an arcade once opening up to a long vanished southern aisle. The interior is covered with a barrel vault, which is supported by two transversal arches emerging seamlessly from the wall. The lateral walls show wide, pointed blind arches on each side; in the south there is an additional blind arch further to the west. Very small traces of a painted decoration still adhere to the intrados of these arches.

The church once housed a Venetian period iconostasis, which has gone today. According to Gunnis, one of the icons mentioned the year 1524, which lead to the conclusion that the church was built around 1520. The ungainly western expansion was built in 1816 and renewed in the 20th century.

LOCALITY: Potami	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.102723, 33.030126		CAT. NO: 187
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: at the southern end of the village centre of Potami		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: round arched with profiled sill, moulded frame and hood mould; chamfered oculi in the western and eastern gables		
PORTALS: western and southern portals: chamfered rectangular doorways with chevron corbels and a recessed tympanum above; northern portal: rectangular doorway with a continuous moulded frame flanked by engaged colonettes with a capital zone and moulded archivolt		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches on corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: conspicuous cornice with scroll moulding; flagstaff holder on the eastern gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.39.689–92, 907 (1975); B.75.149–152 (1986); J.71.156–159 (1991).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- mid-16th century: erection of the church- 19th century: addition of the belfry- 1981: restoration, enforced tie-beam added to vault		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
A fragmentary depiction of Saint Demetrios (?), uncovered in 1975.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 399–400.		
ARDAC 1981, p 15; 1985, p 19, fig 7–8; 1991, p 20–21;		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.03.2012; 06.12.2014 [exterior only] ¹⁷⁷		

¹⁷⁷ Access to the interior of was unfortunately not possible on two subsequent occasions, as the key-holder refused to open the church.

The church of Saint George in Potami, is located on an empty square on the southern end of the village. It is not clear, if it served as village church from the beginning, but the more elaborate decoration on the side facing the village centre would speak for this interpretation. The legend, recounted by Gunnis, that a queen has erected the church, is not supported by any written evidence – it might just be a result of the unusual sumptuousness for a rural parish church.

It is a single nave building of considerable size with a three-sided apse and a (later added) bell tower. The church is made from regular ashlar masonry of good quality, underlining the plainness of the exterior walls. Those are only interrupted by three portals and windows. The western and southern portals consist of simple, chamfered rectangular doorways with either flattened versions of chevron corbels or simple cavetto moulded ones, superimposed by a recessed tympanum. The main portal – in the north, facing the village centre – shows a slightly idiosyncratic combination of the standard Venetian period rectangular portal with a continuous moulded frame; accompanied by outer engaged colonettes with a capital zone (only marked by a flat frieze) and moulded archivolt with small cone-and-sphere motifs decorating the *congés*. A rectangular, moulded recess above the doorway today contains an icon of the patron saint of the church, presumably also its original function.

Of the three windows, two are deeply chamfered oculi, placed in the eastern and western gables respectively. The filling of the eastern shows a thick *fleur-de-lis* quatrefoil, which might indeed be part of the original structure. Next to this oculus, a prismatic flagstaff holder is placed, the base of which is smoothly waved. The central apse window is rather large and round arched. It is framed by a triple-stepped moulding with horizontal returns on the bottom, similar to those of portals of the Archangel church in Lakatamia [123] and surmounted by a hood mould with a roll-and-fillet profile, accompanied by a bell moulding. The most conspicuous element of the window is the protruding sill, with a cavetto between two roll mouldings; rather understood as a wide corbel with lateral returns instead of being part of a cornice, and bears close resemblance to portal corbels of Renaissance buildings such as those of a palace façade in the market quarter of Famagusta.

A rare feature is the cornice that surrounds the building; it is composed of a Vitruvian scroll ornament with a dentil frieze and a protruding bell-moulding above. Strangely, it only runs along the apse (continuing on the eastern wall) and on the lateral walls, but is interrupted in the east and west by the semicircular gables. This apparent problem to console the linear frieze and the curved gable is also present in the case of nearby Saint

Nicholas church in Orounda [161], which dates from the same period. Fluted waterspouts and small figural depictions interrupt the frieze; of the latter there is one on the south-eastern corner, a simplified human face, and one above the northern portal, a lion's head. This is remarkable, as figural decoration is rather rare in the Orthodox church architecture of the island.

Unfortunately, the interior of the church is neither depicted nor described in the literature. Few images preserved in the Archive of the Department of Antiquities show a barrel-vaulted structure. Remains of a painting of Saint Demetrios have been uncovered during a restoration in 1975.

The decorative details such as the door and window frames, the scroll and dentil mouldings, leave no doubt that the church was built in the Venetian period. Albeit following the general retrospective tendencies and employing numerous details of 14th and 15th century architecture, the knowledge of Renaissance stylistic elements is undeniable. Presumably, the church was built towards the mid-16th century.

LOCALITY: Potamia	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 35.055767, 33.458378		CAT. NO: 188

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: around 2 km north-west of Potamia, in a currently uninhabited area on the site of a vanished village

TYPOLOGY: (ruined) single nave structure with polygonal apse

WINDOWS: apse window: round arched

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: [destroyed]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century (?): erection of the church

-before 1900: ruined

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 204; Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 256.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan, section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.145.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.04.2012

The ruined church of Saint Marina, overgrown and surrounded by minefields remaining of the 1974 conflict, lies next to its modern successor. Of the medieval church, parts of the apse and the northern wall as well as foundations of the southern wall remain. Most of the church is buried by the heap of debris created by the collapse of its western parts (added on by the inner apse shell, which followed recently). What remains, indicates a single nave church with a rather flat apse, semicircular on the inside but straight or polygonal on the exterior. The rubble masonry of the walls is decayed and only few pieces of carved stone remain.

The treatment of the prothesis niche and the apse window, round arched and carved from a single ashlar, would indicate a date well into the Latin period. A (post) 15th century date could be corroborated by the polygonal shape of the apse.

Jeffery, who confuses this church, presumably ruined already in 1918, and the painted Panagia Pallouriotissa [201], suggests that either site might be identifiable as the attested Franciscan convent of Pyroi. However, the architecture seems entirely in accordance with late medieval village churches and Greek monastery churches. Thus, even if Nicolaïdès and Vanderheyde seem to follow Jeffery, there is no conclusive evidence, which could support this hypothesis.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ It has to be remarked that Jeffery only states that one of the two *parekklesia* (Saint Marina and Panagia Pallouriotissa) might commemorate the Franciscan church, while Nicolaïdès and Vanderheyde speak of Saint Marina being a *parekklesion* of the Franciscan convent!

LOCALITY: Potamiou	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.824127, 32.806411		CAT. NO: 189

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Potamiou

TYPOLOGY: *Staffelhalle* with domed transept, tripartite choir and polygonal apse

WINDOWS: apse window and south-western window: rectangular with roll moulding; dome windows: rectangular with blind round arch above; southern gable window: pointed with roll and hollow moulding frame; western window: profiled arched window frame, filled by two lancets on an octagonal central jamb

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular doorway, roll and hollow moulded frame, volute corbels, recessed pointed tympanum with moulded frame and external hood mould; south-western portal: rectangular doorway with roll moulded frame, (destroyed) corbels; southern portal: rectangular doorway, roll and hollow moulded frame, volute corbels, recessed pointed tympanum with chevron moulding and external hood mould with foliage

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, with transversal arches in the nave and aisles; central dome with externally octagonal drum

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.1810 (1941); J.66.186 (1991); J.87.296–305 (1996).

OTHER: Carved inscription 'ΑΦΝΑ' (1551) on the southern portal lintel

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- before 1551: erection of the present church
- 19th century: restoration, minor changes, bell tower added

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 401; Papacostas 2016; Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.
ARDAC 2004, p 45–46, fig 30–31.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012; 17.07.2014¹⁷⁹; 19.12.2014

¹⁷⁹ I wish to thank Tassos Papacostas for providing interior photographs of the usually-locked building.

The church of Saint Marina, in the centre of the village Potamiou (in the valley of the river Cha), is one of the most remarkable rural buildings in Cyprus due to its size and sophistication of the sculptural decoration. Additional importance for research is provided by the date carved into the lintel of the southern portal, "ΑΦΝΑ" (1551), which can be considered a *terminus ad quem* for the erection of the church.

The church consists of a nave and two aisles, a domed transept and a tripartite eastern bay, adjoined by an externally polygonal central apse. Large parts of the building are made of rubble, the most common building material in the region, in particular where a riverbed, which could provide this material, is near. Only the corners of the external buttresses and the polygons of apse and dome drum are accentuated with ashlar of varying sizes. Due to the slope of the hill, against which the church is built with its northern side, buttresses were only deemed necessary on the southern side. That on the south-western corner has been replaced by a 19th century bell tower, while the other three remain intact (albeit only one with the original sloped top, while the others were heightened in the 19th century).

The topographical situation on a rather steep slope influenced the placement of the portals in the west and south – they are all executed in ashlar and more recently painted white, presumably to evoke the illusion of marble. The simplest portal is placed in the south-western corner, leading into the southern aisle. It consists of a rectangular doorway with a simple roll moulded frame. The monolithic lintel is surmounted by a discharging gap, which was supposed to take the weight off the frail horizontal lintel. The western portal is also developed around a rectangular, framed doorway with volute corbels (here reconstructed, in the south-western portal largely lost). The frame moulding is more elaborate, featuring a sequence of hollows and rolls. Above, there is a pointed recessed tympanum, the frame of which shows the same moulding profile as that of the doorway. A classic hood mould with horizontal returns is placed above the tympanum. The southern portal is structurally identical but decorated with more exceptional mouldings. The corbels of the doorway show foliage, decorated with pearl moulding and springing from small volutes, all ending in a sort of floral bud. This characteristic sculptural style can be encountered in various elements of interior as well. The tympanum above the doorway is framed by a chevron moulding of the lateral chevron type.

The windows, which pierce the rather austere exterior walls, are few but varied in their design. The apse window and the one placed above the south-western portal are rectangular with a roll-moulded frame. The dome windows are rectangular as well but surmounted by blind round arches. The most elaborate windows are that of the southern

transept façade, pointed, with a roll and hollow frame, and that in the western gable, with the identical framing profile but a complex filling. Two lancets, resting on a central octagonal pier are somewhat clumsily inserted into the window opening, their arches resting on slim corbels with dentil moulding placed in the intrados of the main arch.

The lack of larger windows results in a rather gloomy interior. The nave and the aisles, despite being covered with pointed barrel vaults of different height, are covered by a common roof, following the type of a *Staffelhalle*. Arcades of three arches on each side separate the nave from the aisles. The arches rest on simple engaged piers in the west, followed by two round piers with cushion capitals on each side and, at the intersection with the transept, octagonal piers with chamfered block capitals. Curiously, the eastern crossing piers are formed on a square plan with inconspicuous capital zones. The vaults of the transept and eastern cross arm reach the same height as that of the nave, while the lateral eastern compartments correspond to the western aisles. Only nave and aisles are divided into bays by a single transversal arch each, all resting on ornamentally decorated corbels. Arches and corbels are the only elaborate sculptural elements of the interior and stand in a harsh contrast to the austere cushion capitals of the arcade. The arches show a moulding profile with a central roll and flanking hollows, derived from 14th century rib vault models – a unique solution for the transversal arches of a barrel vault in Cyprus. The corbels are composed of a rounded body, decorated with foliage and pearl string ornament, resting on a smaller florally decorated bud. The top of the corbels is formed by a flat abacus with dentil moulding, which in some cases continues as a frieze along the back of the corbel.

As Papacostas recently remarked, the church, barely mentioned in previous scholarship, deserves a further detailed study due to its complexity and uniqueness. Here, only few preliminary thoughts can be presented. The first question to address will be, wherefrom the structural model of the church might have derived. While the local model of cross-in-square churches would present a model for churches with centralized dome and lateral compartments in the west and east, the combination of this model with an elongated western nave and aisles is only known from the church of Saint Antipas in Pyroi [202]. There, it is a result of a 16th century enlargement of a 12th century church and the distance between the buildings makes it unlikely that there is any connection. More likely, the church of Potamiou was inspired by the domed hall churches of the period, such as Morfou [149], to which the idea of a transept under the dome was added. This idea would be corroborated by the difference of the western and eastern piers of the crossing, suggesting that the origin of the planning was a continuous arcade, solely interrupted by

the wider and higher arch of the transept – the engaged piers at the western arcade end and the eastern crossing piers correspond in their design.

The sculptural decoration fits into the frame of the Venetian period with more ease. The portals, the rectangular frame of which is typical for the mid-16th century buildings, resemble those of the contemporary Panagia tou Sindi church [173]. There the simple form without tympanum, here used for the south-western doorway, is employed for the southern portal, while the more elaborately framed version with tympanum and hood mould, here in the west, can be found at the northern portal of the Sindi church. The chevron and the acanthus foliage of the hood mould of the southern portal is a new development in Potamiou, copied in the nearby churches of Fini [78] and presumably Dora [VIII]¹⁸⁰, underlining (together with ribs and corbels on the inside) the creativity of the mason in charge and the aspired level of decorative quality.

The simple piers and capitals of the arcade and the austerity of the interior do not necessarily contradict this. Cushioned capitals and in particular chamfered block capitals were used in a number of other larger scale buildings of the 16th century and thus presumably perceived as elegant solutions rather than outdated simplifications. Furthermore, it is not entirely clear, to which extent the 19th century restoration, during which the exterior was changed only marginally, affected the interior surfaces. Would these have once been painted? Perhaps future restorations might reveal the original plaster beneath the 19th century coating.

¹⁸⁰ See in particular Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.

LOCALITY: Prastio Avdimou	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Diakonousa
GEO-DATA: 34.727947, 32.776742		CAT. NO: 190

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the south-western outskirts of Prastio

TYPOLOGY: central nave with semicircular apse, domed northern and southern annexe spaces

WINDOWS: [mainly replaced]; mitred windows on the southern chapel dome

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular doorway framed by a continuous roll and hollow-profile, ornamentally decorated corbels, simple arched recess above

VAULTING: main nave: western bays groin-vaulted with transversal arch on flat corbels, eastern bay barrel-vaulted with transversal arch on crudely profiled corbels; northern annex: irregular dome over four squinches and pendentifs; north-western annex: barrel-vaulted; southern annex: dome over pendentifs

MISCELLANEOUS: arch with stepped profile inserted into southern wall of the southern annex

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA B.14.656–659 (1963); B.40.971–973, 990–991 (1975); B.41.798–808 (1976); B.46.929–931, 47.972–977 (1978); J.81.204–209 (1995).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- before 1000: main church of unknown shape with northern domed annex
- 13th or 14th century: addition of the southern domed annexe chapel, addition of two western bays to the northern annex
- 16th century: central nave rebuilt: at least vaults and portal renewed
- 19th century: western bays of the central nave and west wall of the southern chapel replaced
- 1970s: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

In the central nave: bema vault: scenes from the Passion of Christ (Last Supper, Foot Washing and two unclear scenes); apse vault: bust of the Virgin Orans with *clipeus* of Christ, flanked by archangels, in the lower register busts of Prophets. In the southern *parekklesion*: a Deesis in the Bema arch, an enthroned Virgin with Christ, flanked by archangels, in the apse. All not published, the paintings of the nave presumably 16th century, those of the *parekklesion* seem older.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 385 ; Gunnis 1936, p 402.

ARDAC 1977, p 15, fig 11–12; 1995, p 23.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.12; Kaffenberger 2014.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012, 19.12.2014

The church of the Panagia Diakonousa is situated at the southern outskirts of the small village of Prastio Avdimou, where it occupies the rather steep eastern slope of a small valley. As a result, the east end of the church is partly built against the hill. The building consists of three main parts: a central nave of three bays with a semicircular apse, a southern *parekklesion* of one domed bay with semicircular apse, and a northern annexe building on approximately square plan with a dome and fragmentarily preserved western barrel-vaulted bays.

The central nave bears testimony to the complex building chronology of the edifice: while the western end seems rather homogenous, which probably caused Rupert Gunnis to date the whole nave to the 18th century, a closer evaluation of the interior reveals several building joints. The most conspicuous of these is marked by two wall piers in the northern and southern wall, more or less on the axis of the annexe chapels' western walls. These piers form the respond for large arches in the eastern bay, the northern of which a blind arch, the southern broken through as a connection with the southern annexe chapel. To the west, arch springers are still discernible in the nave wall, but they break off after ca. 1 m. Here, the original fabric ends and the later masonry begins.

The northern chapel is of unique type: each wall is divided into more or less equal halves by a central protruding wall pier, forming the base for four crude squinches. These, in turn form the base for four pendentifs, which seamlessly evolve into an irregular dome. The eastern wall does not possess an apse, but instead two arched recesses. A smaller niche can be found in the northern wall. Access to this structure can be gained through a small door in the south wall, connecting it with the naos of the main nave, and through an arch in the western wall, leading into the (later) western bays. Of these, only one is preserved, it shows arched recesses in its northern and southern wall and a high, apparently renewed barrel vault.

The southern chapel connects to the central nave bema through a wide, slightly pointed arch, which replaces its northern wall. It consists of a single bay with blind arches to the west and south and an only slightly deeper barrel vault to the east. The arches carry a dome with a simple cornice on four pendentifs and four mitred windows. The rather deep apse is carved into the solid rock in its lower parts and its floor level is raised by a few steps. Gunnis states: "In the apse of the south-east chapel is a hole which leads to a holy well, while a deep-cut channel sunk in the rock encircles the apse for the overflow from the well."¹⁸¹ As the chapel is used as storage today, the original setting has been changed. Nevertheless, the channel described by Gunnis is visible on the southern curve of the apse. It is perhaps possible to connect it to the reused profiled arch in the southern flank of the

¹⁸¹ Gunnis 1936, p 402.

chapel, which is too low to have served as a door or window, but might have marked the place of a water outlet. South of this, the foundations of a rectangular room have been uncovered. West of the southern chapel, two flat arches, one incorporated into the southern nave wall, could be fragments of a bridge-like structure, perhaps also connected with the presence of a well, spring or small stream.

The chronology of the building is largely obscure. The northern chapel probably has its origins before 1000, due to the crude nature of the execution and the unusual typology. The lack of Late Antique domes in Cyprus makes a date before the middle Byzantine period very unlikely. As this chapel could not have functioned as an autonomous church building, there was most likely a predecessor of today's central nave at that time – perhaps the wall piers and crude imposts are still part of this early church. The arches in the eastern bay are slightly pointed and seem to be later, even if it is not entirely clear whether the early church was transformed already in the 13th or 14th century, when the southern chapel was presumably built, or only in the 16th century. The 16th century phase is the clearest, in terms of precise dating, as the main portal can be assigned to this period, as well as the numerous fragments of paintings decorating the bema and apse vaults of main nave and southern chapel. The portal, rectangular with a continuous profiled frame and ornamentally decorated corbels, is now part of the 19th century rebuilding of the western nave bays.¹⁸² It is placed slightly off-centre, which speaks against a translocation of the portal, during which it would have been placed in the centre, but rather in favour of a rebuilding of the nave on original foundations. The arched recess above would then belong to the rebuilding, as it does not seem to correspond to the portal below and contains late medieval/early modern relief *spolia*.

Unfortunately, nothing is known about the historical context of the building. The considerable size and apparent continuity of use indicate a certain importance of the sanctuary. While the southern chapel was specifically built to house the holy well or holy spring, this had probably been venerated for several centuries and already been the cause for the erection of the older church. The northern annexe building could, as already suggested by Gunnis, served funerary purposes or "to house the reliquary of some forgotten local saint" – even if there is no proof for either theory.¹⁸³

It is unknown, in which relation the Panagia church stood to the nearby church of the Archangel Michael [191], which is further proof for the relative importance of the locality during the Middle Ages.

¹⁸² For this type of portals and other comparanda see chapter 3.2.3.

¹⁸³ Gunnis 1936, p 402.

LOCALITY: Prastio Avdimou	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 34.728456, 32.775880		CAT. NO: 191
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the south-western outskirts of Prastio, near by the Panagia Diakonousa [190]		
TYPOLOGY: single nave structure with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [destroyed]		
PORTALS: [destroyed]		
VAULTING: plain barrel vault [mainly destroyed]		
MISCELLANEOUS: arched recesses in the northern and southern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- medieval, first phase: erection of the church		
- medieval, second phase: addition of a rectangular narthex or western extension		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a painted decoration in the lowest zone of the apse: a blue pedestal, followed by the red lower frame of a scene above.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 402.		
ARDAC 2003, p 35; 2004, p 46.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012, 19.12.2014		

The small church of the Archangel Michael was erected on the same slope as the Panagia Diakonousa [190], which overlooks the same small valley. The church, reduced to a ruin today, consisted of a single nave naos with apse and a later western extension.

The naos featured pointed niches in the northern and southern walls, of which the northern one is still preserved. The building was barrel-vaulted, but there are no traces of transversal arches. Fragments of frescoes in the pedestal zone of the apse indicate that the church was once painted.

The narthex / western extension is almost entirely destroyed, so that it is not clear if there was a wall with a small door between the two parts of the building, or if the older western wall had been removed during the expansion.

The date of the church is entirely obscure, even if the pointed arch of the northern niche points towards the 13th century as *terminus post quem*. Perhaps, the erection of this building fell into the period, during which also the southern chapel of the Panagia Diakonousa was erected and attests to a striving cult at the site of the holy well there.

LOCALITY: Prastio	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 34.788394, 32.698314		CAT. NO: 192
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north of the deserted village of Prastio, overlooking the Diarizos river valley		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: chamfered, rectangular; western gable: oculus with roll moulding		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with double roll moulded frame and corbels with cavetto moulding; northern portal: rectangular with roll and hollow moulded frame and corbels with cavetto moulding		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arch		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- late 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 20 th century: restoration of the roof, replacement of the southern portal		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Gunnis reports an Archangel Michael on the northern wall, vanished today.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 386; Gunnis 1936, p 402–403.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012		

Some metres north of the deserted village of Prastio, on the shores of the Diarizos river, stands the church of the Archangel Michael (or Gabriel, according to some local custom). The building is erected on a small outcrop and overlooks the lower terraces of the valley. It consists of a single nave and an externally polygonal apse. Albeit the church is built from the rubble taken out of the nearby riverbed, the portals and windows betray a certain sophistication of the architecture.

The western gable is adorned by a chamfered oculus with a roll-moulded frame, while the apse window is rectangular and chamfered. The western portal is the most elaborate, rectangular, with a continuous moulding profile consisting of an unusual double roll. Two corbels with cavetto moulding carry the monolithic lintel. The northern portal is similar but framed by a single roll with small hollow only. The southern portal, a simple rectangle, seems to have been replaced in a 20th century restoration, during which the roof was renewed as well.

The barrel-vaulted interior is rather simple, the vault supported by a single arch on crude corbels. Gunnis describes a large painting of the Archangel Michael on the northern wall, which is not visible anymore. In contrast, the decorated altar mensa, supported by two marble columns, still occupies the place in front of the apse.

The portals indicate a date in the Venetian period, be this the late 15th century as suggested by Gunnis or the 16th century. It is not unlikely that the apparent involvement of skilful masons is a result of the proximity to the monastery of Saint Savvas [193], which was rebuilt around 1500.

LOCALITY: Prastio	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Savvas tis Karonos
GEO-DATA: 34.779284, 32.689993		CAT. NO: 193
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the deserted village of Prastio, on an upper terrace in the Diarizos river valley		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: western gable: oculus with cavetto-and-roll moulding; eastern gable: oculus with roll moulding; apse window: rectangular, chamfered		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, continuously framed doorway with roll moulding, recessed pointed tympanum; southern and northern portal: pointed arches with continuous roll and hollow moulding		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Livre des remembrances, No. 117: report of a fire in 1468, request for tax exemption to rebuilt monastery (Richard 1983, p 55–56); further sources referring to the monastery only collected in Papacostas 1999, II, p 118.		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.14.644–648 (1963); B.19.690–691, 765–769, J.7844–7850 (1965); B.26.120 (1969); B.79.745, 789–793, J.57.955–968, 58.046 (1988); J.75.899–901 (1994); J.79.087–088 (1995)		
OTHER: Two inscriptions above the main portal: one on the lintel commemorating the rebuilding of the church in the year 'ΑΦΑ' (1501) or 'ΑΦΛ' (1530) or 'ΑΦΛΓ' (1533); one on the tympanum referring to the second rebuilding in 'ΑΨΜΒ' (1742).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 07.12.1468: previous buildings of unclear shape destroyed by fire - late 15th–early 16th century: new church and monastic buildings - 1742: rebuilding of the church, using portals and building material of the predecessor - 1987–88: repair works after collapse of north-west corner of the church 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 386; Philippou 1929; Gunnis 1936, p 403–405; Papacostas 1999, II, p 118; Kaffenberger forthcoming-b.		
ARDAC 1987, p 29, fig 25–26.		
MKE, 6, 302–303.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Site plan including sketch plan of the church: Murray et al. 2000, fig 2.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012		

The monastery of Saint Savvas of Karonos, situated on a raised terrace above the Diarizos river valley roughly between the (deserted) village of Prastio and Pano Archimandrita, was surely founded already before the Latin occupation of Cyprus. Today, the monastic buildings are deserted, surrounding the church, which is an 18th century building, including significant late medieval fragments.

An unusual documentary evidence, which is of some importance for the apprehension of the buildings, is contained in the *Livre des Remembrances* of 1468–1469, published by Jean Richard in 1982. Here is described a misfortune that struck the monastery on the 7th of December 1468: the buildings, except for the church, were apparently heavily damaged in a fire. On the 25th of February, the *higumenos* Gerasimos requests to be exempted from the payment of nine barrels of wheat, sixteen barrels of barley and four besants, apparently the annual fee payable to the royal domain for the territory of 'Lacrida', in order to be able to rebuild the destroyed monastery. The king subsequently grants the exemption of the payment, which should have contributed to the funds necessary for the rebuilding.¹⁸⁴ Two further textual sources, which we have to match with the built evidence, are placed as inscriptions above the western doorway. On the lintel is written, here in the translation of Gunnis: "It must be that a king first built this monastery, which time has so damaged. May God on the awful Day of Judgement remember the Exarch of this monastery, who in 1501 repaired and beautified this church."¹⁸⁵ While the explicit character of the inscription is unique, unfortunately the date is its most weathered and thus debated part. It might be read as ΑΦΑ (1501) or ΑΦΛ (1530) or ΑΦΛΓ (1533). A second inscription, placed in the tympanum of the portal, includes the date ΑΨΜΒ (1742), referring to yet another phase of rebuilding. This abundance of dates referring to building activity has to be matched to the evidence: what had been destroyed in 1468 – did the church indeed survive unharmed, as is suggested by the letter of Gerasimos? After all, the inscription does not mention a destruction by fire, not even a total rebuilding of the church, and was executed between 30 and 60 years after the event. Thus, when did the building of the new church start, and how much of it is left after the second, 1742 rebuilding?

The church itself is rather unimposing, a medium-sized single nave church with regular lateral buttresses and a 5-sided polygonal apse. Except for the latter, it is built from rubble, incorporating dressed and decorated stones, apparently from a previous building. It

¹⁸⁴ Richard 1983, p 55–56. However, the 25 barrels of wheat and barley and 4 besants seem like a minimal amount compared to for example 500 barrels granted to Gomez d'Avila (ibid., p 5) or the payment of 35 besants monthly to Gaspard de Mériq (ibid., p 6).

¹⁸⁵ Gunnis 1936, p 404

is certain that most of the current church was built in 1742, as the regular lateral buttresses, typical for that period, indicate. The apse might remain from the early 16th century church, even if five-sided polygonal apses are more common during the Ottoman period.

Certainly part of the earlier building are the two oculi with moulded frames in the west and east as well as the three portals. The lateral ones in the north and south are miniature copies of 14th century urban models, pointed arches with a double roll and hollow profile and a protruding hood mould, here with a bell moulding. This contrasts with the western portal, the size of which reveals that it was always used as main entrance. It consists of a rectangular doorway and a recessed tympanum above. The rectangular doorway is framed by a continuous moulding profile. Its vertical rolls die out into a somewhat flat horizontal cavetto moulding on the bottom, which continues onto the jambs as the inner part of the framing profile. The tympanum is framed by a single, slim roll, which springs from the sloped sill. The keystone, which appears to be an 18th century addition, is decorated with a cross relief. The use of two very different structural concepts of portals is of some interest. The lateral ones reproduce a type, which was (rarely) used already in the 14th century, and in the 16th century reappears solely in the early 16th century western portal of the Saint Neofytos Katholikon [222]. The western portal of Saint Savvas, in contrast, belongs to a group, the earliest examples of which date to the late 15th century and which becomes predominant in the mid-16th century. While this matches very well the assumed date in the first decades of the 16th century, it is not possible to decide with certainty, when exactly the church was built. It might have been begun in the aftermath of the fire, then employing a rather modern architectural vocabulary, and either inaugurated 1501 or its inauguration commemorated retrospectively around 1530. However, it should not be excluded that the former church, perhaps of Middle Byzantine origin, indeed was only replaced half a century after the fire in the 1520s.

A number of other fragments are built into the western façade. Most notably, both corners were occupied with a chevron-type zigzag pattern, accompanied by a fragmentary inscription (which proves that the stones came from a different context). Unfortunately, the northern corner, still with the same decoration as the southern one on historic photographs, collapsed in the mid-20th century. As the wall was rebuilt with normal ashlar, the missing parts of the inscription, which might have been placed here, are likely to be lost. It cannot be said, where these chevron stones were originally placed. They do not seem to be *voussoirs* of an arch, the usual place for chevron moulding, if they were not straightened for the new position. However, the inscription would have been hard to read, if they were

always used in a vertical way. Similarly obscure is the original use of a corbel, placed as one of three in the upper part of the façade to carry a wooden porch. This corbel is decorated with a bearded devil-face on the lower side, a very unusual feature in the context of a Greek monastery.

The interior of the church is in accordance with the customs of 18th century architecture in Cyprus – which does, admittedly, hardly develop the pre-1571 models. The two transversal arches of the pointed barrel vault are chamfered and rest on profiled corbels, with a cavetto moulding framed by two rolls. It is somewhat probable, that these corbels and arches were at least partly salvaged from the 16th century church and reused in the 18th century building. The same might be true for the decorated altar mensa, which rests on a shortened polygonal column with a chamfered capital.

The monastic building, despite being in the last stage of decay, deserve a closer examination as well. Most parts are built from irregular rubble, either in the 18th century or in 1929 (date on the keystone of the entrance arch). In the southern and eastern wing, there are some fragmentary 16th century portals preserved, all with simple framing roll mouldings. A window in the southern façade shows a roll and cavetto moulding, which is continued on the wooden lintel. These fragments seem to be part of the late 15th century rebuilding of the monastery.

LOCALITY: Psematismenos	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos
GEO-DATA: 34.765141, 33.349737		CAT. NO: 194
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a hilltop east of the village centre of Psematismenos		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: rectangular		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 110.		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- medieval period: erection of the church		
- Ottoman period: restorations, addition of a buttress in the north-west		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 352.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012		

The church of Saint Andronikos, situated on the top of a hill to the east of the village centre of Psematismenos, represents an undisturbed example of the simplest standard type of church building on the island.

The building consists of a rectangular nave, surmounted by a semicircular, slightly pointed barrel vault, and an apse. The apse is narrower and less high than the nave, protruding as a semicylinder surmounted by the apse conch. The exterior is entirely whitewashed, giving the church a somewhat sculptural appearance. There is a rectangular window in the east and a rectangular portal in the west, both simplified in a more recent restoration, if they ever were decorated at all. The inside is completely unarticulated and devoid of any sculptural decoration as well. The vault is connected seamlessly with the wall below. Thus, the focus lies on the triumphal arch around the apse, which surmounts the (modern) iconostasis.

Due to its plainness, the church is impossible to date. Surely of medieval origin, it might have even been rebuilt a number of times, without changing the original concept or character. It is thus a prime example for a rural church, built without any attempt at sophisticated decoration, presumably even without the participation of a trained mason.

At a later period, the addition of a buttress to the already dangerously lopsided northern wall became necessary.

LOCALITY: Psematismenos	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.765686, 33.344845		CAT. NO: 195
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Psematismenos		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: bema vault: barrel vault [rest replaced]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.8930–8939 (1966); B.38.715–716 (1975); B.55.539–540 (1980); B.56.719–720 (1981); B.62.596 (1982).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- mid-16 th century: erection of the original church		
- 1886: rebuilt, except for the eastern parts with the apse		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
The lower zone of the apse as well as the southern bema and naos walls are still covered with a fragmentary cycle of paintings (partly obstructed by the iconostasis and the altar ciborium). In the apse six bishops, above this a Communion of the Apostles. On the southern bema wall various saints (among which Constantine and Helena as well as Saint Symeon the Stylite); scenes from the Old Testament. The paintings date to the mid-16 th century, except for two scenes on the southern wall of the domed bay, which might be later.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 406.		
ARDAC 2000, p 28; 2001, p 31–32; 2003, p 28; 2006, p 29; 2007, p 28.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012		

The main church of Psematismenos, dedicated to Saint Marina, was heavily rebuilt in 1886. Today, it is a rather large dome-hall building of three and a half bays, the dome surmounting the easternmost large bay. The two western bays are groin-vaulted, while the smaller eastern bay is covered with a simple barrel vault. On the exterior, only the eastern side bears traces of the original church. The semicircular apse, built from well-cut ashlar of varying size and pierced by a 19th century window, together with the adjoining parts of the eastern wall, determine the size of the old church. Clear joints indicate, that the outer edges and the top of the wall were added in the 19th century. The width of the added parts corresponds to the depth of the blind arches placed along the lateral walls of the church, suggesting that the current building was in fact erected over the foundations of the previous one (with the exception of the western end).

This evidence is matched by that of the interior: a fragmentary cycle of 16th century paintings is preserved on the lower parts of the apse and the southern wall. In the apse, the usual bishops under a fragmentary Communion of the Apostles can be seen. On the southern wall, various saints in the lower zone and scenes from the Old Testament above indicate a once complex cycle, which presumably covered the whole interior of the original church. The barrel-vaulted bay in front of the apse surely belongs to this previous church in its entirety, as the irregular ashlar masonry without conspicuous joints as well as the presence of painted plaster on both sides indicates (in the north only in the deep arched recess). The domed bay to the west of this is more problematic. Indeed, some of the paintings (of the first phase and of a second, later phase) are preserved on the lower southern wall of this bay. They are partly cut by the 19th century window, which means that this wall belongs to the original church as well. The dome above seems to be a new construction of 1886 in most parts, but most likely replacing a pre-existing dome. Dome arches and pendentifs seem to consist of the same irregular ashlar formats as the bema area, while the drum is made of rubble, the dome itself of regular smaller ashlar. Admittedly, the western arch rests on engaged colonettes, the design of which leaves no doubt about their 19th century origin. However, an *en-sous-oeuvre* replacement of these cannot be entirely excluded.

In conclusion, it seems likely that the original church was a rather wide ashlar-built dome-hall church with short barrel-vaulted eastern and western bays, the latter with lateral arched recesses. Even if the preserved apse is round and not polygonal, the overall proportions seem to have resembled those of the Holy Cross church in Parekklesia [170].

LOCALITY: Pyla	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael
GEO-DATA: 35.013865, 33.692616		CAT. NO: 196
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Pyla, next to the medieval watchtower (Enlart 1899, p 666–667)		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: round arched		
PORTALS: pointed arches with profiled imposts		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 19 th century: repair works		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Gunnis reports a fragment of an Archangel Michael on the northern wall.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 194; Gunnis 1936, p 406–407.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012; 15.12.2014 [exterior only]		

The church of the Archangel Michael, situated in the village centre of Pyla next to a medieval watchtower, is a simple rubble-built structure of a single nave with semicircular apse. As usual, only building corners, apse cornice and the portals are made of dressed stones. The latter are placed in the north, west and south and have the shape of pointed arches. The one in the west has two simple protruding imposts, while those of the southern portal show a complex, stepped moulding profile.

The interior of the church, certainly barrel-vaulted, was not accessible. Gunnis describes a damaged depiction of the Archangel Michael on the northern wall.

It is easy to follow Jeffery and Gunnis in assuming a medieval origin of the church, perhaps around the year 1500. The portals are not easy to date due to their rather generic character. They might be part of the original building; the southern one would then speak for a date in the Venetian period. Nevertheless, in particular the southern portal, differing in construction technique and state of preservation, might also be a later addition.

LOCALITY: Pyrga	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Barbara
GEO-DATA: 34.898900, 33.425607		CAT. NO: 197
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the village of Pyrga, on the northern slope of the Stavrovouni hill with the homonymous monastery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Mentioned in the Travel account of Vasily Barsky (1735), in: Grishin 1996, p 22.		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (?): erection of the original church		
- ca. 1800: eastern parts of the old church incorporated in new church and monastery buildings		
- 20 th century: several subsequent phases of rebuilding, during which the church was expanded westwards		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the eastern vault, the upper registers of a cycle of scenes from the life of Christ, including among others an Annunciation, Baptism, Anastasis, Ascension etc). The lower registers, with further scenes, largely destroyed. The paintings appear to be of the 15 th or 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 193 ["built in 1800"].		
ARDAC 1993, p 21–22.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 28.04.2012		

The monastery of Saint Barbara, a *metochion* of the nearby Stavrovouni monastery, is a largely modern building complex, going back to the early 19th century, but having undergone frequent restorations and rebuildings.

The chapel is an elongated single nave building forming the northern wing of the main courtyard, on the exterior only recognizable due to a cross placed on its pitched roof. All portals and windows are of the 19th or early 20th century. The interior, except for the western bay (added in the 20th century) is covered with a very low pointed barrel vault, which rests on transversal arches. While the western ones are clearly of the 19th century or later, the one in the east, right in front of the iconostasis might be part of the original church. However, the latter would hardly be attestable if it was not for the well-preserved paintings of the eastern bay, showing two registers of scenes from the life of Christ in the barrel vault. Below, on the lateral walls, were further scenes, but they have been destroyed. One might presume that the original floor level was raised and the vault of the expansion followed the original vault even afterwards, resulting in the somewhat compressed interior. The small apse, flat and semicircular, might be the original one, but the plaster, which covers all parts of the building, prevents further observations concerning the masonry.

As the paintings indicate, the church originated as a simple barrel-vaulted church, probably with semicircular apse, which was entirely painted. At least the eastern barrel vault was preserved in the 19th century church that followed the structural model of the original building, later further expanded westwards.

LOCALITY: Pyrga	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.924803, 33.431867		CAT. NO: 198
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the village centre of Pyrga, not far from the so called 'Royal Chapel' of Saint Catherine		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with expanded western bay and semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: dome windows: round arched; apse window: pointed		
PORTALS: northern portal (walled up): pointed; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches, dome, [in the west: groin vault]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 39, 94–96; DOA J.8303–8317 (1966); B.31.921–926 (1972); B.42.109 (1976).		
OTHER: Date 1508 noted among graffiti of the south-eastern corner by Gunnis in 1936.		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<div>- 15th century (?): erection of the original dome-hall church</div> <div>- 19th century: addition of a western bay and bell tower</div> <div>- 1967: restoration, erection of a belfry, bell tower destroyed</div>		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Numerous fragments: In the dome two registers with Disciples of Christ, Prophets and Archangels, a Tetramorph, a <i>Hetoimasia</i> , and, in the centre, a fragmented Christ Pantokrator. In the lateral niches various saints, among these Saint Nicholas with scenes from his life, a Saint George with martyrdom scenes, the latter partly destroyed by the insertion of the modern northern door. The portrait of Saint Marina in the tympanum of the northern portal, still seen by Gunnis, is lost today. Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 432, and the ARDAC 1998 date the paintings to the 14 th or 15 th century, but the later date seems more probable.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 408–409; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 432. ARDAC 1998, p 25; 1999, p 23–24; 2000, p 28.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 15.04.2012, 03.03.2013		

The former village church of Pyrga, dedicated to Saint Marina, is a rubble-built dome-hall church with elongated western bay. In the 19th century, a groin-vaulted western expansion was built, clearly set off against the ancient church by a vertical building joint.

The exterior of the original church shows that it is in general a dome-hall church of the traditional type with hierarchized lateral compartments, even if their roofs are only slightly lower than the adjoining ones, and lateral gables, evoking the idea of a cruciform building. The only deviation from the usual concept is the longer western bay, which, in lack of building joints, can be considered part of the original plan. The walls are almost entirely plain and, where the white mortar lets the stones shine through, one can recognize that the church is built of the same dark stone of volcanic origin as the Latin chapel of Saint Catherine nearby. Only the building corners and the rather large pointed apse window are made of ashlar, while the round arched dome windows seem surrounded by the same rubble as the rest of the walls. The northern portal, a narrow doorway with a pointed tympanum, is walled up today. As Gunnis describes, the latter contained a depiction of the patron Saint Marina, which has vanished today. On the exterior, solely a number of curious graffiti, placed at the south-eastern corner of the building, has escaped time and the restoration of 1967. Here, we can see an illegible Greek inscription, a large glove and a monstrous creature next to what appears to be a crossed out chessboard. Perhaps all of these depictions were thought to imitate heraldic symbols. The date 1508, mentioned by Gunnis to be placed among these graffiti, is not visible anymore.

The interior is structured like a usual dome-hall church in the east, with a short bema bay with lateral niches adjoined by the high apse, to the west of this the domed bay with lateral arches reaching the height of the eastern and western barrel vaults. In the west, there is a nave of two bays, each with a lateral arched recess; the barrel vault interrupted by a chamfered transversal arch on amorphous corbels. A number of fragments of the original painted decoration can be found throughout the church. In the dome, a fragment of a Christ Pantokrator, surrounded by Angels, Prophets and the Disciples of Christ remains. The decoration of the niches in the western part is best preserved, showing mainly saints and scenes from their vita or martyrdom. Some of the saints, among which another fragment in the domed bay, are depicted with a raised halo made of stucco. The paintings seem to date to the 15th or 16th century.

The architecture does not allow for a precise dating of the church. The large pointed apse window and the unusual design of the nave with the lateral niches surely indicate a late medieval origin. If we consider Gunnis' remark about the graffiti mentioning the date 1508 to be reliable, the church might originate in the mid- to later 15th century.

LOCALITY: Pyrgos	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 34.740906, 33.181529		CAT. NO: 199
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of Pyrgos, surrounded by the modern cemetery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse and narthex		
WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular; western gable: oculus		
PORTALS: rectangular, chamfered with moulded corbels and a recessed pointed tympanum		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.20.616–626 (1970); B.47.020–027 (1977); J.52.322 (1984); J.66.368–370, 461 (1990); J.73.103, 169–176 (1993); J.83.895–900 (1997).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- ca. 1500: erection of the church		
- 16 th century: addition of the narthex		
- 1980: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the lower apse zone six co-officiating bishops, the central window decorated with crosses and ornaments. The register above a Communion of the Apostles. Of the Virgin Orans in the semidome only the head and hands preserved. In the arch of the northern doorway a Keramidion, in the southern one a Mandyllion. Executed in the Venetian period, presumably in the 16 th century [according to the ARDAC].		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Only mentioned briefly in Jeffery 1918, p 354.		
ARDAC 1980, p 17.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012; 08.03.2013		

The church of the Panagia in Pyrgos, today cemetery church, has been widely ignored by previous research despite its above-average size and quality of design. This is even more surprising, as it contains well-preserved fragments of a 16th century painted decoration.

The church consists of a long, narrow but high nave with semicircular apse and a lower square narthex in the width of the nave to the west. The exterior walls of the church, built from rubble except for the corners, are plain. The eastern gable is set back above the apse, between the protruding ends of the lateral walls, a typical solution for numerous single nave churches in Cyprus. Two buttresses were added later, to prevent the lateral walls from leaning over under the diagonal force of the barrel vault. Windows are restricted to the western gable, where an oculus is placed, and the rectangular apse window. Portals are situated in the northern and southern walls, both consisting of rectangular chamfered doorways with moulded corbels and a recessed pointed tympanum. Further sculptural decoration is restricted to the cornice of the nave, consisting of a cavetto with topping roll, and a flagstaff holder with clumsy ornaments on the eastern gable.

The interior is very dark, as it is only lit by the western oculus. Its high, pointed barrel vault rests on three chamfered transversal arches, which spring from crude quarter circle corbels. The apse, lower and narrower than the nave, contains most of the preserved fragments of the original painted decoration. In the lower zone, six bishops and, in the register above, a Communion of the Apostles remain. The semidome above is occupied by the fragment of a Virgin Orans. Other than this, only the inner tympana and jams of the two lateral portals carry fragmentary paintings, a Keramidion in the north, a Mandylion in the south and large crosses on the jams. These paintings seem to date to the Venetian period, presumably the 16th century. The iconostasis, itself perhaps going back to the Venetian period, is stabilized on the back with fragments of another 16th century iconostasis: a beam carries a repeated shell motif, while one panel shows garments and hands holding a book.

The narthex, clearly built in a second phase, has two pointed doorways with chamfered jams in the south and west, while a large blind arch occupies the northern wall. It opens up to the nave with a comparatively low pointed arch with rounded imposts above chamfered jams. The interior is covered by a simple groin vault, which rests on engaged piers in all four corners. The result is a cruciform interior plan, typical for groin-vaulted structures without external buttressing. The plain northern wall does not indicate, if the blind arch on the exterior might once have been an open archway leading into a second anterior space.

The church seems to date from around 1500 or the first half of the 16th century, while the narthex must have been added not too long after the erection of the original church, certainly before the Ottoman occupation.

In the churchyard lies an elaborate antique acanthus capital of high sculptural quality, which might have come from the same site as the fragments integrated in the church of Saint Marina some kilometres south of Pyrgos [78].

LOCALITY: Pyrgos	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.728296, 33.186596		CAT. NO: 200

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: south of Pyrgos, in an agriculturally used area

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with western expansion

WINDOWS: [replaced]

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: barrel vaults; drumless dome

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Late Antiquity: first church on the same site (?)
- 16th century (?): erection of a dome-hall church or remodelling of an earlier structure
- 1951–1977: rebuilt from ruin, partly using the original material
- 2010–2013: restoration

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Unpublished.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 17.04.2012

Several kilometres south of Pyrgos stands the church of Saint Marina, surrounded by fields, in a sparsely populated area. Today, it is a small church with a dome and a tower, surrounded by ungainly metal porches (some of which were removed in 2013). It is of a distinctly modern appearance, as it was rebuilt from ruined state between 1951 and 1977 – recounted by inscriptions in the church.

The church consists of a single nave of four bays with a semicircular apse in the east. On the outside, one remarks the use of smaller sized ashlar for the western parts and larger, more irregular stones for the eastern end and the apse. The two portals, one in the south-east and one in the west, are modern. There are three round arched windows in the northern and southern walls, presumably part of the rebuilding as well. The apse window is round arched, with a stepped frame, the jambs incorporating two halves of a late antique marble *templon* pier. Other *spolia* of the same period, such as a column base, can be found in the surroundings of the church. Above the western doorway, there are two sculpted limestone pieces inserted, forming some kind of tympanum. The lower part is formed by a frieze with a type of very large dentil moulding, on one side resting on a small foliage (?) corbel. Above, there is a frieze in the shape of a hood mould with horizontal returns, decorated with a foliage relief reminding of late antique models but rather attributable to the 16th century local 'Renaissance'.

The interior reveals a rather complex system of transversal arches and lateral recesses, with a barrel vault covering the first, second and fourth bay, while the third bay is surmounted by a drumless dome (which is the reason for it not protruding much above the roof on the exterior). The first and third bay possess wider and deeper lateral arches (those in the domed bay are stepped in height), while the recesses are slimmer in the second and fourth bays. As the interior is whitewashed, it is hard to distinguish building phases.

Overall, it seems likely that by 1951, only the foundations as well as the apse and the adjoining bay with the dome substructure, perhaps also the lower parts of the second bay from west, were preserved. The exterior walls with the smaller ashlar were rebuilt after 1951, and so were most of the vaults. Dating the church is rather problematic. Perhaps, there was a late antique church on the same site, of which some fragments were included in the later building. The dome-hall type was most popular during the 12th and 13th centuries, but in use until the end of the Latin period. The fragments above the portal seem to come from the 16th century. Perhaps, this is when the original dome-hall was built or strongly remodelled. The former suggestion might be corroborated by the ostentatious use of marble *spolia* in the apse window.

LOCALITY: Pyroi	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Pallouriotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.069304, 33.466703		CAT. NO: 201
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in an unpopulated area between Potamia and Pyroi, close to the Gialias river		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: round arched on the exterior, rectangular on the inside		
PORTALS: western portal: pointed, with chamfered jambs; northern portal: rectangular, recessed tympanum		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: decorated corbels on the northern wall for wooden porch		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.3693–3694 (1951); B.32.596–600 (1972) [reproduced in Papageorgiou 2010, p 315–316]; J.26.009–016 (1973); J.28.708–712 (1974).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- 1972: restoration (esp. northern and inner eastern wall)		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
A painted decoration already mentioned by Jeffery in 1918 ("complete", "in fairly good preservation", "of barbarous description") and Gunnis in 1936 ("fragments of two periods"). In 1972 (photographs kept in the Archive of the Department of Antiquities), they were still vaguely visible but are whitewashed today. In the naos a Last Supper/Pentecost scene (?), a Saint George on horseback, an Archangel Michael. In the apse bishops and above an enthroned Virgin or Christ flanked by kneeling angels (?).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 204 [referred to as "Ag.Marina"]; Gunnis 1936, p 410; Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 257; Papageorgiou 2010, p 313–316.		
ARDAC 1972, p 11, fig 10, 11 [15 th century date proposed]; 1996, p 20 [16 th century date proposed].		
MKE, 11, p 48.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 18.04.2012		

The Panagia Pallouriotissa is a church of very modest dimensions, situated in the uninhabited area between Potamia and Pyroi. Jeffery, who confuses this church with that of Saint Marina [188], suggests that on either site might have once been the attested Franciscan convent of Pyroi. This seems rather unlikely – at least the current church does not present any evidence, which would contradict an interpretation as rural Greek church, perhaps marking the site of a vanished village.

The church consists of a single short nave with semicircular apse. The upper part of the cubic nave is set back, this part framing the barrel vault, which rises from the lateral walls. The church is built from large, mainly irregular fieldstones, except for some rough ashlar built into the masonry during the restoration in 1972. The latter is a simple, pointed arch, the jambs of which are chamfered and decorated with small knobs on their upper ends. The northern portal is rectangular, surmounted by a large monolithic lintel and a crude recessed tympanum. Three corbels protrude from the northern wall, all decorated with simple geometric ornaments. They indicate the presence of a wooden porch on this side of the building.

The interior is very plain, the slightly pointed barrel vault not interrupted by transversal arches. The apse window, rounded on the outside, is rectangular towards the interior – a not very widespread solution, which is perhaps derived from the side apses of the church of Agios Sozomenos nearby [16]. Two decorated corbels much alike those of the exterior originally held the upper beam of the iconostasis, which has vanished today. The same is true for the fragmentary painted decoration, which was mentioned by Jeffery and Gunnis (the latter claiming to have seen two phases), and is visible on a number of photographs from 1972. In the nave vault, a fragment of what might have been a Pentecost scene was preserved, on the walls below the common topics of Saint George and the Archangel Michael. In the apse, bishops and an enthroned Virgin or Christ were dimly visible. By 1996, these paintings had been damaged but were still in place. Today, the church interior is whitewashed, leaving little hope for a preservation of the paintings, which means that the most reliable dating evidence might be lost.

Despite the archaic appearance (mainly due to the used stone material), the pointed barrel vault and apse vault indicate a date in the Frankish period. This is corroborated by the western portals and corbels, if we do not assume these to be later additions. In particular, the western portal seems to indicate a 16th century date, which was, according to Papageorgiou, corroborated by the painted decoration.

LOCALITY: Pyroi	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Antipas
GEO-DATA: 35.078092, 33.488663		CAT. NO: 202
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village of Pyroi, surrounded by a walled enclosure		
TYPOLOGY: cross-in-square church with elongated western arm with aisles		
WINDOWS: apse window: (older) triforate window; southern façade; (older) biforate window; dome: (older) round arched windows; oculus with triple roll moulding in western wall		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch; western portal: pointed arch with engaged colonettes and polygonal capitals		
VAULTING: central dome, barrel vaults (in the western arm supported by one transversal arch on double semicircular corbels)		
MISCELLANEOUS: humanoid gargoyle on the south-western corner		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Dumbarton Oaks Picture Archive L.73.393–398 (undated); Courtauld Image Archive, Conway Library 433981–433982 (undated)		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 12 th century: erection of the original cross-in-square church		
- 15 th –16 th century: expansion of the western cross arm, replacement of south door		
- 19 th century: bell tower added		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 182; Gunnis 1936, p 410; Papageorgiou 2010, p 323.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [inaccessible, located within a military zone]		

The church of Saint Antipas in Pyroi, since 1974 located inaccessibly within a Turkish military zone, is mainly known for being one of the smallest cross-in-square churches of Cyprus. Due to its location within a walled compound, few pictures of it had been taken prior to 1974. A small set, kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Photographic Archive, complemented by a photograph from the Conway Library, reveals that the church was in fact built in two periods.

The eastern half indeed shows a standard cross-in-square building of modest dimensions, with biforate and triforate windows, presumably dating to the 12th century. A 19th century bell tower occupies the south-eastern corner. In the west, an expansion, which rises to the height of the central cross arm, has been added at a later date. In the western gable, there is a large oculus with an elaborate stepped triple roll moulding. The portal below is flanked by two half-height buttresses. It is of an unusual design, combining a simple pointed arch with two engaged colonettes in the jambs, both ending in polygonal capitals.

On the inside, the eastern parts and the northern and southern cross arms with the central dome were not touched by the expansion. The original western cross arm has been completely replaced by a nave of two bays, flanked by narrow aisles. These are separated by an arcade, which rests on a squat round pier with octagonal capital. The arcade is decorated with a simple profile of two stepped chamfers. In the west, the arch seems to rest on a peculiar triple stepped cushion corbel. The nave is covered by a barrel vault, which rests on a central transversal arch, springing from flat double quarter circle corbels. The aisles are barrel-vaulted as well; a step in height indicates that here the original vault was preserved, when the new arcade was erected.

The expansion of the church of Saint Antipas surely dates to the 15th or 16th century. The shape of the capitals and the stepped corbels of the arcade are not common, so one can only carefully assume a date during the Venetian period, without entirely excluding the preceding decades.

LOCALITY: Rizokarpaso	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Andrew (old church)
GEO-DATA: 35.659405, 34.574554		CAT. NO: 203
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the southern shore of the Karpas peninsula, 15 km east of Rizokarpaso ; the old church is situated east of the 19 th century katholikon		
TYPOLOGY: centralized church of four bays with semicircular apse in the north-east		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: southern portal: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: rib vaults over a central round pier		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: monastery mentioned in 1191 and again 1738, see esp. Papacostas 1999, II, 83–84.		
PICTORIAL: Photographs taken by Camille Enlart in 1896 (in De Vaivre 2012, p 352–354)		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century: erection of the church		
- ca. 1867: surrounding monastery entirely rebuilt		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 404–407 [Enlart 1987, p 309–3013]; Jeffery 1918, p 256; Gunnis 1936, p 169; Papacostas 1999, II, 83–84; Kokkinoftas 2009, esp. p 33–45; Papageorghiou 2010, p 363–368; De Vaivre 2012, p 351–354; Langdale 2012, p 182–183.		
MKE, 2, p 174–176.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Enlart 1899, fig 269; ground plan: Papageorghiou 2010, p 364–365.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 30.03.2010 [exterior only]		

The first mention of a monastery dedicated to the Apostle Andrew dates back to the 12th century, when Abbot Benedict of Peterborough claims that Isaac Comnenos had fled to an “*abbadia quae dicitur caput Sancti Andrea*”, when being threatened by the conqueror Richard I of England. Little is known about the medieval history of the convent; when visited by Richard Pococke in 1738, the monastery seems to have been deserted. Most of the monastic buildings as well as the spacious *katholikon* were built in around 1867, when the cult of Saint Andrew on this site was revived.

Of the medieval structures, only a small chapel survives, placed on the cliff above the sea on a lower level than the main church. Already Enlart has found interest in this chapel and described it in some detail. It is an irregular structure of two naves with two bays each, covered with rib vaults on a central pier. The northern nave possesses a small additional bay with a semicircular apse to the east. The exterior is largely inconspicuous. The western front directly adjoins the eastern foundations of the main monastery and the other sides as well as the roof are covered in concrete and cement plaster. Only an (urgently necessary) restoration will reveal the masonry and enable a further assessment of possible building phases. A simple pointed portal in the south gives access to the interior.

The most remarkable feature of the rather gloomy space is the rib vault. The ribs are of a simple rectangular profile and spring directly from one central round pier. The latter does not have a capital. In the corners, the ribs seem to die out into the wall. Only the transversal arches, which separate the bays, rest on corbels on the wall side. The interior is almost devoid of any sculptural decoration – Enlart’s assumption that such a decoration might have been planned and remained unfinished is more likely to be a product of his ideas of how a normal ‘Gothic’ building should look like.

There is little doubt that the 15th century date proposed by Enlart can be accepted. Ribs ‘growing out’ of a round pier, without a defined capital zone, are a typical element of French late Gothic, which is encountered on Cyprus only in very few occasions – such as the southern aisles of the Panagia Odigitria in Nicosia [156], also datable to the 15th century. Admittedly, the latter are hardly comparable in quality of execution and decorative value.

The unusual topographical position and structural arrangement of the church provokes the question, already asked by Enlart, if the building might not have been a crypt to a previous main church of the monastery. While the destruction of the original roof line prevents from assessing, if there were walls raising above, the centralized pier with four

surrounding bays also opens up another possible interpretation. Indeed, without the clumsy (and misaligned) appendix of a bema bay with apse, the spatial arrangement resembles that of chapter houses or similar congregational gathering spaces. In Cyprus, Bellapais Abbey provided an example of such a space since the 14th century. Of course, further research in the (currently inaccessible) Chapel interior in the Monastery of Saint Andrew will be necessary, to evaluate if the space might indeed have been erected as a gathering room and was only transformed later, perhaps after the monastery had fallen into ruin already, or if the space was just inspired by the typology of chapter halls.

LOCALITY: Rizokarpaso	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa
GEO-DATA: 35.589298, 34.337187		CAT. NO: 204

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on a hill above the northern shore of the Karpas peninsula, between Rizokarpaso and Gialousa

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse, northern aisle with semicircular apse, western narthex

WINDOWS: northern apse window: pointed lancet; [rest replaced]

PORTALS: southern portal: rectangular doorway with roll moulded frame, continuing in mitred shape on lintel, lateral double step with dogtooth moulding and engaged colonettes, same moulding on the archivolt, simple hood mould; northern portal: rectangular with book corbels; southern narthex portal: round arched; [rest replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Photograph by Camille Enlart of 1896 (in De Vaivre 2012, p 77, wrongly labelled “porte de maison”); DOA J.7244–7247 (1964).

OTHER: ‘(A)ΦΛΒ’ (1532) or ‘(A)ΦNB’ (1552) on the lintel of the northern portal

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 13th–14th century: erection of the original church
- 1532 or 1552: addition of a northern aisle, southern portal
- 16th century, second phase (?): addition of a narthex
- mid-19th century: renovation, replacement of apse window

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments dimly visible beneath the whitewash in some places.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 408–409 [Enlart 1987, p 313]; Jeffery 1918, p 253; Gunnis 1936, p 412–413; Papageorgiou 2010, p 369–370; Langdale 2012, p 154; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Papageorgiou 2010, p 370.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2009; 29.03.2010; 08.04.2012

The small monastery of the Panagia Eleousa, situated on a hill between Rizokarpaso and Gialousa, has once been a *metochion* of the Monastery on Mount Sinai, before it was sold in the 1950s to the Saint Andrew's monastery, as well on the Karpas peninsula. We are not informed about the early history of the site, before Camille Enlart visited the monastery in 1896, finding "un bâtiment misérable et sans intérêt, et une petite église à deux nefs de deux travées voûtées en berceau brisé et terminées en absides à cul-de-four."¹⁸⁶

While the (comparatively recent) monastic buildings are heavily ruined, the church has survived the past four decades of disuse since 1974 relatively unharmed. It consists of a nave with semicircular apse, a much narrower northern aisle with semicircular apse as well and a transversal western narthex. The nave and the narthex are built from roughly dressed stones mixed with rubble, while the aisle shows ashlar masonry of extraordinary quality. The semicylinder of the apse is higher than that of the southern counterpart, almost entirely hiding the semidome and ending in a thick roll and hollow moulding. The apse window is a simple, slightly pointed lancet with a monolithic ashlar forming the window arch. The window of the southern apse has been replaced in the 19th century. Four portals lead into the church: one each in the lateral walls of the nave and aisle, and two (in the south and west) into the narthex. The latter are simple, a rectangle and a (walled up) round arch. The northern portal is of simple design as well, a very low rectangular doorway, but elaborate book corbels carry its monolithic lintel. Furthermore, on the lintel we can decipher a date written in Greek numerals, either '(A)ΦΛΒ' (1532) or '(A)ΦΝΒ' (1552). In all probability this date refers to the erection of the northern aisle and further changes – we will come back to this below. The southern portal is the most remarkable element of the building. Reaching almost the full height of the nave and occupying roughly a quarter of the lateral wall, it is the most elaborate medieval portal preserved on the Karpas peninsula. The jambs are stepped three times, framing a rectangular doorway with roll moulding. The latter continues on the lintel in a mitred shape, perhaps applying the usual interior design of medieval Cypriot portals on the exterior.¹⁸⁷ The outer steps of the jambs are decorated with thick roll mouldings on the corner, deriving from the idea of engaged colonettes, those are flanked by continuous dogtooth mouldings. The jambs end in a flat frieze replacing a capital zone. The two archivolts, which frame the tympanum, are decorated with the identical moulding, while the hood mould shows the same roll and hollow moulding profile as the northern apse.

On the inside, the nave and aisle are both covered with barrel vaults. That of the nave rests on a large central arch, springing from somewhat shapeless corbels approximating a

¹⁸⁶ Enlart 1899, p 408 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 313: "[...] a poor and insignificant main building and a small church of two naves of two bays with pointed barrel vaults ending in apses with semi-domes."

¹⁸⁷ Enlart refers to a similarity of this motif with the main portal of Bellapais, but it is not clear, what he is referring to.

quarter circle shape. The apse of the nave reveals a similar clumsiness, as engaged piers are placed at the apse corners, creating the impression that the semidome floats above them. The vault of the aisle is pointed and supported by a central arch as well. This arch springs from well-proportioned double quarter circle corbels. The apse, as already the exterior indicated, is unusually high and rather flat, the pointed semidome rests on top of a protruding string course. The narthex is a much more simple structure with a flat transversal barrel vault, which is connected to the barrel vaults of the nave and aisle by means of lunette caps. Walls as well as the connecting arches are entirely plain. The most elaborately decorated part of the interior is the arcade, consisting of two arches on a central round pier, which was opened in the northern wall of the nave, when the aisle was built. The design of the central round pier with a roll and hollow frieze as capital (again resembling the apse cornice) is also used for the engaged semicircular piers in the east and west, which are additionally adjoined by thin steps on the sides. The profile of the arcade moulding resembles that of the (destroyed) Panagia Avgasida [208], each corner of the inner and the outer step is occupied by a roll, flanked by quirks and deep hollows. In the soffit, a small straight, flat piece remains. The lower parts of the hollows are decorated with what seems to be a variation of the urban 14th century cone-and-sphere motif. The solution found for the outer step of the arch is unique: instead of increasing the diameter of the round pier to match the wall thickness, the outer moulding of the arcade ends on small corbels above the pier. These trapezoidal corbels are richly decorated with centralized floral ornaments. Another remarkable feature of the interior is the original floor, made of irregular stone slabs, which include a star-shaped one in the centre of the nave. The altar in the apse of the nave is today made of a corbel capital, surely once placed on top of a spoliated column shaft.

In previous research, the date of this monastic church was rather debated. Enlart found it to be a 15th century building, “tant à cause de certains profils qu'à cause du mélange même et de la dégénérescence des éléments dont il se compose”, while Gunnis assumed the 16th century.¹⁸⁸ The sequence of phases has not been mentioned before, neither has the date above the northern portal. The architecture of the northern aisle, as well as of the arcade, fits well in the context of the 1530s to 1550s, so there is little doubt that at this period the church was transformed. In all likelihood, the southern portal was installed at the same time, even if it shares features with some 15th century portals.¹⁸⁹ The narthex was surely added later, an uncovering of the dimly visible painting on its northern wall might reveal, if this happened still in the Venetian period or under Ottoman rule.

¹⁸⁸ Enlart 1899, p 408 – transl. in Enlart 1987, p 313: “[...] on the evidence of some of the profiles and also of the very fact of such a mixture of styles and the degeneration of its component elements.”

¹⁸⁹ See chapter 5.3.2 for a further discussion of these issues.

LOCALITY: Rizokarpaso	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Filon ad Agridia
GEO-DATA: 35.631023, 34.449459		CAT. NO: 205
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: 6,5 km east of Rizokarpaso, on the ridge of the Karpas hills, at the site of the deserted settlement of Agridia		
TYPOLOGY: two naves with semicircular apses, western and northern porches		
WINDOWS: —		
PORTALS: rectangular with recessed tympanum		
VAULTING: barrel vaults with three transversal arches, western porch with simple barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 12th century: single nave church- 12th–13th century (?): addition of a southern aisle [destroyed]- 14th–15th century: addition of an open porch to the west- 16th century: extension of the porch to the north- 1973: renovation, excavation of southern aisle and northern arcade		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the northern nave until 1974 extensive remains of a painted decoration of the 12 th century, heavily damaged subsequently. (See most recently Chotzakoglou 2010, p 22–24).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Papacostas 1999, II, p 65; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 113–114; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 22–24; Papageorghiou 2010, p 349–355.		
ARDAC 1973, p 16.		
MKE, 13, 253–254.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 29; Polycarpou, Papageorghiou 1973, in Papageorghiou 2010, p 350 (updated, including the results of the 1973 excavation and restoration works).		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2010		

The vanished settlement of Agridia was situated on the ridge of the chain of hills in the centre of the Karpas peninsula, approximately 6,5 km east of Rizokarpaso. Around 1918, the area still contained four ruined churches, according to Jeffery.¹⁹⁰ It is hard to identify these churches, as there are in fact numerous more or less entirely destroyed churches of the middle Byzantine period situated on the ridge east of Rizokarpaso.

The best preserved is that of Saint Filon ad Agridia. It is of unusual shape, consisting of two short, rather wide barrel-vaulted naves with semicircular apses and a western and northern porch. The northern nave is dated to the 12th century by the fragmentary remains of a painted cycle on the inside. The southern one is almost entirely gone; its vestiges were uncovered in 1973.

In the context of this study, the porch is of interest. It was built in two phases, beginning with the part directly west of the two naves of the church. This part consists of two double arcades, one placed in front of the old western façade, so that the portals of the naves are framed by the new arches, the other one around 4 m west. The latter is of considerable thickness, allowing for a transversal barrel vault to be placed above the two arcades. In a second phase, the porch was enlarged to the north, presumably running along the entire northern side of the church. Of this, only the two arches at the corner are (partly) preserved; their rather feeble construction indicates that, even if the arches are adapted to those of the western porch in size and design, the northern porch was not vaulted. In a third phase, the arcades of the western porch were walled up and equipped with smaller doors, making a closed narthex of the previously open porch.

There are no comparable constructions in Cyprus, even if the general arrangement of an open vaulted porch to the west (and north) of a church, with a similar arcade, can for example be found at the church of Saint Catherine in Tera [223]. There, however, the bays of the porch were covered with (today reconstructed) drumless domes. The lack of sculptural details makes it hard to date the porch of Saint Filon. One might assume that the western vaulted part was erected during the 14th or 15th century, the northern expansion in the 16th century – but these dates are merely approximations.

¹⁹⁰ Jeffery 1918, p 258.

LOCALITY: Salamiou	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa
GEO-DATA: 34.840364, 32.698127		CAT. NO: 206
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the village of Salamiou		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: pointed archways		
VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches on rough rounded corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.74.447–451 (1993); J.79.648–657, 888–903, 80.572–586, 81.120–121, 83.968–972 (1995).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- 1916, 1993–95: renovation		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 418.		
ARDAC 1995, p 26–27, fig 23–24; 1998, p 35; 1999, p 33, fig 32–33.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 24.03.2012		

The church of the small monastery of Salamiou, dedicated to the Panagia Eleousa is a typical example of the simple rural Cypriot churches of the later medieval period. It consists of a single nave and a semicircular apse, all built of rubble and roughly dressed stones. The horizontal step in the lateral walls marks the springer of the barrel vault on the inside, the upper part of the lateral walls hides the lower parts of the latter and at the same time provides the weight necessary for the lateral walls to cope with the force of the barrel vault. This was only partly successful in the case of the Panagia of Salamiou: heavy buttresses were added to the northern wall in a later restoration, perhaps the one of 1916 attested by Gunnis. Two pointed portals, simple, but made from ashlar, give access to the interior.

The interior is similarly simple and also follows the standard model. The barrel vault springs directly from the lateral walls and is supported by two transversal arches on rounded corbels.

The church most likely dates to the 16th century, but the origins of the monastery are not known. Presumably founded during the Middle Ages, it was closed in the 19th century. Since 2000, new monastic buildings have been erected around the old church.

LOCALITY: Salamiou	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi
GEO-DATA: 34.836118, 32.647943		CAT. NO: 207
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on a plateau above the eastern banks of the Xeros river, south of the road between Salamiou and Pentalia; across the river from the Panagia tou Sindi [173]		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: –		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: [replaced] barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.76.951–953 (1994).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 1994: restoration, vault rebuilt in modern shape		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments on the lateral walls and the apse, dated to the 15 th or 16 th century.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 262.		
ARDAC 1994, p 28, fig 19.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]		

The church of Saint Paraskevi, a small single-nave building with narrow semicircular apse, is situated on a terrace above the eastern banks of the Xeros River. Its position facing the important Sindi Monastery [173] on the other side of the river, has prompted thoughts of a relation – be this legendary, as in the case of Gunnis (who does not describe the church itself, which was apparently heavily ruined in the 1930s) or historically. Nevertheless, the original context of the church is not known: it might well be the *katholikon* of a small monastic community or the church of a long vanished village.

The ruin of the church, of which the lateral walls and the apse had been preserved, was rebuilt in 1994, when a modern pitched roof was added. The original church was surely barrel-vaulted; the remaining lateral walls show slightly pointed, wide recesses. The fragmentary remains of paintings, hardly legible for most parts, have been dated to the 15th or 16th century, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the church.

LOCALITY: Santalaris	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Avgasida
GEO-DATA: 35.214827, 33.809105		CAT. NO: 208
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: between the villages of Milia and Limnia, near the settlement of Santalaris		
TYPOLOGY: double nave structure with two semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: round arched dome windows; two oculi in the west and east		
PORTALS: north-western portal: round arched; north-eastern portal: rectangular with framing roll, forming an ogree arch on the lintel, hood mould; other portals not visible on photographs		
VAULTING: mainly groin-vaulted; barrel vaults above the eastern bays of the northern nave and flanking the dome in the south-eastern bay		
MISCELLANEOUS: belfry with flagstaff holder above the north-eastern corner; large tombstone later placed on external buttress		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: Ross 1852, p 132 describes the tombstone embedded in the church floor and its inscription.		
PICTORIAL: DOA 2 pictures w/o number (1934); B. 9881–9900, 9974–9979, 10.027–036, C.5759–5766, 5834–5840, J.3363–3380, 3399–3400, 3454, 3465–3466, 3476–3484 (1960); I.8237–8241 (1966); I.13.126–130, 336–349; 15.112–115 (1968).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 15th century (around 1482?): erection of the dome-hall church- 16th century: addition of the northern nave, western expansion of the dome-hall- 1960, 1968: restoration of the church and monastic buildings- after 1974: church entirely destroyed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In particular the decoration of the dome was preserved before 1974: a Christ Pantocrator, a Deesis, apostles on their thrones and angels. Smaller fragments are reported by Papageorghiou 2010 but not documented.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 410–412 [Enlart 1987, p 314–316]; Jeffery 1918, p 240; Gunnis 1936, p 424; Imhaus 2004, I, p 361; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 122; De Vaivre 2006d, p 32–33; Papageorghiou 2010, p 269–282; Langdale 2012, p 178–179.		
ARDAC 1968, p 10 & fig 8–9.		
MKE, 3, p 63.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and transversal section: Papageorghiou 2010, p 271.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: The church has been destroyed after 1974. The site of the monastery was visited on 09.04.2012.		

The monastic enclosure of Panagia Avgasida, situated near the settlement of Santalaris between Milia and Limnia, appears in the sources for the first time in 1533, when it is mentioned among the sites of the region by Florio Bustron. Up until 1974, the katholikon of the monastery remained in good state, but was demolished subsequently. In consequence, the discussion of the building has to rely on the ample photographic evidence and the descriptions of various scholars, starting with Camille Enlart in 1899.

The church consisted, as so many churches of the Mesaoria plain, of two naves with semicircular apses, almost identical in size but differing in their artistic design and vaulting. Already on the first glimpse of the historic images, one can recognize the parallels to the case of nearby Trikomo [232]. Here, as well, the core of the building was formed by a dome-hall church, which was later extended and became the south-eastern part of the church. In Avgasida, the extension was accomplished by replacing the northern dome arch and north-western lateral compartment with a wide, flat arch, opened up to the central bay of a new northern nave. The north-eastern lateral compartment was transformed into a doorway, connecting the bema area of the older dome-hall with the corresponding, narrow bay of the new nave. In the west, both, the new nave and the dome-hall, received an additional bay, connected by a second wide arch. Except for the narrow eastern bay of the new northern nave, the expansion was groin-vaulted throughout, which allowed for a decent height of the connecting arches despite the small dimension of the church. In the east, the northern nave possessed a low, asymmetrically placed additional bay with the adjoining apse. This is an unusual feature, as usually the apse directly adjoins the bema bay. One must wonder, whether this is a sign for a predeceasing smaller nave in the same location, or, adversely, the additional bay with the apse was added to an originally straight eastern wall. In particular here, the lack of original substance inhibits a final answer.

The exterior was largely plain, the outline of the building strictly cubic. The flat surface of the roof was only interrupted by the dome and a belfry in the north-western corner rising from the lateral wall. Except for the two apses, the outer walls were also structured by irregular buttresses (two slim ones on the southern façade and another two on the corners of the northern side, two flying buttresses in the west and another one in the middle of the northern façade). Of the portals which pierced the building, sadly only the northern ones appear on historic images. That in the western bay is simple, round arched, while that in the eastern bay is unique in the east of the island. It is a rectangular doorway framed by a roll moulding, which, on the lintel, is deflected to form an ogee arch. Similar portals are otherwise only known from Chlorakas [52,53] and Emba [64] near Pafos.

The interior of the church was astonishingly lofty, as the arches reached the full height of the vault. They rested on a central pier of 'quatrefoil' shape, that is a rectangular pier with four semicolumns surrounding it. The semicolumns possessed, as it seems, attic bases and roll moulded capital friezes, which reminded of inverted bases. This pattern was repeated in the engaged piers at the eastern and western arcade ends. The moulding of the arches above did not correspond to the piers below. Instead, the moulding was formed by a central rectangular part with hollow-roll-hollow mouldings on the edges. This central part was accompanied by two lateral steps with identical moulding. The corbels of the transversal arches, which separated the nave bays, showed a certain variety. There were simple double quarter circle ones, others in pyramidal shape, while those depicted in a drawing of Enlart are rather smoothly waved, similar to those of the narthex in the Antifonitis Church [6].¹⁹¹

The comparability of many of the elements of the Avgasida church with other datable churches on the island facilitates an approximation of its building chronology. The corbels resembling those of the early 16th century Antifonitis narthex already indicate a date in the Venetian period for the expansion, thus somewhat contradicting Enlart and Papageorgiou, who opt for the 15th century (without, however, excluding a very late 15th century date). A date in the 16th century is also corroborated by the arcade and the piers. Similar arch profiles can be found in, for example, the churches of the Panagia Eleousa on the Karpas peninsula [204], dated to 1532 or 1552 by an inscription, and most prominently the main nave of the Orthodox Cathedral of the Odigitria in Nicosia [156]. Furthermore, the quadrilobe pier closely resembles those of the latter building, which was remodelled in the 16th century as well. Thus, there is enough evidence to assign the expansion phase, during which northern nave and arcade were erected, to the 16th century – regarding the presumable posteriority compared to the cathedral in Nicosia, one might narrow this down to after the mid-16th century, bearing in mind the somewhat unclear date of the urban model.

While it is certain, that the dome-hall was the oldest part, Papageorgiou's suggestion to date it to the 12th century needs to be questioned. Admittedly, the structural parallels to the Panagia in Trikomo are evident – there the 12th century dome-hall is ascertained through architectural elements such as blind arcades on the exterior and the 12th century paintings. There was a remarkable painted decoration in the dome of the Avgasida church as well, depicting a Christ Pantokrator surrounded by angels and apostles, but it most likely dated to the 15th century and was thus repeatedly connected with the expansion phase. Not

¹⁹¹ This is less clearly visible in the photograph of Enlart, which he used to prepare the drawing.

only because of the 16th century date of the expansion, it is more probable that the paintings already existed at this moment. Most likely, they were one of the reasons for the rather painstaking process of maintaining the whole vault of the older dome-hall intact. A surprising detail has been pointed out by Papageorgiou: the centre of the dome, place of the Christ Pantokrator, was formed as a separate, smaller dome rising from the shell of the larger one. This is an architectural element rather known from older churches, as the list of *comparanda* (among which the 12th century Apostle Church in Pera Chorio¹⁹²) shows. In consequence, one must wonder if the paintings of the Avgasida dome-hall were in fact the second cycle, repeating the iconographic programme of a 12th century predecessor, or if the architectural model was chosen due to planned painted decoration in an act of (sub)conscious retrospectivity. Considering the exterior of the dome-hall (and presupposing that this remained largely unchanged), the second option seems more likely: the plain, box-like shape is hardly thinkable before the 14th century. Perhaps we can connect the erection of the dome-hall with another monument preserved in the court of the church, placed against the northern buttress, up to 1974: a tombstone of a Greek nobleman in Latin costume, according to Enlart mentioning the date 1482 in the surrounding inscription.¹⁹³ One would surely think that he was a patron of some larger work carried out in the church, be this only the painted decoration, or even the erection of the church itself.

The monastic buildings, today ruined but largely preserved, can be dated to two phases (as Enlart has already remarked). While most of those east of the church were built in the ottoman period, the two L-shaped wings of a cloister with an adjoining domestic wing in the north date to before 1571. The low, pointed arches of the cloister rest on spoliated capitals and columns, interspersed with occasional late antique templon or screen piers. The youngest of these *spolia* seems to be a crocket capital dated to the 15th century by Enlart. It is very probable that, similar to the monastic building of the Panagia tou Tochniou [139], these wings were erected in the 16th century, in a phase during which the beginning interest in the antique sites like Salamis resulted in a proliferation of the use of *spolia*. Adjoining the two cloister wings are a number of barrel and groin-vaulted chambers, which testify to the relative importance of the monastery in the Venetian period, when most smaller rural monastery buildings were made from mud bricks and timber roofs.

¹⁹² Megaw, Hawkins 1962.

¹⁹³ “[...] XV septembre 6990 (du monde), indiction 15; c’est-à-dire 1482.”, quoted after Imhaus 2004, I, p 361; there also further information on the tombstone.

LOCALITY: Skarinou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Luke
GEO-DATA: 34.814295, 33.362750		CAT. NO: 209
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of Skarinou, perhaps marking the site of a vanished village or monastery		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed archway with chamfered jambs; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- 20 th century: restoration, replacement of western portal and roof		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Unpublished.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.12.2014		

The church of the Apostle Luke is situated south of Skarinou, near the modern motorway. Considering that a second church dedicated to Saint George used to stand in immediate vicinity to the east, there might have been either a vanished village or a monastery on the site. Despite it being marked on most large-scale topographical maps, Saint George does not exist anymore. The modern cadastral map of the site shows that only the site name remains. It is uncertain, how old and of which shape the church was.

Saint Luke consists of a short single nave and a small semicircular apse. Built from rubble with dressed stones in the corners, the exterior is entirely plain. While the western portal is a modern replacement, the northern one shows a simple pointed arch with chamfered jambs. The interior is plain, plastered and the two transversal arches of the pointed barrel vault are painted in a dark brown. This is the result of a recent restoration, while a painting of Saint Luke, placed in a pointed recess in the southern wall, seems to have been executed in the 1980s.

Presumably, the church was built in the 16th century and restored on several occasions in the 20th century.

LOCALITY: Sotira	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.029283, 33.953999	CAT. NO: 210	
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the northern quarter of Sotira village centre		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall structure with semicircular apse, [destroyed porches]		
WINDOWS: apse: three pointed chamfered lancets; dome drum: four mitred windows		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular with moulded corbels and monolithic lintel, hood mould on protruding double corbels with moulding and cross reliefs; southern portal: rectangular, corbels with roll and hollow moulding and dogtooth ornament		
VAULTING: central dome, eastern and western (short) barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders around the dome drum; (tomb) canopy at the southern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 46, 106; DOA A.708 (1936); B.873, D.428 (1941); B.2502 (1945); B.8796–8797 (1950s); J.8152–8160, 9094–9095 (1966); J.15.879 (1968); J.18.596–599, 20.614 (1969); B.29.949–959 (1971); B.31.877 (1972); B.37.796–797, A.6573–6575 (1974?); B.45.910–912 (1977); B.82.069–086 (1989).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- late 14th century: erection of the original church- after 1571 (?): demolition of surrounding porches- 1970s and 80s: subsequent smaller restoration phases		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>There are fragments of a once completed painted decoration. In the apse a Virgin Orans with a <i>clipeus</i> of Christ and kneeling Archangels, below a mainly destroyed Communion of the Apostles and Bishops. In the bema vault an Ascension scene, on the wall above the apse an Annunciation and busts of saints. On the bema walls various saints and damaged scenes. The paintings in the naos are less well preserved; there are various saints and (unusual) scenes, among which some well-preserved depictions of nude human figures in the southern dome pendentif. The paintings have been dated to the late 14th century by Michele Bacci (see Olympios 2014c, p 176, fn 66).</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Gunnis 1936, p 427; Hadijchristodoulou, Ioannou 2002, p 52–55; Olympios 2014c, p 174–176. ARDAC 1971, p 11, fig 35–36 [late 15th century date proposed]; 1972, p 13; 1980, p 17; 1989, p 28–29 [16th century date proposed]; 1997, p 23; 2005, p 40. MKE, 9, 288; 13, p 23–25.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and section: Soteriou 1935, fig 37.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 20.04.2009; 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012; 15.12.2014		

The church of Saint Mamas in the village of Sotira, not far from Famagusta, is a dome-hall church of modest dimensions (ca. 10 m by 4 m) with a semicircular apse. It is entirely built of well-cut ashlar masonry, which, together with a certain plainness of the wall surfaces, gives the church the austere but also sophisticated appearance of the urban churches of Famagusta.

The walls are not pierced by windows, except for three chamfered lancets in the apse and mitred windows in four faces of the octagonal dome drum, which dominates the building. The other faces of the octagon are plain, but surmounted by prominent flagstaff holders. Three simple rectangular portals are placed in the north, south and west. Their monolithic lintels are supported by moulded corbels with dogtooth ornament. The western portal is additionally surmounted by a protruding, heavy hood mould, which springs from a double corbel. It is composed of a lower part with a roll moulding and an upper quarter circle corbel, which is bent sideways and forms the first voussoir of the arch. The latter is decorated with double-cross reliefs.¹⁹⁴ Two massive buttresses with sloped top support each lateral wall. They are marked as later additions in the only ground plan of the church, published by Soteriou in 1935. Albeit they actually do somewhat disturb the current exterior appearance, they are certainly part of the original plan. In most parts, they interlock with the walls behind. In their upper parts, one notices the same beam-holes as in the rest of the wall, indicating that they were built before the (vanished) porches. Finally, they are structurally necessary to support the dome, as the latter sits directly on the exterior walls of the nave, which does not possess internal dome piers.

The porches, which once surrounded the church on three sides, are indicated by a line of beam holes piercing the upper walls in the north, west and south as well as arch springers emanating from the corners of the western façade and the eastern buttresses. Furthermore, the foundations of the western porch have been uncovered, showing that its walls were rather thin, matching the beam holes as evidence for a wooden roof. Opposite from the western arch springers, the western wall of the porch possessed thin buttresses. It remains open, if the external wall of the porch was closed, forming annexe spaces, or opened through wide arches such as those of, for example, Saint Filon ad Agridia [205]. It is also thinkable that, as in this example, parts of the originally open porch were later closed. This might have been the case in the south, where a low pointed arch forming a (funerary?) niche was later placed against the southern wall of the church. Perhaps, here some kind of *parekklesion* was created, resembling that of the Panagia tou Potamou in Kazafani [97].

The interior of the church is, as mentioned above, not structured by dome piers or lateral recesses. Instead, the dome pendentifs rest directly on thin formerets of the lateral walls and the short pointed barrel vaults in the west and east. The apse reaches only half the

¹⁹⁴ Further cross reliefs can be found on the apse and beside the portals. As these are executed in high-relief, they are unlikely to be graffiti and most likely part of the original decoration.

width of the nave and is covered with a sharply pointed semidome. The walls are only sparsely decorated with sculptural elements. Only exception are the two string courses of the dome drum, the latter round on the inside, which show the same thick roll moulding as the cornices of the exterior. Probably, the church was intended to receive a painted decoration from the beginning. There are considerable remains of a painted cycle, with rather common depictions of for example a Virgin Orans flanked by archangels in the apse vault and an Annunciation on the wall above, as well as with rather uncommon, hardly legible scenes occupying the large wall surfaces in the nave. The cycle, formerly considered to be of the Venetian period but recently dated to the late 14th century, raises the question of the dating of the architecture as well.

It has been mentioned above, that there is a striking resemblance to the churches of Famagusta, in particular those of Saint Nicholas [70] and Saint Epifanios [68], both of the early to mid-14th century and suitable models in terms of size and pretence.¹⁹⁵ Unlike in other churches of the region, which adapt elements of the urban 14th century architecture as late as the 16th century (Saint George in Avgorou [47]), little about Saint Mamas seems to indicate a late date (even if this is proposed by, among others, the ARDAC reports). Albeit the internal structure without dome piers is more common in the later medieval period on Cyprus (compare, for example, Saint Nicholas in Orounda [81]), the sculptural decoration of the portals and the use of mitred windows in the dome fits comfortably within the context of late 14th century architecture. In particular the corbels are revealing: the moulding of the inner portal corbels is identical to the early 14th century northern doorway of Saint George Exorinos in Famagusta, which even lacks the dogtooth introduced by the mid-14th century western portals of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta (as result of a reduced elaboration rather than indicating an earlier date).¹⁹⁶ In any case, if the paintings of the interior were indeed attributable to the late 14th century, as recently suggested, this would define a firm *terminus ante quem* for the structure itself.

Perhaps, the installation of the wall tomb in the southern porch can be connected to a second building or decoration phase – something, which could have then taken place as late as the 16th century.

¹⁹⁵ See chapter 4.5 for a detailed evaluation of the connections.

¹⁹⁶ For Saint George Exorinos and Saints Peter and Paul see chapters 4.2 and 4.3.

LOCALITY: Sotira	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Transfiguration Church
GEO-DATA: 35.028720, 33.952995		CAT. NO: 211
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Sotira		
TYPOLOGY: elongated dome-hall church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: dome drum: rectangular, chamfered; rest rectangular		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch, jambs with engaged colonettes and imposts with dentil moulding, archivolt framed by a roll moulding		
VAULTING: central dome, barrel-vaults in the east and west		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral recesses in the nave		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 38; DOA 1 image w/o number (1936); B.53.554, 55.554–560, l.46.698–700 (1980); B.56.721–723 (1981); B.81.639–650, 82.063–068, 87.876–914 (1989); J.63.852–862 (1990).		
OTHER: inscription above the southern portal mentions the “rebuilding or restoration by a certain Theodore Contarino of Placatou in 1553”.		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Late Antiquity: erection of a columned basilica of a nave and two aisles with semicircular apses- 12th–13th century: new church built over the central nave of the basilica- ca. 1553: rebuilding of most vaults and exterior walls after the dome arches had previously been strengthened- 19th century: addition of a belfry (restored 1980) and a southern porch- 1989 onwards: removal of the later dome arches on the inside, uncovering of the paintings		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
On the dome arches and small sections of the adjoining walls are the remains of a cycle of high artistic quality, datable to the 13 th century. (See Weyl Carr 2005c, p 296).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 427; Weyl Carr 2005c, p 296; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c. ¹⁹⁷		
ARDAC 1989, p 29–30; 1991, p 26; 1994, p 25; 1996, p 22; 1997, p 23; 1998, p 28; 1999, p 25; 2000, p 30; 2002, p 34; 2005, p 40–41; 2008, p 35.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan after the recent excavation works: yet unpublished.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 20.04.2009; 13.04.2010; 15.12.2014		

¹⁹⁷ A current research project of the University of Cyprus on the church is due to be published soon.

The church of the Transfiguration of Christ is the old main church of the village of Sotira, which certainly received its name in connection with the patronage of its main church. Today, the church is a much-altered, elongated dome-hall structure of five bays with a semicircular apse.

A recent excavation has shown that the unusual shape of the building is the result of it being erected over the central nave of a late antique basilica. Of the latter, large column bases survive in the northern wall of the current church, until recently hidden below the exterior ground level. Just as in the parallel case of the Panagia in Kofinou, the traditional system of two barrel-vaulted bays flanking a central domed one has been adapted to the old ground plan, resulting in two barrel-vaulted bays west and east of the dome, each with deep lateral blind arches resembling an open arcade.¹⁹⁸ All this must have happened in the 12th or 13th century, as there are significant remains of a painted cycle of high artistic quality, datable to the 13th century. These paintings survived only on the dome arches and piers, as those were underpinned and abutted with a later strengthening, presumably due to structural problems caused by the problematic foundations.

Apparently, at some point in the 15th or 16th century, these precautionary measures proved not to be sufficient. The church was heavily restored, an event apparently commemorated in an inscription above the southern portal, describing the “rebuilding or restoration by a certain Theodore Contarino of Placatou in 1553”, according to Gunnis. The portal below, with engaged colonettes in the jambs, impostes with dentil moulding and an archivolt framed by a single roll moulding, is not the most typical 16th century example, but its elements are well used during this period. As this is the only sculpturally decorated element, it is not entirely obvious, which other parts were changed or rebuilt during this phase – most likely, the structural shape of the church remained unchanged. There are small fragments of the paintings in the lower courses of the western wall, in most lateral niches and, as mentioned on the arches and piers of the central dome. In the west, a conspicuous horizontal joint along the vault springer indicates a complete renewal above this point. A deep, chamfered transversal arch on oddly moulded, flat corbels underpins the vault in the middle. In the east, the joint is less strongly visible, but the vault seems not to be entirely aligned with the inner face of the wall below as well. The supporting arch is even lower, made from regular, small-sized ashlar and resting on trapezoidal corbels. Due to the difference between the arch and the vault, a small ashlar wall is erected above the latter, additionally separating the naos and the bema (together with the Venetian period

¹⁹⁸ For Kofinou see Papacostas 1999, II, p 52–53.

iconostasis below). On the exterior, there are no conspicuous joints visible due to the lime wash covering the walls – joints, which could have helped to disentangle the phases. The regular ashlar masonry of the apse seems to indicate that it was rebuilt in the 16th century. The regular buttresses placed at the corners of the nave and around the domed bay, would rather be matching the late medieval architectural standards. They could indicate that most of the exterior wall surfaces were rebuilt as well. The octagonal dome drum corroborates the thought that the latter, albeit its supporting arches clearly survived, was rebuilt at some point after the 14th century. This may well have been in the mid-16th century. Presumably, the ongoing research project of the University of Cyprus, during which also the northern aisle of the late antique basilica was excavated, will lead to new conclusions on the complex building chronology of the church.

LOCALITY: Souskio	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saints Constantine and Helena
GEO-DATA: 34.726062, 32.605936		CAT. NO: 212
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the south-eastern slopes of the Troodos foothills, east of the deserted village of Souskiou		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: —		
PORTALS: rectangular		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Courtauld Image Archive, Conway Library, 433896–433913 (ca. 1935); KCL Archive, John Hilton depository (9 images, ca. 1935); Soteriou 1935, pl 74–77; DOA A.2088–2093, 2144–2145; B.2810 (1945); A.3439 (1951); A.4289 (1954); B.7313–14, 7337–7343, 7368–7372 (1956); B.9263–9268 (1959); B.13.322, 369–373 (1962); B.40.837–838, 992–997 (1975); B.41.813–817 (1976); B.48.988, 49.123 (1979?); J.75.155–156 (1993); J.76.065–080, 262–272 (1994).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<div>- 12th century: erection of the first dome-hall chapel</div> <div>- 16th century: rebuilding of the vault after collapse</div> <div>- before 1935: collapse of the rebuilt vault</div> <div>- 1953: partial collapse of the southern wall and vault arch, subsequent rebuilding of the wall and lower vault</div> <div>- 1975: reconstruction of the 16th century vault (further restorations in 1998)</div>		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>Only fragmentary preservation (1945–59 still in much more complete state). On the vault almost completely lost, due to destruction before 1945. Naos: lower zone standing saints; eastern piers, western face: unidentifiable saint and Ss Constantine and Helena with the cross; eastern piers, bema face: deacons (?) holding pyxides. All scenes surrounded with floral ornaments. In the north-west a fragment of an unidentifiable scene, in the bema vault fragments of an Anastasis (north) and a Last Supper (south). In the apse bishops in the lowest zone, above a Communion of the Apostles, in the semidome a Virgin Orans. The paintings date to the Venetian period, perhaps early 16th century. No visible traces of an earlier phase of decoration reported by Gunnis.</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Gunnis 1936, p 291; Prokopiou 2006, p 281–291.</p> <p>ARDAC 1963, p 10; 1975, p 21, fig 49–50; 1994, p 28, fig 26–27; 1998, p 34.</p> <p>MKE 8, 154.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
<p>Ground plan and sections: Soteriou 1935, fig 38; Prokopiou 2006, fig 320–322.</p>		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.04.2008; 29.03.2012; 02.03.2013		

The church of Saints Constantine and Helena is situated in the upper part of the Phatalas valley, connecting Kouklia and Archimandrita, around 1 km south of the deserted village of Souskiou. The remote location of the building corroborates the supposition of Gunnis, that it was the *katholikon* of a monastery.

The church is a single nave building with semicircular eastern apse. The exterior, built from rubble, is entirely plain, solely interrupted by simple rectangular portals. Originally, the church was built as a dome-hall structure, as can be seen by the sequence of lateral arches on the inside. Narrow round arches in the east and west mark the former eastern and western bays, while the wider central arch shows the dimension of the central, once domed bay. The current vault consists of regular ashlar, which form the upper part of the large lateral arches and a continuous barrel vault, through which the latter cut in the way of lunette caps. Above the lateral arches, the colour of the used ashlar changes, indicating two phases of construction. A set of historic photographs, kept in two London archives (Conway Library and the KCL Archive), taken around 1935, reveals that at this time, the church was ruined. Vault and western wall had collapsed, but the images already show the ashlar-made barrel vault.

In consequence, we can reconstruct the following sequence of building phases. After the original dome had collapsed as early as the 15th–16th century, presumably around 1600 the vault was rebuilt as a barrel vault. In this process, the lateral dome arches were renewed flatter than the original ones, cutting through the new barrel vault. It was also in this period, that the church was fully painted. Remains of this (hardly studied) decoration are visible until today, including a Virgin Orans in the apse vault, a Communion of the Apostles below, Ss Constantine and Helena near the southern door and fragments of various saints and scenes in the naos and bema walls. In 1935, most of these were in a significantly better state, even if the church seems to have been ruined already for a while: the central part of the vault had collapsed again. In 1953, the paintings and the built structure were further damaged, when the southern wall collapsed. Subsequently, the latter was rebuilt, using as many of the original stones as possible. The vault was not reconstructed before 1975, when slightly brighter stones were used – this explains the different colour of the vault ashlar.

Apart from the interesting, even if heavily damaged 16th century paintings, the church is interesting due to the concept of rebuilding applied as early as the Venetian period. A similar process of omitting a previously present dome in favour of a barrel vault is only observed in the Panagia Chrysolakourna near Steni [217].

LOCALITY: Spathariko	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Paradisiotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.226201, 33.885271		CAT. NO: 213
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: 3 km south of Spathariko, on the site of the vanished village of Paradisi		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse, [destroyed southern narthex]		
WINDOWS: apse window: round arched		
PORTALS: northern portal (walled up): pointed arch; southern portal: mitred; [western portal: destroyed]		
VAULTING: [destroyed barrel vault], two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the northern wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- 18 th –19 th century: addition of buttresses before collapse of the vault, subsequent rebuilding without vault		
- after 1936: destruction of southern annexe still seen by Gunnis		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Remains of paintings reported by Gunnis, today not visible anymore.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 241; Gunnis 1936, p 428.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012		

According to legends, the village of Paradisi was once the site of a royal residence, from where “queen and children of King Amaury de Lusignan [...] were carried off by a Greek pirate of Cilicia then making a raid in Famagusta Bay. Their sufferings and eventual restoration by way of Kyrenia, through the instrumentality of King Leon of Armenia, are described by the continuator of William of Tyre”.¹⁹⁹ Today, nothing remains of a royal palace (if it ever existed) or the surrounding village, except for a small church dedicated to the Panagia.

The church consists of a single nave with semicircular apse, and is hardly larger than a rural chapel at roughly 10 m by 4m. It is ruined at least since the aftermath of 1974 and at the verge of collapse, but the gaping holes in the exterior plaster allow for some observations of the masonry. The church itself is built from rubble mixed with extremely large ashlar blocks, suggesting that material from the ancient site of Salamis nearby was used for the construction. The exterior is plain except for the buttresses, which were evidently added later – in fact, they did not prove to be helpful, as they are now partly detached from the wall and leaning over even more significantly. The western and northern portals of the church are walled up, that in the north only recognizable as a crack in the shape of a pointed arch in the plaster. The southern portal is partly collapsed but seems to have had the mitred top, which was usually used for the interior of portals. Of the ‘south narthex’, described by Gunnis as a building part, which contained numerous antique *spolia*, no trace remains.

The interior is roofless today, two freestanding transversal arches picturesquely bridging the gap between the lateral walls. The central arch rests on double quarter circle corbels, which are certainly part of the original barrel vault. Of the latter, the lower courses with a minimal curve are still visible in the upper part of the wall. Nothing is left of the remains of paintings mentioned by Gunnis in 1936 – they are either hidden under a more recent layer of plaster, or the latter has been entirely bleached in the decades during which the lack of roof has exposed the interior to sun and rain. A granite column and a marble impost, built into the prothesis niche, seem to be antique *spolia*, which corroborate Gunnis’ description of antique fragments used in the context of the building.

The church was most likely built in the 16th century and fell into ruin during the Ottoman period. During the rebuilding, which might have taken place in the 19th century, the barrel vault was not reconstructed – presumably due to the severe structural issues of the building, which had made the erection of buttresses necessary already before the vault had collapsed. During the rebuilding, or even later, western and northern portals were walled up. At some point after 1936, the southern annexe vanished.

¹⁹⁹ Jeffery 1918, p 241.

LOCALITY: Spathariko	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.235875, 33.871757		CAT. NO: 214

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Spathariko

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: [replaced]

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th–16th century (?): erection of the original church
- 1935: rebuilt in current shape

PAINTED DECORATION:

–

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 427.

PLAN MATERIAL:

–

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012

The church of Saint George, situated in the centre of Spathariko, is a minute building of a single nave and semicircular eastern apse. It has taken its current shape in a rebuilding of 1935, followed by its desecration in the aftermath of 1974.

As already Gunnis remarked, "the lower courses of its walls are formed of well-cut stone and would appear to be mediaeval"²⁰⁰, even if few of these ashlar are visible from under the thick concrete plaster of the exterior. The original barrel vault and semidome of the apse seem to have collapsed at some point, after which they were not rebuilt but in 1935 replaced by an open wooden roof. The original date of erection of this church is unclear, but the ashlar would point towards a rather later than earlier date.

²⁰⁰ Gunnis 1936, p 427.

LOCALITY: Spathariko	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Luke
GEO-DATA: 35.237573, 33.871925		CAT. NO: 215
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Spathariko		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal 3/8 apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: southern portal: stepped columned portal with crocket capitals on the engaged colonettes, dogtooth moulding in the double archivolt as well, hollow-and-roll moulded corbels of the rectangular doorway; northern portal: simple pointed arch		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- mid- or late 15 th century: erection of the original church		
- 19 th or early 20 th century: western expansion, most windows and portals changed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 428.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 09.04.2012		

Saint Luke, formerly the main church of Spathariko and until recently used as a mosque, is a large single nave building, largely built from very regular ashlar, with a polygonal three-sided apse. The western end, with a modern bell-tower attached to the southern corner, and several rectangular modern windows, is the product of a later extension. Unlike in the plain western part, the eastern lateral walls are flanked by simple buttresses with sloped top.

Of the two remaining original portals, the northern one, filled with a modern window, shows a simple pointed arch. The southern portal, placed in the central of originally three bays, between two buttresses, is significantly more elaborate. Designed in the way of late 14th century stepped columned portals with dogtooth moulding in the archivolts, only a few details deviate from the – admittedly far more skilfully carved – urban models such as the portals of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. The two corbels, which support the lintel of the rectangular doorway, are carved with an inverted hollow-and-roll moulding, where two hollows flank a central roll. The step between the two engaged shafts adorning the jambs is reduced to a string of dogtooth moulding, ending below the capital zone. The capitals themselves are plain and covered in small knobs – perhaps a mildly successful attempt to imitate 14th century crocket capitals. The jamb capitals and the archivolts above, springing from flat rectangular plinths, are misaligned in a way that the outer capital only carries an empty abacus and the corresponding archivolt rests on the solid wall (with a corner roll moulding) next to it. The hood mould, which flanks the archivolts, shows a simple cavetto moulding. A certain connection to the urban environment of Famagusta is also created by the presence of crosses carved into the inner face of the eastern doorjamb, resembling those adorning the façade of the Armenian church in Famagusta.²⁰¹

The interior of the church is very simple, a wide nave of four bays with a pointed barrel vault, which rests on heavy transversal arches, the latter springing from equally heavy quarter circle corbels. The southern wall of the current second bay, the eastern bay of the original church, shows a deep, low pointed recess, which might have once had a funerary respectively commemorative function.

Considering the plainness of the architecture, the church could have been built anytime during the 14th to 18th centuries, roughly, but the southern portal provides enough evidence to assign it to the mid- or late 15th century. In particular the creative adaptation of 14th century models in this portal, as well as its similarities to the western portal of the so-called Tanners' Mosque in Famagusta [75] corroborate this hypothesis.

²⁰¹ For this see Grigoryan forthcoming.

LOCALITY: Statos	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas of Agia Moni
GEO-DATA: 34.899495, 32.619496		CAT. NO: 216
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the eastern Troodos mountains, between Statos and Pano Panagia; church in the north-east of the monastic compound		
TYPOLOGY: nave with rectangularly encased apse and northern aisle, adjoining annexe in the north; cruciform parekklesion		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: northern and western portal: pointed, with profiled imposts; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults with three transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: acanthus friezes in apse and on western wall		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: monastery mentioned frequently since the 10 th century (see Papacostas 1999, II, p 97–98), no reference to the church itself. The latter described by Vasily Barsky in 1735 (in Grishin 1996, p 50–51).		
PICTORIAL: DOA [monastery and katholikon] F.912–915 (ca. 1940?); B.12.238, J.4843–4844 (1962); B.15.859–861 (1963); B.16.704, 771–775, 17.324–350, 824, I.7266–7280, 7335, 7359–760 (1964); J.7740–7742 (1965); B.21.724–726, I.9081–9082, 9772–9777, 9843 (1966); B.31.996–32.000 (1972); B.36.368–372 (1974); I.46.425–431 (1982); J.72.660–690, 875–890, 73.384–386, 496–500, 816–830, 74.706–720 (1993); J.75.102–111, 494–507, 76.673–675 (1994).		
OTHER: Inscription claiming that the Agia Moni was built in 1638 on church portal, another one mentioning the year 1698 on the monastery portal (for full transcription see Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 1999, p 9 and 15).		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Late Antiquity (?): church built over pagan temple of Hera - 14th–15th century: erection of a cruciform <i>parekklesion</i> - mid-16th century: church largely rebuilt, reusing material of the predecessor - 1638: church rebuilt, following a fire (?) - 1698: monastic buildings renewed (expanded in 1820) - 1885: church restored, southern aisle and porches removed - 1963–66 and 1993–94: restoration campaigns 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 391–392; Gunnis 1936, p 367–368; Papageorgiou 1965, p 96–97; Papageorgiou 1996, p 82; Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 1999; Papacostas 1999, II, p 97–98; Perdakis 2013.		
ARDAC 1966, p 10 & fig 31–32; 1993, p 28.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 27.03.2012		

The monastery of the Agia Moni, situated in the eastern Troodos mountains between Statos and Pano Panagia, is attested as a metochion of the Kykko Monastery since the Ottoman period, but mentioned frequently in medieval sources reaching back to the 10th century. According to the legends, the monastery was founded by Saint Eftichios and Saint Nicholas, before he was to become bishop of Myra. Part of the legend is that the monastery was founded on the site of a pagan temple of Hera, making the foundation legend a highly symbolic statement of Christianity gaining over paganism. Perdakis has recently shed more light on textual and material evidence, concluding that the legend contains a certain amount of truth. Indeed, the present structures seem to have been erected over a pagan site, as evidenced by several inscriptions in Cypro-Syllabic script, built into the façade of the church in 1885 after their discovery. More disputed is the question, to which extent remains of a late antique structure are preserved in the current building.

The monastery is entered through a gate in the eastern wing, according to an inscription on a voussoir of the portal rebuilt in 1698 (making it one of the few dated structures of the 17th century on the island). In the centre of the monastery court stands the katholikon, dedicated to Saint Nicholas. It is a building of a nave and a northern aisle, apparently altered and rebuilt on several subsequent occasions. The western façade is dominated by two large flat blind arches, which include a number of *spolia* including those carrying the ancient inscriptions mentioned above. These blind arches continue on the southern side of the church and were certainly built against the pre-existing walls in the restoration of 1885. The eastern end consists of a rectangular, protruding block, which encases the apse. It includes large stone ashlar, in particular in its lower parts, where an opening leads to a subterranean chamber. The springer of a transversal barrel vault on half height of the wall above seems to have been inserted later, perhaps during one of the restoration phases, in an attempt to protect the entrance of the chamber (as is done today by an ungainly metal roof). The eastern wall of the aisle is even more problematic. From its middle, the foundation of a second wall running east-west emanates. Above this a round arched window is placed, later walled up in its lower part to reach the current size. There are numerous brick patches in the masonry. The top of the wall (as in the north) is formed by a row of larger ashlar, indicating that the rounded gables are product of a later restoration. The northern wall is abutted by five buttresses, which were placed in irregular intervals. The easternmost is erected over the eastern wall of a protruding appendix, while the two western ones are connected by a low pointed arch, which covers the north-western portal.

Several portals lead into the church, but except for the northern and western one they are all additions of 1885 (as are the few windows). A portal in the western wall of the aisle has been opened and later walled up again. The northern and western portals are simple, pointed and show moulded arch imposts. The lower voussoirs of the western portal present

an inscription, which states that the monastery was built in 1638. Oddly, these voussoirs do not seem to have been made for the specific place, as they were originally rectangular ashlar.

On the inside, the nave and aisle are divided by an arcade of four wide, slightly pointed arches. They rest on slim, column-like drum piers with flat rectangular capitals in the shape of simple abaci. In the west and east, the arcade ends in engaged piers respectively semicolumns with profiled abaci and bases. Both, nave and aisle, are covered with barrel vaults with transversal arches. Those of the nave spring from flattened quarter circle corbels, while in the aisle the northern corbels show moulding profiles. The central one is decorated with an unfinished, simplified acanthus ornament. Of higher artistic quality are acanthus friezes running across the western wall and the apse, here forming the string course below the semidome. The apse itself is built of ashlar masonry of high quality. At its base, below the current raised floor, there is a *synthronon*. The straight eastern wall of the aisle is occupied by a double blind arch, the erection of which necessitated the partial walling up of the window above. The latter is decorated with a hood mould composed of waved fragments of a stepped moulded frieze with pearl string ornament.

The multitude of rebuilding phases, combined with the lack of published archaeological investigation and the fact that most of the interior is plastered, create a somewhat vile environment for building archaeology. Various attempts have been made to disentangle the phases of the church. The apse with the *synthronon* and the acanthus string course were variously identified as part of a (hypothetical) late antique or Byzantine predecessor. The fragments surrounding the northern window and a number of ornamentally decorated *templon* piers immured in the monastic buildings were assigned to a late antique predecessor as well. However, as already Perdikis remarked, the high quality of the acanthus carving is far from unknown in the Venetian period as well, as the examples of Morfou [149], but also of the southern portal in Potamiou [189] show. The partial destruction of both acanthus friezes might go back to a fire, which presumably made the attested rebuilding of 1638 necessary. It is not surprising that the delicate carvings would have suffered from such an incident. On the other hand, the *templon* posts do attest to a late antique phase of the church (or a building in the vicinity), as their number is too large to assume they were transported here from the coastal sites far away. The *synthronon* proves to be more problematic, also due to the fact that it is covered and only one image published by Perdikis. His verdict that the *synthronon* “ne peut en aucun cas être postérieur” (so later than 5th or 6th century) should at least be questioned, as examples such as Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69] attest that *synthrona* were infrequently used in later periods

as symbolic architectural elements, even if not needed for the liturgy.²⁰² Nevertheless, the lower parts of the apse zone might indeed be connected to previous structures on the same side. In particular, the unusual rectangular encasement of the apse seems to stand on a late antique (or even older) structure, marked by the use of the large ashlar in the exterior. However, it seems more likely that the apse was newly built over this structure in the 16th century, employing the same well-cut ashlar masonry and antique ornament forms as the above-mentioned example of Morfou.

This suggestion is corroborated by the shape of the nave arcade. The round piers with flat rectangular abaci instead of proper capitals are a type, which can be encountered in other 16th century churches on the island, for example (today destroyed) in the nave of Trimithi [234]. The decorated corbel in the northern aisle vault seems to be of this 16th century building phase as well. Overall, it seems sure that the 16th century church was in fact a symmetric building, similar in its plan to those of Morfou [149] or the Neofytos Monastery [222]. When the Russian monk Barsky described the building in 1735, he states:

*"On its eastern side is a large and beautiful church, firmly constructed out of large hard stones, which has a barrel vaulted roof, but like the other churches nearby which I have described, on the exterior it has a wooden roof with tiles. [...] the floors are nicely paved with large stone slabs, while the weight of the vault is supported on six pillars. There are five doorways, three from the west, and one each from the north and south. There is also a large narthex with three doorways from the west, and there are entrance porches, as on Mount Athos, with a separate covered one on the western side, while the one on the southern side is nailed closed and is not in use."*²⁰³

Thus, the church in 1735 still possessed a southern aisle, as today the single arcade rests on three round piers only, and three western portals. The fact that Barsky does not mention a dome means, however, that – if it ever existed – it had been taken down already. Other than this (hypothetical) change, it seems that the assumed fire of the 1630s might not have damaged the church as heavily as to require a rebuilding. Perhaps the described porches and the wooden roof were in fact the parts erected in 1638, the inscription thus only referring to a thorough renovation of the building. Considering the small scale of the few other buildings, which were surely erected in the 17th century, the first century under Ottoman rule, the erection of porches and restoration of an old church would certainly have been reason enough to commemorate this with an inscription. The strengthening of the northern aisle with buttresses might also date to the 17th century, as their design differs strongly from the 19th century counterparts in the south. This suggested chronology would deliver a possible explanation for the adaption of the shape of the inscribed ashlar to their

²⁰² Perdakis 2013, p 233 – "[...] can by no means be later [...]"

²⁰³ Grishin 1996, p 51.

function as voussoirs of the main portal. Presumably, they were first part of the porches of 1638, before those were taken down in the 19th century. Perhaps, this measure followed a collapse of in particular the southern parts of the church (already Barsky mentions the poor state of some parts of the complex, even if his description is not entirely clear in this respect). In any case, the 1885 restoration lead to a removal of the porches, a rebuilding of the southern nave wall (including, most likely, the nave vault) and a restoration of the northern aisle vault and the western façade – where ultimately all found inscriptions were integrated.

A second building near the church deserves some attention as well: north of the main church, on a deeper ground level, stands a curious square structure of uncertain function. Its architecture is very plain; only rectangular windows with chamfered frames and a pointed portal in the south (!) interrupt the rubble-built walls. The interior has a cruciform shape, caused by the engaged piers in all four corners, from which a groin vault springs. While today the northern cross arm is closed off by an iconostasis as a bema, the lack of an apse rather speaks against an original use for masses. The typology of the building more reminds of narthexes, which is surely not the case here, or annexe chapels of commemorative function. In particular, the 'mausoleum' of Saint Irakleidios in the homonymous monastery in Politiko [185] resembles the structure in the Agia Moni in its lack of an apse and the centralized interior, even if the former is surmounted by a dome.

Unfortunately, no veneration of specific relics or a burial place of a local saint is attested in the sources. Barsky, normally keen on describing such structures and customs, does not even mention the cruciform building – or the second unusual structure in the monastery complex, which might also be connected to a commemorative tradition, the northern annexe of the main church. Was it perhaps the legendary founder of the monastery, Saint Eftychios, who received a local veneration in either of the structures? At least, the monastery is mentioned under this saint's name in an additional note to the 12th century Codex Parisinus graecus 1588, which must have been added shortly before the Ottoman occupation of the island.²⁰⁴ Until further research provides a solution, the function of these structures remains uncertain.

²⁰⁴ Darrouzes 1952, p 28. See also Kokkinoftas, Teocharides 1999, p 26.

LOCALITY: Steni	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysolakourna
GEO-DATA: 35.011986, 32.477620		CAT. NO: 217
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the north-western Troodos foothills, between the villages of Steni and Pelathousa		
TYPOLOGY: nave and aisles with semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: apse windows: round arched, the central one with chamfer; [western gable: biforium, destroyed]		
PORTALS: western portals: rectangular with wooden lintel, pointed chamfered tympanum; [rest destroyed]		
VAULTING: today: pointed barrel vaults [originally central dome]		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.14.641–642, 15.552–554 (1963); B.36.217–234, 37.917–923, 38.322–330, 693–698, 39.139–149, J.28.670–696, 30.449–461 (1974); B.41.070, 818–821, 938–940 (1976); B.62.501–502 (1982); J.79.096–098, 309–319 (1995).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 12th century (?): first church on site, perhaps a cross-in-square building - 14th century: restoration / rebuilding - 16th century: second restoration / rebuilding - 19th century: ruined and deserted - 1974–1980s: reconstruction of the church 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragmentary remains: On the west wall a Saint John of the 12 th century, throughout the eastern parts and on single vault ashlar fragments of a 16 th century cycle. Of this, a Communion of the Apostles and some bishops in the apse are the best-preserved parts.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Hogarth 1889, p 19; Jeffery 1918, p 410; Gunnis 1936, p 432–433; Papacostas 1999, II, 23–24, 107. ARDAC 1974, p 22, fig 39,40;1975, p 20, fig 43–44.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013 (scaled sketch).		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 22.03.2012; 06.03.2013		

The monastery of the Panagia Chrysolakourna is situated on a steep western slope of the Troodos foothills, between the villages of Steni and Pelathousa. Attested in the Ottoman period and perhaps as 'Lacrona' in the early 14th century,²⁰⁵ the site was deserted and ruined at least since the 19th century. Already Hogarth describes the church as a shell with three apses in 1888, even if considerable remains of monastic buildings must have stood around the church until at least the 1930s.

The church remained in a ruined state until restoration works started in 1974, culminating in a rebuilding of the vaults in the 1980s, using the old material but not necessarily following the original shape. This rebuilding, even if it saved the fragmentary remains of paintings, makes an assessment of the original remains rather complicated – in the process it was not marked, which parts of the structure were re-erected. The reconstruction was never comprehensively published, and the before-and-after images of the 1970s and 1980s would certainly deserve a more thorough assessment in the future (in fact the whole church still awaits a monographic study). Generally speaking, the earliest photographs indicate that only the three apses, the northern bema arch and the western wall remained above a level of approximately one metre, while in particular the western nave arcade and all vaults were entirely gone.

Today, the church is a building of a central nave and two aisles, all terminating in semicircular apses. There are small round arched windows in the side apses and the eastern bays of the aisles, together with the lower courses of the western wall the oldest parts of the church. They might have belonged to an original cross-in-square church of considerable size, perhaps built in the 12th century (the suggested date for the fragmentary depiction of Saint John the Baptist on the lower western wall).

The central apse shows a larger round arched window with a small chamfer, which is only thinkable from the 14th century onwards. This window was walled up at some point in the 16th century – clearly indicated by the fragments of a Communion of the Apostles, which is placed on the walled up part as well. Behind the later masonry, on the intrados of the window, a fragmentary ornamental painted decoration was preserved. Another part of the 14th century remodelling seems to be the upper part of the western façade. The three portals are simple rectangles with wooden lintels. Above there, the pointed tympana are framed by chamfers. The chamfer of the central portal is decorated with a zigzag carved into the surface, the fragmentary remains of a painting on the tympanum are illegible. The decoration of the portals as well as the regular type of ashlar masonry used for these parts

²⁰⁵ See Papacostas 1999, II, 107 for the possible identification.

would point towards a date during the Frankish period. The lower parts of the façade were, until 1974, abutted by a massive, sloping outer wall, which was erected at some point to prevent the façade from leaning westwards. This mass of masonry, only interrupted by a pointed arch for the central portal, was presumably erected in the 16th century, when the windows were walled up as well. This suggests that already by that time, the church had massive structural problems, perhaps owing to unsuitable characteristics of the ground on which it is built. Presumably, the upper part of the western façade was also rebuilt in the 16th century. Completely destroyed in the 1970s, Gunnis still describes a biforate window. While such windows were in use in the 12th century as well, it seems more likely that a new window, perhaps similar to that of the mid-16th century Saint Marina in Potamiou [189] was inserted during the rebuilding.

Little can be said about the interior of the church in the three phases. While assuming a cross-in-square for the first phase might be justified, due to a certain preference for very specific typologies in the 12th century, the 14th and 16th century rebuilding phases are harder to grasp. As mentioned above, nothing but the pointed northern bema arch of the nave was left of the interior division. On the lateral walls, we see a sequence of blind arches on corbels today, two smaller ones flanking a larger central one. Of these, only those in the west (as well as corresponding ones on the western wall of the aisles) seem to be original, while the large central ones are inventions. The complete destruction of the vault leaves us wondering, how much of it had to be rebuilt in the 14th and 16th centuries respectively. Was there a dome until the final collapse, rebuilt in the 16th century, as proposed in the ARDAC of 1974? The example of the church of Saint Catherine in Tera [223], not far from Steni, shows that domes were occasionally rebuilt over more ancient, destroyed structures.

In any case, the current state is probably not, what we would have to expect in any medieval phase: the western nave arcade consists of one extremely wide arch on each side, which is not contributing to the structural stability. The barrel vault, built after 1982, might imitate the 16th century state, if the church was rebuilt without a dome. Curiously, it includes ashlar found among the debris, which retain fragments of a painted decoration, which are now 'floating' in the vaults without context.

Remarkably, the rebuilt church was again in danger of collapse in the past years, as the new walls were set on top of the heavily leaning and ill-grounded perimeter walls of the old church.

LOCALITY: Sygkrisis	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Holy 'Chrildren' (Agioli Paides)
GEO-DATA: 35.279973, 33.846234		CAT. NO: 218
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north of Sygkrisis, built against the northern face of a steep cliff		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: rectangular		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arch on quarter circle corbels		
MISCELLANEOUS:-		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 19 th –20 th century: erection of porches, church portals replaced, several rebuilding phases of the complex		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 241.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.02.2013		

The church of the 'Holy Children', Agioi Paides, is built against the northern wall of a steep cliff north of Sygkrasis. It marks the site of an *agiasma*, a holy well in the form of a narrow tunnel of around 10 m length, cut into the cliff.

The current structures include the *agiasma* itself, which is reached by a flight of steps leading down from a 19th century open porch with three pointed arches. The church is built above the *agiasma*, its northern wall stands on top of the face of the cliff, against which the portal of the *agiasma* is placed below. To the west of the porch there is a massive substructure built from dressed stones, which carries a second porch fronting the church. While the date of the substructure is unknown, the upper porch is clearly a 19th century addition as well.

The church consists of a single nave with semicircular apse. It is covered with a steep, pointed barrel vault, which rests on a central transversal arch with quarter circle corbels. The apse, of irregular shape with an asymmetrically placed small rectangular window, might contain parts of a previous building on the same site. Apart from the vault corbels, interior and exterior are entirely plain. The portals in the south and west were both destroyed respectively replaced in the 19th century. Nevertheless, a date in the 15th or 16th century can be suggested, judging from the general character of the building.

LOCALITY: Sygkrasis	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Afentrika
GEO-DATA: 35.270271, 33.850308		CAT. NO: 219
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on top of a hill south of Sygkrasis village centre		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular		
PORTALS: pointed arches		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with one transversal arch on engaged piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder on the western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the church		
- Ottoman period: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 435 [dated to the 18 th century].		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2010; 09.04.2012		

On a hill south of the village centre of Sygkrasis stands the small church of the Panagia Afentrika. The original function of the single nave church with semicircular apse is unknown – perhaps it belonged to a small monastic community or served a vanished quarter of the village.

The exterior of the church is simple and plain, but the execution of the walls in (slightly irregular) ashlar masonry underlines the interest of the builders in a certain aesthetic appearance of the structure. It indicates a date in the Venetian period, perhaps around the mid-16th century. Two pointed portals are placed in the west and south, the western gable is occupied by a flagstaff holder.

The interior is covered with a pointed barrel vault, which emanates seamlessly from the lateral walls. A single, chamfered transversal arch supports it, as one of few late examples springing from engaged rectangular piers with chamfered imposts. The original altar, placed in the low semicircular apse, was made of a column drum, still in place, and a mensa, now lost.

Next to the southern wall of the church lie two marble columns with carved crosses, which were already described by Gunnis. They seem to come from a late antique basilica, perhaps that of Saint Prokopios nearby.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ On the 10th century church of Saint Prokopios and its late antique origins see especially Chatzichristophi 1997 and Papacostas 1999, II, p 69–70.

LOCALITY: Sygkrasis	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.274450, 33.851899		CAT. NO: 220
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Sygkrasis		
TYPOLOGY: double nave with two semicircular apses		
WINDOWS: [destroyed]		
PORTALS: north-western portal: round arched; northern portal: rectangular; [destroyed southern portal: chevron archivolt with dogtooth]		
VAULTING: [destroyed] – certainly barrel vaults		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th century (?): erection or enlargement of the original single nave church		
- late 15 th –16 th century (?): addition of the northern nave, perhaps in two phases		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 435; Langdale 2012, p 243.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 07.04.2010; 09.04.2012; 28.02.2013		

The church of Saint Nicholas in Sygkrasis, presumably the former village church, has been largely overlooked by previous research. It is of particular interest for the discussion of late medieval Greek church architecture, as it belongs to a group of double-nave churches in the area of Famagusta, which employ an urban vocabulary of architectural decoration for smaller rural structures.²⁰⁷

The church consisted of two naves, both terminating in semicircular apses. Already in 1936, when Gunnis described the building, only the northern nave and the separating arcade was preserved, while only fragments remained of the southern nave. Today, the eastern arch of the arcade has collapsed as well and many of the lapidary fragments have vanished.

The sequence of the naves can be recognized in the west, where a small fragment of the western façade of the southern nave remains. This is constructed with large (spoliated?) ashlar, against which smaller ashlar are set from the south. The northern nave shows large ashlar at the northern corner as well, while the rest of the wall is built from rubble and irregular dressed stones, including the southern corner abutting the rest of the southern façade. Furthermore, the round arched portal of the northern nave is placed asymmetrically in the façade, on the axis of the nave apse. Thus, it is clear that the preserved northern nave was added to a pre-existing single nave structure.

Due to the almost complete destruction of the southern nave, it is hard to say, when it was built or which architectural characteristics it might have had. Only a remark of Gunnis that he found voussoirs of the "south door, with an elaborate zigzag design, and dog-tooth moulding" indicates that the southern doorway was surmounted by a chevron archivolt. The combination with dogtooth moulding points to the (also destroyed) northern portal of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69] as model. Gunnis then continues to describe "two corbels with human faces and, most curious of all, a large stone with a carving of a male figure, his right hand across his stomach, and his left hand on his knee." The latter is still preserved, albeit in bad state – it is entirely unclear, if these humanoid depictions, entirely untypical for medieval Cyprus, belonged to the destroyed southern nave or are remains of another lost structure in the vicinity.

The northern nave, as mentioned above, was built of rubble with exception of the corners and the apse, which shows the usual regular ashlar masonry of the region. There is a joint between the apse and the adjoining northern wall, so it is not entirely impossible that the nave was rebuilt on the old foundations at some point. In any case, it is only sparsely

²⁰⁷ See chapter 5.3 for a more detailed discussion of this group.

decorated: the portals are a simple round arch and a rectangle in the north; the corbels are of the quarter circle type with simple frame.

The arcade shows a rich moulding profile, which stands in some contrast with the modest character of the northern nave. The construction of the arcade is rather unusual and raises some doubt, whether it was created in a single building phase. The arcade rests (asymmetrically displaced to the north) on a central round pier with simple base ring and a roll moulding instead of a capital. In the east, this was matched by a (now destroyed) semicircular engaged pier flanked by two colonettes. The latter corresponded with the arcade moulding, a central large roll with fillet, accompanied by thinner roll moulding in the centre, and set back on the arch corners, roll mouldings flanked by deep hollows. This all resembles closely the arcades of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta, as far as we can still compare them. The round piers in Saint George are lost, but the pier in Saint Nicholas delivers a probable example of how the capitals might have looked there – in fact, one piece of a circular capital belonging to the nave piers of Saint George shows the same simple roll moulding. The fact that the engaged pier in the east, with the flanking colonettes, corresponds to the characteristic arrangement of Saint George as well, corroborates the thought that the latter might have been the immediate model. The same is true for the arcade moulding, which was only slightly modified in the way the lateral roll and hollow mouldings are understood as separate entities and also decorate the face, not only the soffit of the arch. This is in fact the only element, which deviates strongly enough from 14th century models to assign a later date to the arcade. The western arch of the arcade is more problematic. Here, the wall is significantly thinner; the corresponding vertical step is placed on the large round pier. As a result, the southern lateral roll and hollow moulding is omitted, creating an asymmetric arch profile. In the west, the arch rests on a rectangular engaged pier with chamfered edges, forming spandrels on the top and bottom.

A number of questions arise from this peculiar fact: was the original church indeed build in two phases, resulting in a misaligned western vault? Why was an entirely different design chosen for the western end of the arcade, while both arches show a generally identical (albeit in the west cropped) moulding profile? Here is, where speculation begins and only a future excavation of the site might present new evidence. The questions are closely connected to the discussion of the original building date. As mentioned above, the arcade profile seems to be later than the 14th century, even if copying models from that period. Most comparable structures of the region can be dated to the late 15th or 16th century. The chamfered pier in the west would also match a 16th century date. The lost

southern portal, if we trust Gunnis' record, would most likely have been after the late 14th century. Nevertheless, it could have well been installed there during a later phase. In conclusion, we only know that there was an original church of a single nave, which itself might have undergone a western enlargement. A northern nave was added to this original church at some point after the late 14th century. Arcades and the shape of the 'framed' corbels attest to a building phase in the Venetian period. It seems most probable that, despite the irregularities, there was only one main expansion phase, during which the northern nave was built in the early 16th century.

Some further unusual detail observations can be made, despite the bad state of the site. On the bases of the lateral arch profiles, one finds small carved lines: certainly the grid, with which the voussoir was prepared for the execution of the moulding. A second technical aspect can be seen in the south-western corner of the northern nave. Here, the original joint mortar was preserved under a later plaster. It is apparent that the very neat joint treatment was meant as a decorative feature, very similar to the joints of Saints Peter and Paul in Famagusta. Presumably, this technique of applying painted joints on top of the actual ones was the standard finishing for ashlar-built structures – thus it is less of a distinctive stylistic criterion but rather a remark on general aspects of building.

LOCALITY: Tala	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine
GEO-DATA: 34.836682, 32.430627		CAT. NO: 221
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Tala		
TYPOLOGY: elongated dome-hall church		
WINDOWS: apse: rectangular, slit-like with mitred blind arch above; dome drum: round arched, chamfered; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: western and southern portal: rectangular, thick roll-moulded frame; [rest modern]		
VAULTING: barrel vault, central dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA A.6351–6352 (1975); B.68.767–770 (1983); J.74.112–113 (1992); J.79.105–111 (1995); J.82.912–929, 88.996–89.018 (1996).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14th–15th century (?): erection of the original church - 16th century: domed expansion added to the east, replacing original apse - 19th century: addition of a bell tower - 1920s: additional portals, some windows replaced - 1995/96: rebuilding of the tower with the original stones 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of a large scene on the western wall, once depicting the Last Judgement. Best preserved are animal heads from which water springs, representing the paradise rivers. The fragments have not been dated but seem to be of the Venetian period.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 435.		
ARDAC 1983, p 23; 1984, p 24, fig 25–26; 1988, p 28; 1994, p 28; 1996, p 26, fig 14–15; 2000, p 39.		
www.talaecclasiaticmuseum.com [last access: 30.03.2016]		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 21.03.2012 [exterior only] ²⁰⁸		

²⁰⁸ Few interior views are available on www.talaecclasiaticmuseum.com.

The old parish church of Tala, dedicated to Saint Catherine, is an unusually large village church, measuring roughly 20m by 10 m. It consists of a single nave with a central dome and a wide semicircular apse. A bell tower was added in the south-east in the 19th century.

The exterior is very plain; the cubic substructures of the circular dome drum rises directly from the lateral walls. No buttresses interrupt the walls. There are few windows apart from the chamfered, round arched ones in the dome drum. The only other original window is a small slit in the apse, which is surmounted by a minute variation of a mitred blind arch above. Of the numerous portals (two of which were 'completely unnecessarily' (Gunnis) added in the 1920s), the western and main southern one are still original. They are both rectangular and framed by a thick, continuous roll-moulding. Above the monolithic lintels, which were only straightened on the front and bottom, discharging arches are visible within the wall masonry, creating the vague impression of a tympanum. In the south, this area is decorated with a cross relief.

A vertical joint west of the domed bay in both lateral walls indicated that the church was built in two phases. Unlike in most such cases, the original church now forms the nave, while the first apse was replaced with the domed bay and new bema area. This sequence is easily recognizable from the fact that, while in the lower part the eastern ashlar corner of the original church is preserved, the upper parts of this corner are removed. In consequence, the joint is bent westwards in the upper part.

The interior of the building was not accessible during the on-site research for this study, but recently the church was transformed into an icon museum and a restricted number of photographs became available. As already the lack of buttresses on the exterior indicates, the dome arches and piers are placed within the structure. As a result, the western dome piers protrude from the lateral nave walls, whereas the western ones define the width of the (narrower) bema area. The lateral dome arches reach a considerable depth, contributing to a remotely cruciform shape of the eastern parts of the church. There is hardly any sculptural decoration, except for the imposts of the dome piers. They possess a finely carved moulding profile, consisting of two rolls separated by quirks. Of the painted decoration, which presumably once covered the plain walls and vaults, only fragments on the western wall are preserved. They show personifications of the paradise rivers, thus indicating a Last Judgement. In the bema, an iconostasis of the Venetian period remains.

It is almost certain that the expansion with the domed bay was built during the 16th century, as the few sculptural details show and the iconostasis indicates. The date of the original church is unclear, as the (16th century) portals were inserted during the second phase. Presumably, the first church had been erected during one of the preceding centuries.

LOCALITY: Tala	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia (Katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery)
GEO-DATA: 34.846576, 32.446369		CAT. NO: 222
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: at the end of a narrow valley, north-east of Tala village		
TYPOLOGY: hall church with nave and aisles and a central semicircular apse, originally western narthex, north-eastern annexe		
WINDOWS: apse, nave and dome drum: slightly pointed, deeply chamfered		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular corbelled, chamfered doorway, framed by steep pointed blind arch with complex roll and hollow moulding, profiled hood mould with cross-shaped finial; lateral portals rectangular with complex, sharply cut corbels		
VAULTING: barrel vaults, in the nave interrupted by a dome on a round drum		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: numerous historical sources, including the 12 th century <i>typikon</i> written by the founder Neofytos the Recluse and several references of the 15 th –16 th century (see Papacostas 1999, II, p 91–92); church first mentioned and described by Barsky in 1735, in: Grishin 1996, p 53–55.		
PICTORIAL: Drawing by Vasily Barsky, 1735, in: Grishin 1996, fig 10; Soteriou 1935, pl 104–106; DOA (under 'Agios Neofytos') Katholikon: A.2374 (1946); F.839 (1949); A.4157 (1953), A.5257–5273, B.9262–9275 (1959); C.6231, I.6320–6326 (1961); J.4852, 6318–6330 (1963); J.7227b, B.17.035, 17.698 (1964); C.9634–9639 (1965); J.21.276–277 (1970); B.29.827–828 (1971); B. 51.458 (1979); B.61.558, 62.605–608 (1982); B.64.909–912 (1983); B.68.514–519 (1985); J.57.759–777 (1987); B.79.776–779 (1988); J.82.611, 905–910 (1996); Capital/Font: J.4852–55 (1963).		
OTHER: date 1549 reportedly carved into exterior apse wall (Chatzeioannou 1914, p 76–77), today lost.		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 12th century: foundation of the monastery, 'Enkleistra' (hermitage) installed- early 16th century: erection of the present church as katholikon- 18th century: demolition of inner narthex wall; demolition of upper storey of northern annexe (?)- since the 1950s: repeatedly repair works to the monastery, no substantial changes to the church		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the katholikon considerable remains of a cycle of around 1500 or the first two decades of the 16 th century, including bishops, a Communion of the Apostles and an enthroned Virgin in the apse, several saints on the eastern wall and in the arcade spandrels in the aisles, scenes from the Akathistos hymns in the aisle vaults. Described in Mango, Hawkins 1966, p 203; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 369–381; Constantinides 1999, p 281–282.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Chatzeioannou 1914; Jeffery 1918, p 407–409; Gunnis 1936, p 200–203; Tsiknopoullos 1955; Mango, Hawkins 1966; Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 369–381; Papacostas 1999, II, p 91–92; Papageorghiou 2004; Papacostas 2010a; Papacostas 2013.		
ARDAC 1966, p 9; 1967, p 12; 1971, p 13; 1972, p 15; 1974, p 22; 1975, p 21; 1976, p 21, fig 38–39; 1980, p 21, fig 25–26; 1981, p 21; 1983, p 23; 1984, p 24, fig 27–28; 1985, p 27; 1988, p 28; 1989, p 33–34; 1991, p 28; 1992, p 28; 1995, p 26; 1996, p 26; 1997, p 27; 2005, p 42.		
MKE, 10, 209–215.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and longitudinal section: Soteriou 1935, fig 41 (variously reproduced); Papacostas 2013, fig 4.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 30.03.2008; 09.09.2010; 31.03.2012		

The monastery founded by the famous recluse Neofytos is one of the best documented in Cyprus. Not only the *typikon*, written by Neofytos himself in the 12th century, is preserved, but also are the paintings in his hermitage cave, executed in the late 12th century and in 1503, unusually well studied. A cult at the burial place of the saint recluse, in one of the hermitage caves, is attested by Makhairas in the 15th century, an 'abbey of the Enklistra' mentioned in 1468 and during the Venetian period. The monastery continued to exist during the Ottoman period and was visited in 1735 by the Russian monk Vasily Barsky, whose drawing is the oldest preserved pictorial document.

In the focus of Barsky's drawing stands, quite clearly, the depiction of the katholikon of the monastery. Due to the importance of the painted decoration of the hermitage cave, the study of the latter was somewhat neglected until a monographic article of Papacostas of 2013, which, for a first time, placed the focus on the remarkable architecture of the katholikon.

The church is a hall church of a main nave and two lateral aisles, built over a rectangular plan, from which only the central semicircular apse and a small annexe in the north-east protrude. The nave is covered with a low-pitched roof, from which the circular dome drum, placed over a square base, emanates. The exterior masonry consists of well-cut ashlar and is largely plain. The windows, slightly pointed lancets, only possess chamfered frames and do not protrude over the wall face. The same is true for the rectangular portals in the north and south, which show Corbels with an unusual moulding composed of sharply cut quirks, rolls and hollows. Only the main western portal partly protrudes from the wall surface. It consists of a rectangular corbelled doorway, set back and framed by a high pointed blind arch with roll and hollow moulding. Above this, there is a protruding hood mould with a small finial crowned by a cross relief. A second cross relief adorns a coat of arms, placed in the tympanum above the doorway. The tympanum itself shows an interesting technique of construction. To relieve the horizontal lintel of the doorway, the weakest point in any façade construction, the tympanum consists of two superimposed jack arches, placed with a thin gap above the lintel.

Inside of the church, the nave and aisles are separated by column arcades of five round arches in the east, a single wider pointed arch in the western bay – we will come back to this below. Nave and aisles are covered with barrel vaults, which emerge seamlessly from the lateral walls and the arcade. They are not interrupted, except for the dome, placed above the third and fourth arch from west. Despite this formal vertical correspondence, there is no classical division of the church into bays – the arcade continues up until the

eastern wall without changing its shape. In contrast to the plainness of wall and vault surfaces stand the arcade columns and the lower string course of the dome. The former consists of bases and column shafts, small irregularities of which seem to indicate that they were brought here as *spolia* from some late antique building. The capitals, which they carry, show a rich acanthus decoration – already puzzling Gunnis in 1936. They possess two rows of leaves, two stylized *cauliculi* ending in helices on each face, abacus bosses decorated with crosses, *fleurons* and even occasional ornaments worked in an *ajour* technique. Only the rather rough quality of the carving betrays that they are medieval imitations of late antique models. The eastern and western arcade ends are marked by flat engaged capitals in the same style, evoking the impression of a pilaster. The dome string course is decorated with an acanthus ornament as well, here executed in highest quality and resembling the few other instances of this motif, all created in the course of the 16th century.²⁰⁹

The central apse reaches almost the size of the nave; it is only set apart by a step in the width of one ashlar. Curiously, the aisles, despite terminating in straight walls, possess small apsidioles embedded in the wall thickness, created through a widening of the window frame.

In the last bay of the northern aisle, there is a small doorway, which leads into the northern annexe room. The doorway resembles the lateral exterior ones and shows the same unusual corbels with sharply cut sequences of quirks. The small size of this access and the fact that it is placed within the bema raises the question, what for this annexe was used. Its eastern wall binds in with the masonry of the eastern aisle wall, thus its erection is not product of an afterthought. A large exterior portal in the north and a western window both seem to be cut into the walls later, so that the only original opening is a small window in the eastern wall – in fact the smallest window of the whole church. This secluded character of the room, originally only accessible from the sanctuary of the church, might suggest the former use as a treasury. In the beginning, the annexe had an upper storey: parts of the eastern wall and the *pierres d'attente* of the western wall, emanating from the lateral aisle wall, remain. Furthermore, the part of the northern aisle wall, which would have been covered by the upper storey of the annex, is the only visible rubble-made wall of the church. In the rubble masonry, it is possible to recognize the joints of a walled-up window or small doorway with mitred top. Where to this led is unclear: did it give access to the (very small) attic space above the aisle vault? Or does it indicate the original plan to install an upper storey in the eastern end of the northern aisle? If the latter was the case, the plan must have

²⁰⁹ For more details of the stylistic evaluation of the building and local comparanda see chapter 5.2.3.

been abandoned soon, as the painted decoration, executed soon after the erection of the building, continues through this area.

Up to here, the discussion of the western end of the church was omitted. This part of the structure is somewhat problematic. As mentioned above, the regular column arcade only starts several metres east of the western wall, while in the west, there is a single larger arch, resting on chamfered engaged piers. The bay is barrel-vaulted and separated from the rest of the nave by a pronounced transversal arch, which springs from stepped, creatively ornamented corbels. The arch itself once showed a gadroon ornament made of stucco. Unlike in the rest of the church, the barrel vault of the western bay springs from a string course, which also runs across the western wall. In the western corners of the bay, the string course cuts through polygonal corbels, each carrying a single *tas-de-charge* of prismatic vault ribs. In the eastern corners, the irregular surface of the ashlar indicates that once there were identical vault springers. The evident rupture in style and structure has prompted earlier opinions that the western bay was added to the church in a second phase. As Papacostas has recently underlined, this idea is proven wrong by the uninterrupted ashlar masonry of the exterior. Not only is there no visible joint, but also does the single window of this bay correspond exactly to the other four placed further east. Instead, it is certain that the western bay once was the narthex of the church, which had been rather ingeniously integrated into the general cubature of the building. At some point during the Ottoman period (before 1735, as Barsky states that there is no narthex), the eastern wall of the narthex was taken down and, in the nave, replaced by a transversal arch – a fact already noted by George Jeffery. In the northern aisle, the same process is easily visible as well: the painted decoration ends exactly where the wall would have stood. As Papacostas remarked, the sequence of scenes, depicting the hymn of Akathistos, allows us to reconstruct that, in the western end of the aisle vault, only a single scene is missing – which would have been placed on the destroyed separating wall. The more problematic issue connected with the narthex are the remains of a rib vault. Papacostas suggests that the vault might have been replaced by the barrel vault during the destruction of the wall. This is certainly possible. In fact, whereas the barrel vaults of the aisle seem to have continued above the separating wall, the barrel vault of the western nave bay is slightly higher and clearly not constructed as part of the nave vault. However, the western wall seems to be undisturbed above the rib springers. This would mean that the rib vault could not have been connected with the wall behind or that the inner wall face was re-erected as well, when the barrel vault was built. A

second possibility might be to consider a change of plans already during the building process.

While it was never challenged that the katholikon is a building of the Venetian period, the precise date was subject to some dispute. Papacostas has recently argued that, while there are some *termini ante quem* for the 1540s, the church was more likely built on behalf of Hegoumenos Neofytos, who, upon his death in 1512 was described as 'new founder' in a marginal note in the *Codex Parisianus Graecus 1461*.²¹⁰ The paintings of the katholikon have been variously dated to the first decades of the 16th century as well, corroborating the pre-1512 date for the katholikon itself.

This date is of highest interest in the wider context of the island's church architecture. As has been noted by most scholars since the beginning, the Neofytos katholikon closely resembles the church of Saint Mamas in Morfou [149] – to an extent that we might speak of an imitation. The direction of influence is now firmly established, if we accept the first decade of the 16th century for the katholikon: Saint Mamas was under construction in the 1530s, when Eugene Synglitico, the family's most prominent member, in his will bequeathed a small fortune to the church in order to help the construction. For now, the question why the church of one of the most important pilgrimage sites on the island was modelled on the katholikon of a monastery with, at that time, rather local importance, will have to remain open.²¹¹

²¹⁰ Darrouzes 1950, p 187 – see Papacostas 2013, p 304–306 for the full discussion of the evidence.

²¹¹ For further thoughts see chapter 6.3.

LOCALITY: Tera	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine
GEO-DATA: 34.968238, 32.445669		CAT. NO: 223

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in an uninhabited area between Kato Akourdaleia and Choli

TYPOLOGY: nave with aisles ending in three semicircular apses, open porch

WINDOWS: round arched

PORTALS: pointed arches, chamfered

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault, domes over nave and porch

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holders on the dome drum

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA A.2564–2569 (1946); A. 4123–4129 (1953); J.2898–2907, A.4749–4751, B. 7292, 7299, 7311–7312, 7319–7323, 7330–7334, 7347–7350, 7359, 7802–7803 (1956); B. 41.823–824 (1976); B.66.794–796 (1984); J.73.425–430, 592–593, 74. 455–458, 76.056–064, 88.571–598 (1992–1994).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- middle Byzantine period: erection of a cross-in-square church (?)
- 15th–16th century: rebuilt in current shape
- 16th century (?): addition of the domed porch
- 1953: dome and apse destroyed in the Pafos earthquake
- 1956: reconstruction of the destroyed parts of the naos in the original shape
- 1992–94: reconstruction of the Narthex domes

PAINTED DECORATION:

Fragments remain, but were further reduced in 1953. On the south wall of the porch a large depiction of Saint Catherine. On the southern nave wall a Saint Marina and an unidentifiable bust of a Saint, in the bema further saints and scenic depictions in the vault, all heavily damaged. In the apse fragments of colours and a faded Communion of the Apostles. The paintings seem to be connected to the last medieval building phase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 436.

ARDAC 1992, p 27; 1995, p 27; 2000, p 35; 2002, p 43.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan and section: Yioutani-Iacovides 2003, fig 5.140; ground plan: Kaffenberger 2013.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2008; 30.03.2012; 05.03.2013

Presumably marking the site of a vanished monastery, the church of Saint Catherine, between Akourdaleia and Choli, is one of the more complex rural churches of Cyprus. It is a building of a nave and two aisles, terminating in three semicircular apses. The aisles are barrel-vaulted, the nave surmounted by a dome on a round drum. The western porch, with an open arcade, is vaulted with a row of three drumless domes.

Already in a decayed state in the 1930s, the church appears to be partly ruined on the earliest photographs of 1946: the southern aisle vault and northern part of porch had collapsed. The biggest misfortune struck the church in 1953: in the devastating Pafos earthquake, the strongest in Cyprus in modern history, the remaining domes of narthex and nave collapsed as well as the apses and the aisle vaults. What remained, except for most lower parts of the walls, were the nave piers, the western wall and, somewhat miraculously, the bema vault. Soon after, the rebuilding started with the apses, followed by the domes and vaults, as far as possible using original stone material. In the process, most of the outer face of the lateral aisle walls was taken down and rebuilt. The rebuilding of the narthex was only accomplished in the 1990s with the re-erection of the previously missing domes.

As there was no detailed documentation of the rebuilding published (or perhaps even made), it is today almost impossible to distinguish clearly between original and rebuilt parts, except from where paintings still adhere to the wall. Furthermore, a number of irregularities in the masonry, which might be a key to the complex medieval building chronology, are not interpretable anymore.

The exterior of the church was the most heavily restored part. Nevertheless, some general observations can be made. Most obviously, there are vertical joints between the western end of the nave and the porch, which was thus built in a later phase and should be regarded independently. Most of the walls are erected in roughly dressed stone masonry with rubble infill in the joints – this masonry is also visible on the southern side of the central apse, which was not destroyed. The upper parts of apses, eastern walls and the dome drum are made of ashlar masonry: the difference between slightly irregular and almost pristine stones shows, where new material was integrated during the rebuilding. While the southern wall is perfectly aligned and shows no joints, presumably a result of the rebuilding, there is a strange misalignment of the western and eastern part of the northern aisle wall. A small step, next to an asymmetrically placed pointed portal, indicates that there might have been a succession of building phases. Of which kind this was, we do not know, because this part was heavily renewed as well. Perhaps, the step marks the place, where a now lost northern bay of the porch ended.

The porch as it is today, consists of only more three bays, constructed from regular ashlar in the way of successive canopies. To the west, it forms an open arcade, walled up in the lower part due to the higher surrounding ground level. To the east, it appears as a blind arcade set in front of the ancient church façade. The southern wall is closed to create the surface for a large depiction of Saint Catharine, patron saint of the church. The northern end of the porch is problematic: its western corner, with a part of an arch springer, seems to suggest that the porch continued one bay northwards (and with it presumably also one bay eastwards). The lack of such an arch springer on the eastern corner might have two reasons: either, the remains of a second arch were not rebuilt after 1953, or the lost bays of the porch were simply covered with a wooden roof. The domes of the western wing are attested to by the early pictures and the description of Gunnis; however, their shape is not. The domes were all reconstructed as drumless domes over pendentifs of approximately identical size. Gunnis mentions, in contrast, that there was "one at the north and south ends, and a larger central one".²¹² Considering that he was describing a dilapidated but standing building, this description can be considered reliable. Thus, either was the central dome originally erected over a drum, or the lateral ones were executed as lower sail vaults.

From the narthex, two doorways, in the central and southern bay, lead into the church. They are both pointed, the one in the central nave additionally decorated with a chamfer. The interior of the church is of unusual division. Three low, squat arches, more piercing a solid wall than forming an arcade, connect the nave with the aisles. The latter are hardly noticeable from the nave, which is dominated by the central domed bay. Just as the flanking barrel vaults, the pendentifs of the dome emerge from the walls seamlessly. Above the simple lower string course of the drum, ashlar masonry was used, whereas the lower parts of the interior walls are all made of rubble and irregular stones. While the drum and the dome must have been entirely re-erected, the presence of some fragmentary patches of painted plaster shows that the lower parts of masonry were recovered from the debris.

The pointed bema vault, still covered in (hardly legible) paintings, and the apse are strangely mismatching in alignment: while the distance between apse and nave wall is less than 50 cm in the south, in the north it is over 80 cm. The same effect can be observed in the aisles: in the southern aisle 25 cm (south) compared to 45 cm (north), in the northern aisle the apse emerges seamlessly from the separating wall and is placed 40 cm off the lateral northern wall. This observation, combined with the use of two different masonry types, indicates that the original church was built in at least two phases. The (correctly

²¹² Gunnis 1936, p 436.

reconstructed) rounded apse vaults seem to be more ancient than the pointed nave vault. Furthermore, the lateral wall of the southern aisle shows some sort of a recess in the centre, accompanied by two steps with pronounced ashlar. In combining this evidence, one might hypothesize that the original church was a cross-in-square building and the recess in the southern aisle marks the end of the former southern cross arm. Of this building, only the apses and lateral walls were preserved, while the internal arcade was rebuilt – explaining the misalignment of in particular the northern nave wall. Presumably, at this point it was already decided to erect a dome over the barrel-vaulted nave, even if a depiction of a saint in the south-eastern corner of the domed bay seems to be strangely cut in half by the rising lateral nave wall. But as the painting is placed over the ashlar forming the western end of the bema vault, it is clear that in fact the painting was placed in this rather awkward place with the help of some additional plaster, straightening the surface before the application of the image. Gunnis' assumption that, as the church was known by the name of the 'seven-domed', it must have once had three more domes over the eastern ends of the naves, is obviously not true. Perhaps he thought of the five-domed churches in Geroskipou and Peristerona, which would indeed present a possible model for the first building phase.²¹³ However, by the time the porch with its additional three domes was built, the nave vault was already replaced by the current solution – again not adding up to a total of seven domes.

In conclusion, there were at least three building phases during the medieval period. The (presumed) cross in square church might have been built during or around the 12th century. Its destruction might already have been a result of the heavy earthquakes of the 13th century, but when exactly this first church fell into ruin is not sure. The rebuilding, despite its rather archaic character, might most likely date to the Venetian period – the combination of barrel-vaulted aisles and a central dome perhaps being inspired by the nearby katholikon of the Neofytos Monastery [222]. The porch was either built shortly afterwards or indeed as a second step of the same building phase – the joint would then be a result of the preservation of an older western wall.

²¹³ See chapter 2.3.

LOCALITY: Tersefanou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos
GEO-DATA: 34.862627, 33.552603		CAT. NO: 224

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: on a hill, 1 km east of Tersefanou

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse; [destroyed narthex]

WINDOWS: round arched

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, chamfered; southern portal: round arched, with chamfered jambs and moulded imposts

VAULTING: barrel vault with two transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 12th–13th century: erection of the original church, a dome-hall church with narthex
- 16th century: rebuilt on older foundations
- 20th century: restored, large parts of the exterior masonry replaced

PAINTED DECORATION:

In the central northern blind arch a damaged depiction of Saint Andronikos and his wife Athanasia. In the apse, an enthroned Virgin flanked by archangels (the northern one removed), in the ornamental border coats of arms in quadrilobes. Datable to the Venetian period, presumably the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 438.

ARDAC 2002, p 32–33; 2009, p 24.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010; 23.11.2014

The church of Saint Andronikos lies on a conspicuous hill east of the village centre of Tersefanou. It is quite probable that it marks the site of a vanished monastery.

The building consists of a single nave and a semicircular apse, all built of irregular dressed stones and rubble. Larger blocks were inserted in the building corners, in particular in the lower zone. Much of the exterior seems to be heavily restored, but on the western wall, one remarks *pierres d'attente* facing westwards on both corners. This indicates that there was an adjoining structure in the west, presumably a narthex. Two simple doorways give access to the interior, that in the west being rectangular with a simple chamfer as frame, that in the south round arched with chamfered jambs and moulded imposts.

More interesting is the interior of the church, which differs from the usual models of rural single nave churches. Three blind arches on each side carry the barrel vault. They rest on engaged round piers; the central one is significantly wider than the eastern and western ones. The vault above is supported by heavy transversal arches on rounded corbels. The low apse in the east and the central blind arch in the north carry remains of a painted decoration. The latter fragment shows the Saints Andronikos and Athanasia, surrounded by ornamental decoration, while in the Apse a Virgin with archangels is depicted. In the frame of the painting, a coat of arms within a spiked quadrilobe is visible. It shows a double-headed eagle below a flat cross; a symbol not known from other places in Cyprus.

The unusual combination of engaged round piers with a blind arcade above seems to indicate that the church goes back to two building phases. In a first phase of the 12th century, a dome-hall church was erected (the best-known dome-hall church with round piers is the Panagia in Triкомо [232]). Perhaps the western narthex goes back to this period as well. In the later medieval period, perhaps in the 16th century judging by the paintings, the upper parts of the nave were re-erected. In this process, the round piers were preserved, the eastern and western lateral recesses replaced by smaller blind arches, while the originally domed central bay was prepared for the simpler barrel vault through the addition of the wide central arch of the blind arcade.

LOCALITY: Tersefanou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 34.854254, 33.547106		CAT. NO: 225

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Tersefanou

TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (3/8) apse

WINDOWS: rectangular

PORTALS: north-eastern portal: pointed with moulded imposts; [rest replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: DOA D.443, 446 (1941); B.4442–4443 (1952); J.72.171–174, 74.054–056 (1992); J.88.930–939 (1995/96).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Late Antiquity (?): first church on site or in the surroundings
- 15th–16th century: erection of the present building
- Ottoman period: frequent smaller changes
- 1866: final western expansion
- 1995 restored, paintings uncovered

PAINTED DECORATION:

Scarce fragments of 16th century paintings of good quality in the southern vault.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 437; Papacostas 2010b, p 143 [only on the Podocataro plaque].

ARDAC 1991, p 26; 1992, p 23–24 [17th or 18th century date proposed]; 1995, p 20; 1996, p 21; 1997, p 22.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010; 23.11.2014

In the beginning of the 20th century, the village church of Tersefanou, dedicated to Saint Marina, was 'threatened with destruction', as reported by Gunnis. Somehow, the church evaded this destiny, which resulted in the vanishing of countless medieval churches.

The current building, dwarfed by its 20th century successor, consists of a single nave, consecutively elongated a number of times, and an externally polygonal three-sided apse. The walls are built from a mixture of regular dressed stones (in particular used for the apse), and rubble. The lateral walls show a horizontal joint, suggesting that the eastern part of the nave was once heightened by one metre, while in the west no such joint is visible. It is not clear, if this is the result of a restoration, a change of the roof or indicates that an earlier building was integrated when the current church was erected. The westernmost bay, higher than the rest of the church, is an addition of 1866 in any case. The exterior of the medieval parts is entirely plain, with the exception of the simple, pointed southern portal and the lintel of the apse window. The latter shows a coat of arms with a cross erected on a hill and a lion, surrounded by a laurel cross and the abbreviations DM and AD. The coat of arms belongs to the Podocataro family, as is evidenced by a second occurrence on the inside. The abbreviation DM more likely stands for 'deo magno' or something similarly generic rather than being a corrupt version of MD for 1500.

The interior of the church is covered with a slightly pointed barrel vault. Arched recesses pierce the lateral walls, a wider pointed one in the centre, smaller ones in the west and east. The vault is supported by the ubiquitous transversal arches on rounded corbels. Of the interior decoration only scarce fragments in the southern vault remain, showing a scene executed in good 16th century style. The most valuable possession of the church, already seen by Gunnis is a marble slab with two Putti holding another version of the above described coat of arms. The inscription on the lower frame mentions Peter Podocataro as the person who commissioned a church, the erection of which is commemorated by the slab. As Papacostas has discussed more recently, the same Peter Podocataro was an important personality in mid-15th century Cyprus and attested as owner of the fief Tersefanou in 1467/68. This makes the slab one of the earliest examples of the Renaissance style in Cyprus. Unfortunately, the plaque is without original context, so that we do not know if it refers to the present building of Saint Marina or a vanished church elsewhere.²¹⁴ If it would be so, the progressive (albeit artistically secondary) character of the sculpture did

²¹⁴ Two church ruins in the village, Saint Demetrianos [LXII] and the Panagia, were recently rebuilt. While the latter is supposedly of Middle Byzantine origin, the former appears to have been a church of the Latin period. As no documentation of the ruins is available for both buildings, nothing more can be said.

not include the church. Nevertheless, the polygonal apse seems to attest a date in the 15th or 16th century indeed.

The church is surrounded by numerous late antique fragments (capitals, columns) of high quality. While one capital is used in the altar table, the rest seems without context or serves as water basin in the churchyard. It is not sure, if these fragments are part of an earlier church on the same site, if they were originally displayed in some way in the context of the church, or if they present a mere lapidary collection. The size of the column situated opposite from the southern doorway seems to indicate the first or second possibility – the thought of transporting a column of several metres length here just to be placed in a corner of the churchyard seems hardly probable.

LOCALITY: Thermeia	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Panagia Thermeiotissa
GEO-DATA: 35.326391, 33.336464		CAT. NO: 226
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: east of the current village centre of Thermeia		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse and western expansion		
WINDOWS: [rectangular, presumably replaced]		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed, chamfered jambs, moulded imposts		
VAULTING: east: dome; west: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA I.10.954 (1967).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the dome-hall church		
- 17 th –18 th century: western expansion		
- mid-20 th century and 2010: restoration		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 322; Gunnis 1936, p 322 [copying the text of Jeffery]; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 150–153; Papageorgiou 2010, p 410–411.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2012		

The Panagia Thermeiotissa, situated east of Thermeia (today a suburb of Kyrenia), is a recently restored church of ancient origins. It was evidently built in two periods, consisting of an eastern dome-hall part and a western barrel-vaulted nave. An intrusive restoration in the mid-20th century, refreshed in 2010, resulted in the suppression of the 'ancient style', still observed by Jeffery and Gunnis – now straightened walls and whitewash as well as modern tile floors dominate the exterior and interior.

The eastern half of the church shows flat lateral gables, cut in the west by the added nave. Above, the round, sloped dome drum rises. The semicircular apse, with a modern rectangular window, is small and low. The nave in the west is structured by three buttresses on each side. The southern portal, pointed with chamfered jambs and moulded imposts and a rectangular recess above, is the only decorated element (apart from the relatively modern belfry in the west), which evaded the whitewash.

The interior shows the same strong division between the two building phases. The barrel-vaulted nave ends in a low arch with a wall above, which abuts the former western face of the old dome – the window pierced in this internal wall corresponds to the western window of the dome drum. The western bay of the dome-hall has thus been replaced; the western dome arch, originally resting on engaged piers, was underpinned by rough corbels showing behind the more regular nave arch. The dome-hall itself was a low, wide structure with deep lateral dome arches and narrow eastern and western bays. The eastern bay shows only very small lateral niches, suggesting a cruciform appearance of the former interior.

As the structure is devoid of sculptural decoration and the masonry remains covered in concrete and whitewash, only the proportions of the dome-hall betray, that it was presumably not built in the Middle Byzantine period, as suggested more recently, but during the 15th or 16th century. The shape of the lateral gables, if corresponding to the original, remind of those in Anogyra [32]. The western expansion is certainly a work of the Ottoman period.

LOCALITY: Tochni	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Holy Cross
GEO-DATA: 34.782175, 33.323209		CAT. NO: 227
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the eastern village centre of Tochni, on a terrace of the western slope of the valley		
TYPOLOGY: [ruined] double nave church with two semicircular apses, narthex (?)		
WINDOWS: rectangular; [rest destroyed]		
PORTALS: rectangular corbelled doorway with recessed pointed tympanum; [rest destroyed]		
VAULTING: northern nave: pointed barrel vaults in the east and west, central rib vault; [southern nave: destroyed]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Photograph of Camille Enlart of 1896 (in: De Vaivre 2012, p 313); DOA D.71–73 (1937); I.15.206–214, J.54.771–773 (1969); J.58.709–713 (1988); J.88.957–964 (1996).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 14th century (around 1340?): erection of the southern nave as dome-hall church- 15th century: addition of the northern nave- Ottoman period (?): destroyed by a fire		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragment of a saint on the northern face of the bema wall. Other illegible fragments on the southern apse and bema wall. Not datable.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 444–449 [Enlart 1987, p 337–340]; Jeffery 1918, p 351; Gunnis 1936, p 441; De Vaivre 2012, p 312–314; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.		
ARDAC 1996, p 21; 2003, p 27 [14 th century date proposed].		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2010; 19.04.2012.		

The village of Tochni is mentioned frequently in medieval sources, as it was supposedly the location of an event of highest importance in the early 14th century. According to legend, Saint Helena had brought cross relics from the Holy Land to Cyprus, building the monastery of Stavrovouni to shelter the cross of the Penitent Thief, while a splinter of the True Cross was allegedly given to the church of Tochni, built, so the legend said, by her own command. In any case, up until 1318, the Cross relic was venerated in Tochni – in possession of the local Greek church but much envied by the Latins. In 1318, it is said, the Latin priest John Santamarin stole the cross relic and, unable to bring it to the West, hid it in a carob tree. There, the relic was found again by a Greek shepherd in around 1340. Evidently, this caused further controversy, ultimately resulting in a rapprochement of the Greek and Latin Church on the island. The result of the events would indicate that at least the 'finding' of the relic was a staged event and part of the general policy of King Hugh IV, known for searching to console the Greeks and Latins on the island.²¹⁵

Already in the medieval period, the village of Tochni possessed two churches. That dedicated to the Saints Constantine and Helena, the main parish church, is built over the small river in the middle of the narrow valley of Tochni. It has been rebuilt in the early 20th century, but two watercolours of Edmond Duthoit of 1862 show the ancient structure.²¹⁶ It was a cross-in-square church, surely dating to the early 12th century, well-before the Latin occupation of the island.

The second church stands on the eastern side of the valley on a small terrace, overlooking the main church. Commonly known by the name 'Stavros', it is believed to have been built in connection with the famous relic (even if the Holy Cross-dedication is occasionally also attributed to the main church). The building consists of two naves of three bays, terminating in semicircular apses. It is ruined since a long time – already a photograph taken by Camille Enlart, who was interested in the 'Gothic' details of the structure, shows more or less the current state. The characteristic reddish colouring and chipped surface of the dressed limestone elements show, that the church fell victim to a fire at an uncertain date. The southern nave is gone, apart from foundations and a part of the apse and northern bema wall, while of the northern nave the lateral wall and the whole bema area including the vault remained. The latter has only collapsed between 1969 and 1984, after which temporary stabilizing structures were applied to the remaining northern wall, still supporting the partly overgrown ruin today.

²¹⁵ On these events see Schabel 2005, p 181–182.

²¹⁶ Bonato, Severis 1999, fig 22–24.

It is evident that the two naves were erected in different periods: a vertical joint separates their preserved eastern ends. The southern nave, of which not only the apse but also the north-eastern corner remains, was the older part – despite being built from regular ashlar masonry as opposed to the rubble of the northern nave. It has always been described rather vaguely as ‘Byzantine’ building. Indeed, the crumbling remains of the nave, with straight exterior wall and two engaged piers on each side, suggest that it was a dome-hall structure. In its proportions and spatial arrangement it might have resembled for example the church of Saint Demetrianos near Potamia, also an ashlar-built dome-hall, presumably of the later 13th century.²¹⁷ However, the ashlar formats differ, being smaller and more regular in the case of Tochni. Thus, it seems likely that despite its rather traditional building type, the southern nave was not built before the 14th century.

In the second phase, the northern nave was added. This process is very instructive, even if only the foundations of the separating arcade and the bema wall remain to testify to it. Of the older church, the entire northern wall was removed, in this process maintaining the formerly engaged piers / blind arches, which supported the nave vaulting. Then, the original nave was structurally mirrored: a semicircular apse, the western and eastern bays covered with barrel vaults. Only the central bay received a rib vault instead of the dome of the southern nave.²¹⁸ In consequence, the preservation of all the old vaults of the original naos was possible, while the two naves were widely opened up towards each other (except for the bema area).

The masonry of the new nave, rubble of poor quality, stands in surprising contrast to the carefully assembled ashlar of the southern nave and the rather elaborate vaults of the new parts, so we must assume that the church was covered in lime wash or plaster after the expansion. Of the windows remain one each in the western façade, the northern gable and the apse. They are simple rectangles, the one in the west with a chamfered frame. The portal, heavily damaged by the fire, is rectangular, perhaps once with chamfered frame, a monolithic lintel carried by (chipped) moulded corbels, and a recessed pointed tympanum above. The portals of the southern nave are lost.

The interior of the additional nave was, as mentioned above, separated in three bays. The western and eastern bays were barrel-vaulted, while the central one possessed a rib vault. The vault springers in the northern wall are preserved and the historic photograph shows the intact situation in the eastern bay. Not only were there diagonal ribs, but also transversal arches, which separated the central bay from the barrel-vaulted ones. In

²¹⁷ See chapter 2.4.

²¹⁸ See also chapter 3.3.3 on such structural mirroring in expansion processes.

contrast, there were apparently no lateral formerets. The moulding is heavily decayed, but it seems that diagonal as well as transversal arches shared the same profile of a central thick roll, flanked slim rolls and lateral hollows. The corbels are not recognizable anymore. Of some interest is the building material used on the inside. Generally, the same poor rubble as on the exterior is predominant, except for, evidently, the vault ribs and details such as the prothesis niche and the apse arch. However, the lower courses of the barrel vaults were made from regular ashlar as well, resembling those of the remaining apse of the southern nave. Presumably, the material of the removed northern wall of the latter was reused in this way, unfortunately rather causing additional structural problems due to the change of building techniques – the eastern and western walls did not interlock with the barrel vault, which was apparently built only in a second step.

The dating of the additional nave, as well as its functions have been debated more than in other similar cases, due to the history of Tochni and the presence of elements of the Gothic style. Enlart wondered, if the nave was built by Latins in an attempt to 'share' the veneration of the cross relic. It must be noted that it is not even clear, in which of the two churches the relic was kept. Furthermore, there is no single case in Cyprus, where the erection of a second nave can be securely connected with the intended simultaneous Latin-Greek use of the church. The rib vault cannot be seen as a conclusive argument for a Latin patronage, as well, as the very infrequent but undeniable examples of rib vaults in Greek churches on the island show (for example the Panagia Stazousa church [105]). In consequence, it is somewhat problematic to relate the building phases of the Stavros church to the events of the 14th century. It is certainly not entirely implausible that, even after the relic had been brought to Nicosia after its finding in the mid-14th century, a church was built in Tochni to commemorate it nevertheless. This church would have rather been the original southern nave of the structure. The northern addition is certainly later. The fact that it includes elements of urban 14th century style, should not mislead us to exclude a much later date: the rib moulding (if it can be used as evidence at all, in its state of preservation) and the shape of the portal would rather point towards the 15th century. This suggestion might be corroborated by the poor quality of the masonry, which, despite the apparent attempt to decorate the expansion nicely, speaks for a period of restricted wealth and funds.

LOCALITY: Trachoni	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Katoklisiotissa
GEO-DATA: 34.652824, 32.964993		CAT. NO: 228
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: south of the village centre of Trachoni		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with polygonal (5/12) apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, chamfered, with chevron corbels; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: 'founders tomb' in the south-western corner		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 15 th –16 th century: erection of the church		
- 1920s: re-roofed		
- after 1935: subsequent restoration, new vault, interior whitewashed		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Remains of paintings, including a depiction of Saint George, reported by Gunnis. Today, the interior is whitewashed.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 442.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
–		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: [not visited]		

The Panagia Katoklisiotissa is a small single nave church, around one km south of Trachoni. It has much suffered from restorations of the 20th century, which included a replacement of the vault (today covered by a pitched roof) and of the southern doorway, as well as the whitewash of the interior.

The exterior retains two features of original shape, apart from the sheer rubble masonry: the unusual five-sided polygonal apse and the western doorway. The latter is rectangular, chamfered and the lintel is held by two (chipped) chevron corbels. In the very plain interior mainly the lateral walls are of interest. In the northern wall, there is a large round arched recess at about 1 m height, while at the western end of the southern wall, we find an arched recess containing a lower arch. The latter has been described by Gunnis as 'founder's tomb', which in this instance might indeed come close to the truth – at least there seems to have been a burial context of the niche. The corbels and rib fragments of the original vault, still visible in the 1930s, have been removed – presumably when the current vault was installed. The paintings mentioned by Gunnis have vanished under a layer of whitewash as well.

The polygonal apse and the portal shape indicate a date in the later 15th or 16th century for the original building.

LOCALITY: Trachoni	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.223556, 33.479723		CAT. NO: 229
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Trachoni		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with polygonal (3/8) apse, elongated western arm and northern porch		
WINDOWS: dome windows: round arched; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vaults, dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: medieval <i>spolia</i> in northern porch		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 16th century: erection of the original dome-hall church- late 17th century: western expansion, buttresses and dome arches added- 19th–early 20th century: northern porch added, windows and portals replaced- 2013: restored		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
–		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 272; Gunnis 1936, p 442; Papageorghiou 2010, p 412–414.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground Plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2010; 12.04.2012; 24.02.2013 ²¹⁹		

²¹⁹ The photographic documentation was undertaken before the recent restoration.

The church of the Panagia in Trachoni, certainly the main Greek village church since the medieval period, is a rather squat building of an elongated single nave, surmounted by a large dome and a northern porch. In precarious state until 2013, during the following restoration the chance has (sadly) been missed to document the masonry during the renewal of the wall plaster.²²⁰ As a result, the church is structurally sound again – but while its pristine whiteness (inside as well as outside) is aesthetically pleasing, it inhibits any further research into the building's structure and chronology. Thus, observations of the masonry have to remain restricted to those areas, where before 2013 the plaster had already fallen off, and general remarks on wall alignments and typology. Nevertheless, it is evident, that the church was constructed in (at least) three periods, the first one comprising the domed central bay and eastern parts, the second one the nave and the third one the porch in the north.

The original church was of the dome-hall type, featuring a square domed bay, which rises significantly higher than the barrel-vaulted eastern and (replaced) western bays. The dome drum is circular and slightly sloped. The eastern bay has almost the same size as the domed one and ends in a slightly lower, unusually wide apse, forming a three-sided polygon on the exterior. On the inside, the dome drum rests on pendentifs, which emerge seamlessly from the four dome arches. The structure is very irregular; the southern dome arch is much shallower than the northern one and the walls and arches are far from following geometric ideals. The western and eastern sides of the dome rested on rather slim transversal arches, which concluded the eastern and western barrel vaults. These arches were at some point underpinned by thicker arches on engaged lateral piers, all made from ashlar masonry. Presumably at the same time, two heavy flying buttresses were added in the south of the domed bay, to prevent the leaning southern nave wall from falling over.

The nave west from the domed bay is longer, consisting of two bays, which are supported by flat engaged buttresses. It is evident that the original nave was shorter, corresponding to the size of the eastern bay and that the current nave was added during the Ottoman period. Jeffery and Gunnis suggested the 17th century as date for the erection of the church in general, referring to an icon of the Virgin, dated to 1670 and preserved in the church until 1974. Regarding the character of the original dome-hall, it is however more probable that it was built during the later 15th or 16th century, and that, if the icon should be connected to a building phase, this might have rather been the western expansion.

In the north of the church, an open porch with a columned arcade was placed during the 19th century, when also windows and portals were renewed and a belfry added. Curiously, the two columns, which carry the pointed arches, seem to be from marble, thus very likely antique *spolia*, while the skilfully carved crocket capitals are evidently 14th century works.

²²⁰ At least, neither photographs nor plan drawings were published since the end of the works.

LOCALITY: Trachoni	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas
GEO-DATA: 35.223592, 33.478012		CAT. NO: 230
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Trachoni, within sight from the Panagia [108]		
TYPOLOGY: [ruined] single nave church with polygonal (3/8) apse		
WINDOWS: apse window: pointed, chamfered		
PORTALS: northern portal: rectangular, chamfered, with chevron corbels		
VAULTING: [ruined] barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: bell-moulded string course		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late 15th–early 16th century: erection of the church - Ottoman period: transformed into mosque - before 2000: collapse of the southern wall and vault 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 272; Gunnis 1936, p 442.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 23.03.2010; 12.04.2012; 24.02.2013		

The small ruined church of Saint Nicholas in Trachoni stands around 100 m west of the Panagia [108]. It was a barrel-vaulted building of a single nave with a three-sided apse, of which most of the northern wall and parts of the apse remain. According to Gunnis, the church was transformed into a mosque at some point, before being used as a stable (as recorded by Jeffery in 1918). In the 1930s, the building was 'in a fair state of repair', the doors walled up. Between then and the 2000s, records break off. When exactly the southern wall and vault collapsed is not clear.

Of what remains, the original shape can be easily reconstructed. The whole structure is built of rubble masonry of rather poor quality, ashlar is used for corners or the numerous decorative sculptural features. The northern wall is flanked by two buttresses, corresponding to the two transversal arches of the barrel vault. It is certain that the church was symmetric and the buttresses existed in the south as well, flanking the second lateral portal. The one in the north consists of a chamfered rectangular doorway with chevron corbels carrying the monolithic lintel. Above, a flat discharging arch is set into the masonry. According to Gunnis, the southern portal was 'of elegant construction', presumably meaning that it was more richly decorated than the northern one. Almost certainly, there was also a doorway in the west. Of the apse, which was fully preserved up until a decade ago, the central and northern polygon face remain. In the former, a low pointed window with chamfered frame is placed. The top of the apse is decorated with a cavetto-and-roll or rather bell-moulded string course, which continues on the straight eastern wall up until the building corners.

Inside the church, the sculpted decoration was restricted to the apse string course, of the same profile as the exterior one, and the extraordinary corbels of vault and prothesis niche: while the latter shows an inverted ogee, the former consist of softly curved cushion corbels, supported by varied polygonal lower parts. The western one reminds of an inverted melon dome or a scalloped capital and is, as the eastern one – centralized and softly curved – without older models on the island. The heaps of debris surrounding the ruin raise the hope that, once examined in the future, one will find the fragments of the missing portals and vault corbels.

The design of the building certainly surprises in some ways. While the sculptural decoration is of high quality, the structural type, single nave with barrel vault, is simple and the execution of the masonry rather poor. The barrel vault did not interlock with the eastern wall, but was placed on top of the latter in a second building stage (similar to the northern

nave of the Holy Cross Church in Tochni [227]). As a result, the structural integrity was bound to fail at some point.

Date and original function of the building are somewhat debatable. The creative character of the decoration and elements such as the bell-moulded string course point towards a date in the late 15th or early 16th century, perhaps at the very beginning of the Venetian period.²²¹ Jeffery, and in his succession also Gunnis, seem to be sure that the church was the chapel of a Latin 'feudal seigneur', without giving any evidence for this theory. Presumably, the opposition with the Greek parish church of the Panagia and the fact that this church had been in use by the Muslim community would have suggested to them that the church had been handed over already in 1571, together with the majority of the urban Latin churches. Furthermore, both Jeffery and Gunnis tended to connect the presence of more elaborate sculptural decoration in a rural environment with a possible Latin patronage, a position rendered somewhat obsolete by the last decades of research. Furthermore, the building itself does not provide more evidence for this verdict, considering that there is a niche placed north of the apse, which would be identifiable as prothesis niche. It is, however, not improbable that the building was used by the Greeks and possible Latin patrons alike or that the latter have contributed to the erection. In the second half of the 15th century, the fief of Trakhoni seems to have belonged to Morf de Grenier, count of Edessa and, after the death of Jacob II, one of the regents of the island.²²² Could it be, that it was this influential figure of late 15th century Cyprus, who functioned as a patron for the church, be it a Greek or Latin one?

²²¹ See also chapter 5.2.1 for a detailed discussion of the stylistic *comparanda*.

²²² In 1468 he is given the *casale* of, among others, Louroujina in addition to that of Trachoni. It is not entirely certain, if this Trachoni or the one near Limassol is meant, but considering the proximity to the capital and the higher importance of the Trachoni near Nicosia, there is a certain probability of the identification. See Richard 1983, p 97–98 and 187. For Morf de Grenier also Grivaud 2013, p 243.

LOCALITY: Trapeza	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysopolitissa
GEO-DATA: 35.132577, 33.857955		CAT. NO: 231
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the fields between Acheritou and Egkomi, on the site of the large deserted medieval village of Trapeza		
TYPOLOGY: nave with two aisles of different length and width, central polygonal apse (5/12)		
WINDOWS: eastern wall: rectangular/ rounded slits; dome: slightly pointed lancets; western wall: rectangular/ chamfered oculus		
PORTALS: central western portal: rectangular with quarter circle corbels and discharging arch above lintel; lateral western portal: rectangular; south-western portal: rectangular doorway with moulded jambs and corbels, recessed tympanum with roll-moulded frame, hood mould; southern portal: rectangular with moulded corbels as part of the lintel, discharging gap above; central northern portal: rectangular, chamfered with corbels; [walled-up] north-eastern portal: rectangular (?)		
VAULTING: nave: barrel vaults, interrupted by two domes; northern aisle: barrel vaults with transversal arches; southern aisle: groin vaults and barrel vault		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: numerous references in sources to the village (see Langdale 2014a, p 39–48), church first mentioned (as derelict) by Ross 1852, p 117.		
PICTORIAL: DOA (under 'Acheritou') A.2717–2723, B.3177 (1947); B.36.205–216 (1974).		
OTHER: Inscription above the southern doorway: "ΕΤΕΛΙΟΘΙ Ι ΑΙΚΛΙΧ/Α Αφξζ Χc" ('completed the church in 1567').		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- first half of the 14th century: erection of a first dome-hall church- mid-15th century: addition of the a northern aisle- second half of the 15th century: addition of a southern aisle- 1550s – 1567: eastern expansion,- ca. 1570: western expansion, interrupted by the Ottoman invasion- mid-20th century: smaller repair works to southern doorway and nave		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the western domed bay an Anastasis on the northern lunette, saints on the arch intrados and the piers. Decoration of the pendentifs (perhaps the evangelists) and the dome (a Pantokrator) much decayed. Executed presumably in around 1500.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Enlart 1899, p 412–413 [Enlart 1987, p 316–317]; Jeffery 1918, p 200; Gunnis 1936, p 154; Masson 1995; Papageorgiou 2010, p 15–19; Langdale 2012, p 161–164; Langdale 2014a. MKE, 13, p 138.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Papageorgiou 2010, p 16; Langdale 2014a; Kaffenberger 2014. Isometric view: Langdale 2014a.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 27.03.2010; 20.02.2013		

Around 5 km west of the historic city of Famagusta, stands one of the most impressive and puzzling medieval churches of Cyprus, the Panagia of Trapeza. Visible from afar in the Mesaoria plain, its silhouette with two domes has attracted travellers such as Ludwig Ross in 1845 and scholars since Camille Enlart. The latter already recognized that “cette église, dans laquelle on remarque de nombreuses reprises, semble être un monument byzantin reconstruit partiellement et en plusieurs fois [...]”.²²³ More recently, Allan Langdale has presented the first monographic study of the building, in particular focusing on the numerous historical references connected with the village of Trapeza, of which already since the 19th century noting more than two churches remained, that of the Panagia and a now vanished one of Saint Paraskevi [LXIV]. His study also deals with the architecture and painted fragments of the building, but underlines that the structure would highly profit from a more comprehensive monographic study in the future.

The church, as we see it today, consists of a central nave and two aisles, the southern one being shorter and wider than the northern one. The nave is covered with a sequence of a barrel vault, a low dome, a barrel vault, a high dome and another barrel vault. The northern aisle shows barrel-vaulted segments of differing heights, while the southern aisle possesses two groin vaults and, in the east, a barrel vault. Considering this apparent agglutination of segments from various phases, the exterior is relatively uniform. The plain walls receive their aesthetic appeal through the large blocks of the regular ashlar masonry, used for the straight eastern wall with the five-sided polygonal apse, the southern wall (with a vertical joint at approximately the centre of the façade [231.12]) and the western and eastern ends of the northern wall. The central part of the latter, marked by a lower barrel vault above, shows large ashlars in its lower part, above rather irregular (reused) masonry from various dressed stones, including a column drum [231.9]. The western front is the most problematic part. Here, the northern and central part consist of the same large regular ashlars as the eastern and southern fronts, while the southern part is situated around 3 m further east and built from a mixture of large and small ashlars [231.10]. The southern side of the recess is not closed by a wall, but opens up directly into the nave through the arcade. *Pierres d’attente* show that the western wall was supposed to continue southwards, creating one of the many complex puzzles of the church’s building chronology. The two dome drums, the western one hardly rising above the surrounding barrel vaults, are octagonal and made from ashlar. Unlike the nave walls, the rounded gables of which do not possess any decoration, the dome drums show cornices: the one in the west a chamfer and quirk, the one in the east a bell moulding.

²²³ Enlart 1899, p 413 – Transl. Enlart 1987, p 316–317: “This church, which bears evidence of several stages of building, would seem to be a Byzantine building, partially rebuilt on successive occasions [...]”.

While, except for a chamfered oculus in the west, the windows of the church are very simple, nothing more than slits in the eastern wall and lancets in the dome, the portals are manifold and varied in their designs. In the western wall, the central portal is rectangular; quarter circle corbels carry its monolithic lintel, which is surmounted by a discharging arch. In the southern front, there are two portals. The western one is the most elaborate of the church, showing moulded jambs (in the type of slim, engaged colonettes) and roll-hollow-roll-moulded corbels [231.14]. The tympanum is recessed and framed by an arch with roll-moulding as well as a hood mould. The second southern portal is simpler, a rectangular doorway with a lintel, the small corbels of which are strangely carved out of the same block and in consequence can only be there for purely decorative reasons [231.12]. This lintel is surmounted by a jack arch, taking the weight off the lintel by being carved out at its bottom. An inscription above the portal commemorates (in very faulty Greek, suggesting the illiteracy of the author) the 'completion of the church in 1567' [231.13]. The northern portals are less conspicuous, the central one being rectangular, chamfered and with simple quarter circle corbels, the north-eastern one walled up and largely destroyed.

The interior, only in use for a short period between the 1950s and 1974 and now as derelict as it was found by the 19th century travellers, is even more puzzling than the exterior. However, it helps to disentangle the complex building chronology already indicated by the exterior.

Core of the building is the second bay from west, the one surmounted by the lower of the two domes [231.15–16]. The piers of this bay, built from ashlar of various sizes, all show vertical joints on their inner faces, meaning that the bays to the west and east as well as to the north and south were added later. On the northern and southern faces of the eastern piers and the adjoining walls, arch springers are visible within the masonry. These arches were lower than the central dome arches, indicating that once a bay with lateral niches adjoined the domed bay to the east and west. These bays were barrel-vaulted; the deep eastern and western dome arches are the remnants of these vaults. Thus, the original church certainly was of the dome-hall type, as already suggested by Langdale (albeit inaccurately shown in his ground plan) [231.1]. Of this building, only the dome arches and the vault of the central bay remain, integrated into the new church in a canopy-like way. The ashlar-built octagonal dome drum, if not rebuilt subsequently as well, indicates that this dome-hall would unlikely have been built as early as the 12th century – date implied by Langdale based on an erroneous dating of the painted fragments. More likely, the original church was built during the first heyday of nearby Famagusta in the early decades of the 14th century.

If Langdale further implies that the whole rest of the church was rebuilt in a single endeavour during the Venetian period, before 1567, this verdict seems too imprecise as

well. First, the evident horizontal joints in the northern and southern walls contradict a homogenous rebuilding as much as the varied vaults of the interior do. Second, the fragmentary paintings in the lower zone of the domed bay were clearly executed after the addition of the northern aisle, but are datable to around 1500.²²⁴ When the northern aisle was added to the domed bay, the wall was underpinned by a pointed arch, forming the lunette, which is today occupied by the fragments of an Anastasis scene [231.16]. The illegible depictions in the lower spandrels seem not to be cut by the arch; even more, the painted layer continues onto the arch soffit. Interestingly, the arch rests on chamfered piers in the west and east, which show no vertical joints along the east-western axis and thus were inserted *en sous oeuvre*, together with the arch. The addition of the southern aisle was achieved with a different solution: the southern wall of the dome-hall was entirely removed, but the dome arch including its piers left intact [231.5]. The arch was mirrored to the south with a slightly lower pointed arch. This solution can be applied due to the canopy-principle of centralized vaults, but does not work in the case of barrel vaults. Therefore, it is logical that a groin vault was chosen for this southern aisle [231.22]. In the west, a short barrel vault follows, separated by a transversal arch on double quarter circle corbels. We can conclude from this evidence that, by the time the southern aisle was added, there was no plan yet to expand the western end of the church. The current western wall of the southern aisle instead marks the axis of the old western end of the original dome-hall to which it was added [231.3]. In the east, there is an identical transversal arch as in the west of the groin-vaulted bay, as well followed by a barrel-vaulted segment. The latter is integrated into the second groin-vaulted bay further east, but a joint runs across the masonry more or less in the same place, where a vertical joint in the southern wall is recognizable. We can assume that the western groin-vaulted bay was originally flanked by two barrel-vaulted ones, just as the domed bay in a dome-hall church. Thus, the southern aisle mirrored the structure of the original building in the same way as this happened with a rib-vaulted bay in Tochni [227].

If considering the dates of the northern and southern aisle, we must take a brief look at the historical circumstances. In 1425 the region was devastated by Mamluk raids, which must have left the church ruined or at least deserted due to a temporary abandonment of the village. It is only in 1469, that Philipp Synglitico, captain of the Sigouri Castle not far in the Mesaoria, receives 400 besants for the “reparement et masonnement et autres de nostre casal de Trapeza”.²²⁵ The term ‘masonnement’ indicates that among the repair works, the rebuilding of stone structures was included. If we match this evidence with the remaining church structure, we might consider if the north aisle was built around the mid-15th century, using building material from the destroyed structures of the surroundings

²²⁴ I wish to thank George Markou for suggesting this approximative date.

²²⁵ Richard 1983, p 63.

(which could explain the inclusion of, among others, a column drum). The southern aisle with its more elaborate vault, in contrast, might be an immediate consequence of the funds supplied by Synglitico, or at least result of the same attempt to revive the settlement. If this happened in the later 15th or early 16th century is not entirely clear, neither is, if the exterior southern wall had already this shape when it was built, or if this goes back to an encasement in a later phase. If the latter was true, then the horizontal joint would not indicate two building phases but rather an interruption in the building process due to the end of the older structure, which needed to be encased. In any case, the architectural decoration cannot help much: the unusual floral motif on the keystone of the groin vault, on which Langdale puts some emphasis in comparing it with those of rib vaults, has only one preserved model on the island in the early 14th century Armenian church in Famagusta.²²⁶ The southern portal on the other hand replicates 15th century motifs without showing an apprehension of 16th century stylistic elements, but might just be a similar case of retrospectivity.

In any case, towards the mid-16th century, the artistically most elaborate part of the church, its eastern half was added [231.19]. The inscription, immured in its northern wall, specifies the completion of this endeavour in 1567. Considering the scale of the church and the excellent quality of the masonry, one might assume a duration of at least a decade for the expansion. Of the pre-existing structure, only the eastern apses were demolished [231.4]. In the nave, the barrel vault of the eastern bay of the dome-hall church remained, now functioning as deep separating arch between the bays. The addition of the nave consists of one elongated bay, which communicates with the aisles through wide, only slightly pointed arches, which are typical for 16th century architecture of the region (see also Triкомо [232] or Pigi [180]). Above these, the vault system of a dome-hall is replicated, with two barrel vaults supporting a central dome over pendentifs and an (internally) round drum. While the latter is entirely plain, the two arches show different, stepped moulding profiles. That of the southern arch is more common and consists of rolls and quirks, flanked by deep hollows, which are placed on each corner of the arch intrados [231.26–27]. The central part of the soffit remains plain and empty. In the south, pier and arch, despite showing the same profile, are separated by the application of cone-and-sphere motifs in the lower part of the hollows, where one would expect a capital zone. In the western part of the northern arch, this separation is given up and the arch understood as springing directly from the base, while in the east a capital zone is indicated by a flat impost. In this arch moulding, the soffit corners are occupied by smoothly waved bell mouldings, even more revealing concerning the date in the later Venetian period [231.28–29]. In the aisles, the design of the older aisle bays was adopted: a barrel vault on corbelled transversal arches in the northern aisle, a

²²⁶ Kaffenberger forthcoming-d.

groin vault in the southern aisle. Towards the east, the vaults continue seamlessly into barrel vaults above the bema area; here nave and aisles are connected with round arched doorways. All vaults of this building phase show masons' marks in the type of roman numerals, which can be found in a number of other buildings of the late decades of the Venetian period – in the region of Famagusta presumably connected to the erection of the new walls, which show the same masons' marks.

The last phase of the building, which remained unfinished as initially stated, was the western expansion [231.18]. The older western wall of the nave and northern aisle were taken down rather crudely: in the nave, the springer of the old barrel vault still emerges from the western end of the eastern piers. Two symmetrical arches were erected, of the same squat proportions as those in the east, but with a different profile. Here, a flat semicircle with fillet is flanked by a roll – a classical 14th century arch moulding originating in Famagusta. The late date is betrayed by the fact that the arches are here, as well, understood as stepped: the lateral steps carry an additional flattened roll moulding [231.20]. The arches spring from simple rectangular engaged piers, on which waved chamfers connect the pier with the rounded shape of the arch moulding. It seems obvious that this expansion, which in the exterior adopts the style of the previous phase, was started shortly after 1567. Interrupted three years later by the Ottoman conquest of the island, the original western wall of the southern aisle was not taken down anymore, the church remained unfinished. The building thus offers a valuable insight into the building process: the expansion was apparently started with the erection of the two arches, for which the western wall of the nave had to be taken down. Then the western wall of the aisle must have followed, after which the external wall was built. Surprisingly, the vaults were built before the external wall of the southern aisle had been begun. While this is of advantage for the use of the church, it is a risk from a structural viewpoint, as the diagonal forces of the central barrel vault rest entirely on the – admittedly rather stable – southern arch. Perhaps, this risk was only taken as a result of the remaining western wall of the aisle, which stabilizes the eastern end of this added barrel vault until today.

To conclude, the church shows (at least) five building phases [231.1–5], which somehow might mirror the history of the site: a village profiting from the sudden rise of Famagusta nearby in the early 13th century, destroyed in 1425, followed by a slow rebuilding, which was only intensified during the later 15th century, then again of considerable importance in the 16th century until the Ottoman conquest lead to the subsequent slow abandonment.

LOCALITY: Trikomo	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia
GEO-DATA: 35.283408, 33.889199		CAT. NO: 232
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Trikomo, ca. 500 m west of Saint James [233]		
TYPOLOGY: double nave with semicircular apses, the southern nave incorporating a dome-hall		
WINDOWS: round arched		
PORTALS: northern portal: pointed, moulded imposts, archivolt framed with roll-moulding, hood mould with cavetto profile; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: northern nave: pointed barrel vault with three transversal arches; southern nave: barrel vault with two transversal arches, dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: –		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA [excluding the numerous files depicting the 12 th century paintings]: A.716 (1936); B.2589 (1944); J.6619–6620 (1964); B.19.740–746, J.7851–7857 (1965); B.20.761–762, J.8058, 8067, 8122–8150, 8726, 8800–8002, 9310, 9388, 9778–9787 (1966); C.13.420–421, 437, 445, J.21.546–547 (1969).		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- early 12th century: erection of the original dome-hall church- second half of 15th century: northern aisle added, western expansion- 1804: second western expansion- 1965–1966: repair of the vaults, reconstruction of the apse windows		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
From the early 12 th century a cycle in the old naos (for the iconographic program and dating see Winfield 1972 and Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 486–491); from the 15 th century fragments in the northern nave (Maestas Domini) and bema (two busts of prophets).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 243; Gunnis 1936, p 444; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 486–491; Papageorgiou 1995, p 276; Papacostas 1999, II, p 77; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 123; Prokopiou 2006, p 86–98; Papageorgiou 2010, p 429–440; Langdale 2012, p 168–172; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c. ARDAC 1965, p 8; 1966, p 9; 1967, p 12.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan and various sections: Prokopiou 2006, p 89–91; Papageorgiou 2010, p 433–35; ground plan: DOA C.19.575; Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 07.04.2010; 04.04.2012		

The parish church of Triкомо, dedicated to the Panagia, has mainly become famous among travellers and scholar alike due to their preserved 12th century paintings. As a 'by-product', the architecture has been studied rather frequently, as well.

The current church consists of two naves ending in semicircular apses. The southern nave includes, in its eastern part, the original dome-hall church, the erection of which is dated to the early 12th century by the preserved paintings. On the exterior, it is easily distinguishable from the later phases in the medieval and Ottoman period with regard to its masonry. The large, roughly dressed stones of the south-eastern part stand in contrast to the small-scale regular ashlar of the plain northern apse and northern nave wall, as well as to the smaller rubble-and-ashlar masonry of the western parts of the church.

Much of the exterior has been remodelled in 1804, as is mentioned by Gunnis. During this remodelling, the entire western end of the church was taken down and both naves enlarged by one bay. The southern aisle, except for the 12th century structure, was rebuilt. Thus, of the late medieval expansion phase only the northern portal, pointed with simple mouldings on jambs and archivolt and a hood mould, seem to remain. The belfry, with a Byzantine marble plaque, is an addition of the early 20th century.

More interesting for this study is the interior, specifically the arcade separating the two naves. This arcade consists of three arches, of which the undecorated western one was built in 1804. The second arch from west corresponds to the previous western bay of the three-bayed northern aisle respectively a now replaced western expansion of the original dome-hall. The latter has been integrated in a rather daring way. In a process of *en sous oeuvre* replacement, the old northern wall was taken out and the vaults underpinned by the third, unusually wide arch of the arcade. The old dome rests on this new, wide arch, the apex of which should have been placed approximately where the fourth pier of the domed bay would have stood before. However, as the apex of the pointed arch misses this point and was thus not aligned with the thrust lines of the dome substructure, it is indeed surprising not to see any grave structural damage today.

The profile of the arcade is rather elaborate: a central large roll with wide fillet is flanked by smaller rolls, after a step follows a lateral hollow and roll. The squat central pier is an amorphous, approximately circular block that forms a spacious platform, on which the arcades rests. The engaged piers in the east and west are formed by low semicolumns flanked by steps and lateral round shafts, with a capital zone composed of stacked rolls. In contrast to this sculpturally decorated arcade, the northern nave itself is simple: the barrel

vault, pointed but unusually flat, supported by two original transversal arches on quarter circle corbels, both with roll-moulded imposts.

The date of the medieval expansion was subject to some debate, with suggestions usually settling on the 14th or 14th–15th century. The arcade profile indeed is a variation of the 14th century arcades of Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69]. The painted decoration, fragments of which are preserved in the added northern nave, is usually dated to the 15th century (Stylianou 1997) or around 1500 (Papageorghiou 2010), serving as *terminus ante quem*. It seems most likely that the paintings were executed shortly after the erection of the northern nave and the expansion in fact happened in the late 15th century – then presumably being the first example of this process, which was repeated in a number of churches in the surroundings later on.²²⁷

²²⁷ See chapter 5.3 for a more detailed analysis of the church expansions in the Famagusta area.

LOCALITY: Trikomo	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint James
GEO-DATA: 35.283873, 33.892941		CAT. NO: 233
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Trikomo, ca. 500 m east of the Panagia [232]		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church		
WINDOWS: apse: round arched; dome and gables: irregularly rounded / pointed with moulded, stepped frame		
PORTALS: western portal: rectangular, recessed pointed tympanum with profiled hood mould; southern portal: rectangular, chamfered with simple hood mould on quarter circle corbels		
VAULTING: barrel vault and dome		
MISCELLANEOUS: gables with profiled cornice		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: Soteriou 1935, pl 46; DOA B.223, B.3977–3979 (ca.1935); A.721 (1937); B.2153–2155 (1943); B.2428–2438, 2488–2489 (1944); B.17.659–660 (1965).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 12 th century: first dome-hall church		
- 16 th century (?): rebuilding of upper parts and vaults (after a collapse?)		
- 1943/44: restoration, removal of walled up parts in corners; excavation		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 243; Gunnis 1936, p 444; Papageorgiou 2010, p 424–428; Langdale 2012, p 167. MKE, 6, 58–59.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 01.04.2008; 07.04.2010; 04.04.2012		

The small domed church of Saint James stands in the eastern quarter of the village of Trikomo. Its original function is unclear, but considering its size it might have had a monastic or funerary background. The latter could be corroborated by the burials, which were found underneath the floor in a mid-20th century excavation. In the same time, a restoration reverted the church to the late medieval appearance, removing added masonry from the four corners and replacing the western portal lintel.

The building is one of the most unusual examples of a late dome-hall church on the island.²²⁸ It is very short, almost square in plan and shows the hierarchized layout of traditional dome-hall churches, with lower corner compartments and triangular gables on each side. The walls are built from ashlar masonry, consisting of large, roughly cut blocks (occasionally made from column drums) with rubble infill in the lower courses; regular smaller ashlar in the upper wall zones and the round dome drum. This change of masonry clearly indicates that the church was built in two phases: the original building presumably had collapsed and its lower walls were used for the rebuilt structure.

Multiple windows pierce the walls: three round arched ones in the apse, eight slightly irregular rounded or pointed ones in the dome drum, three more in the gables of the nave. Except for the simple apse windows, which still belong to the first phase, they are all surrounded by a moulded frame. The latter varies in quality and exact shape of execution, but in all cases, the profile is stepped and includes an external and internal roll, separated by a flat cavetto. Two portals in the west and south lead into the church, while one in the north has been walled up. The latter clearly was not a recent intervention, but happened already during the rebuilding. The western portal is rectangular (its lower part remaining from the first building), surmounted by a recessed pointed tympanum with profiled hood mould. The one in the south differs slightly in that the doorway, entirely renewed in the rebuilding, is chamfered and the hood mould, springing from quarter circle corbels protrudes more significantly. Cornices with rough roll moulding decorate the lateral gables, the dome drum and the apse.

On the inside, the combination of the building's shortness with the considerable dome height emphasizes a centralized character of the building, which was not inherent in the dome-hall type from the beginning. Thus, there is very little space in the lateral walls of the eastern and western bays to place the ubiquitous niches or blind arches – in fact, the wall itself is reduced to an arch connecting the conspicuous dome piers with the western and

²²⁸ The church was charming enough in fact to have inspired Queen Marie of Romania to build an exact replica on the premises of the Royal Palace in Balchik (now Bulgaria) around 1926 – Gunnis 1936, p 444, informs us about this.

eastern walls. A string course marks the springer of the barrel vaults and dome arches, an unusual feature in the Cypriot architecture. Its shape is identical with the apse cornice on the exterior, while on the inside, the semidome of the apse emerges seamlessly from the wall. A remarkable number of porcelain plates has been set into the white plaster of the walls, perhaps during a restoration of the Ottoman period.

Until now, it had not been recognized that the church was effectively built in two periods. As a result, it was hardly attempted to date it: too diverging were the archaic shape and lower masonry of the building and the profiled window frames / decorated portals. If regarded separately, it becomes clear that the original church was built before the Frankish occupation, perhaps in the 12th century as the Panagia nearby. This church collapsed at some point, perhaps due to neglect or an earthquake such as that of 1491. During the rebuilding, the original shape was adopted but enriched with current decorative elements, all executed in a rather crude quality. The moulding profiles point towards a date in the mid-16th century for this rebuilding.

LOCALITY: Trimithi	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Charalambos
GEO-DATA: 35.328841, 33.260011		CAT. NO: 234

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Trimithi

TYPOLOGY: [changed] nave and two lateral aisles, ending in a triple apse

WINDOWS: apses: round arched with bell moulding; southern wall: pointed with bell moulding; western gable: oculus with raised moulded frame

PORTALS: western and northern portal: rectangular, continuously framed doorways surmounted by recessed tympana

VAULTING: [unfinished / replaced]

MISCELLANEOUS: profiled

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: —

PICTORIAL: Drawing of a nave pier by Enlart of 1896 (in: Enlart 1899, fig 136).

OTHER: —

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 1560s: erection of the church, never finished
- 1910s: arcade piers removed and barrel vault built
- 1979/80: restored

PAINTED DECORATION:

—

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Enlart 1899, p 238–239; Jeffery 1918, p 318; Gunnis 1936, p 445; Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 438–441.

PLAN MATERIAL:

—

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 20.04.2010; 01.04.2012

The main village church of Trimithi, situated some hundred m uphill from the older church of the Panagia,²²⁹ has already been described by Camille Enlart, but since attracted little attention. Left unfinished in the medieval period, Enlart still saw the fragments of an interior division, which was entirely removed, when the church was finished in around 1910. Thus, today it is only possible to discuss the interior based on Enlart's description and a single drawing of a remaining pier.

The church is a cubic, plain building, made from ashlar masonry of excellent quality. From the eastern wall, three semicylindrical apses of identical height protrude. They are only 20 cm apart; the central one is slightly wider and protrudes further. Each apse is pierced by a window, round arched and with a smoothly waved bell moulding. A similar window, but pointed, is placed in the centre of the southern wall. Both, eastern and western wall end in a pitched gable, corresponding to the modern roof. How much of this is a product of the 1910 phase, is not clear. The oculus, which occupies the western gable, seems to belong to the original church. It is surrounded by a protruding frame with rounded moulding. Two portals of identical size and decoration are placed in the western and northern walls – today visually emphasized by the fact that they are painted white, in an attempt to imitate marble. They both consist of a rectangular doorway, continuously framed with a stepped profile of an inner roll and an outer bell moulding. This outer moulding ends in horizontal returns on the bottom, while the roll sits on top of the latter, ending in inverted cushions. In both cases, flat corbels with a slight cavetto, surmounted by a thin roll, are placed in the upper corners of the doorway.

The interior is covered today with a low, wide barrel vault of 1910. Originally, there was a tripartition, as indicated by the three apses. Enlart still saw two rows of three columns each, but according to his description no signs of vaults. While this might be surprising, considering the height to which the church had already been built, the parallel case of Agios Sozomenos [16] shows that indeed the vaults were only prepared at a relatively late stage of the building process. The piers were round, with a square base, which possessed chamfered corners (presumably similar to the capitals of the western and eastern engaged piers in Agios Sozomenos) and square capitals decorated with a stacked roll profile. We can only guess, which vaulting system might have originally been planned. The barrel vaults suggested by Enlart certainly seem possible, but almost all basilicas or hall churches of the late medieval period carry a dome above the central nave. Thus, a solution similar to Morfou

²²⁹ The Panagia discussed in Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 443–44.

[149] or the Neofytos Katholikon [22], with a dome developed over a continuous arcade, seems the most probable solution.

These comparanda would also match chronologically, albeit being some decades earlier. The church of Trimithi was surely not built in the early 15th century and interrupted by Mamluk raids in 1426, as believed by Enlart, but instead was begun in the 1560s, before the building came to a halt after the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in 1570/71. The continuous frame of the doorways, typical for the 16th century betrays the late date as much as the flat rectangular capitals of the piers. In this context, it is interesting that Gunnis speaks of 'Renaissance doorways': the portals do not differ much from many others of the period (in particular those in Lakatamia [123]), but the lack of a hood mould and the rounded tympanum were apparently reason enough to apply this stylistic label to the portals of Trimithi. In some way, the church, despite adopting general aesthetic elements of 14th century churches such as Saint George of the Greeks in Famagusta [69] (the plainness of the exterior, the three apses of identical height), demonstrates, how the Cypriot architecture might have developed in the 17th century, had the island not come under Ottoman rule.

LOCALITY: Troulloi	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.032496, 33.616102		CAT. NO: 235
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Troulloi		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse and southern porch		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: western portal rectangular with horizontal moulded frieze above; [rest replaced]		
VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: several medieval tombstones		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: –		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century (?): erection of the church		
- 18 th –19 th century: addition of buttresses with blind arches, a southern porch and a bell tower, replacement of portals and windows		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Fragments of ornaments (16 th century?) on the vault arches, on the northern wall a blackened Archangel Michael (?).		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 194; Gunnis 1936, p 449–450.		
ARDAC 2001, p 32.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
-		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012		

The old parish church of Troulloi, dedicated to Saint Mamas, seems to be a much altered building of the last century before the Ottoman occupation of the island. Built from irregular rubble, it is an unpretentious but rather big single nave church with semicircular apse. Buttresses flank the building on both sides, those on the southern side being surmounted by blind arches. These buttresses and in particular the blind arches are certainly later additions, perhaps of the 18th century. An open porch with pointed arches is placed against the southern front and a bell tower surmounts the south-eastern corner, both going back to the 19th or early 20th century. In the same period, the apse window was replaced by a doorway, a new southern doorway installed and the windows changed. Solely the western portal, rectangular and surmounted by a horizontal moulded frieze, might still be more ancient.

The interior, covered with a wide barrel vault with transversal arches, shows little architectural decoration. Fragments of ornamental paintings were found on the vault arches, while an isolated Archangel Michael, extremely blackened, occupies the northern wall of the central bay. They are not datable but might be part of the original decoration of the church. To the same original interior decoration belongs the iconostasis described by Gunnis, apparently a work of the Venetian period, as it includes icons from the mid-16th century.

In the surroundings of the church are situated some medieval or Renaissance period tombstones, one with an inscription in Latin. It is, however, not clear, where these come from.

LOCALITY: Vasa	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.837838, 32.792452		CAT. NO: 236
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: north of Vasa, in a hairpin of the road to Potamiou		
TYPOLOGY: dome-hall with semicircular apse and western expansion		
WINDOWS: dome: round arched; [rest replaced]		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault, interrupted by dome on irregular drum		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14th–15th century (?): erection of the church - 16th century (?): addition of a narthex - early 20th century: portals and apse window replaced, wall between church and narthex destroyed 		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
<p>The whole original part of the church is covered in an almost complete but damaged cycle. It includes a Virgin Orans in the apse, below the usual bishops. In the lower zone of the nave various saints, above scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ. In the dome a Pantokrator surrounded by angels and his disciples. The paintings seem to date to the early 16th century but have not been published yet.</p>		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
<p>Gunnis 1936, p 455. ARDAC 1981, p 16; 1982, p 19; 1983, p 19; 1996, p 24.</p>		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 11.04.2010; 07.03.2013		

North of the village of Vasa, hidden beneath trees in a hairpin of the road to Potamiou, lies the church of Saint George. Its western wall abuts the road, which is on the roof level of the church. Considering its position close to a small river, away from the village, the church might have been the *katholikon* of a small monastery in the medieval period.

Saint George is a simple dome-hall church with elongated western arm and semicircular eastern apse, built of rubble and flat stone plates, with only few ashlar here and there. The exterior is very plain, except for the two portals, both placed in the southern wall. They are evidently early 20th century additions. A vertical joint between them marks where the original dome-hall ended before the western half was added. The dome drum is pierced by four round arched windows; it has less of a circular shape but rather of a rounded square.

The architecture of the interior is as simple as that of the exterior. The dome drum, of irregular shape and placed above a very crude string course, rests on two lateral pointed arches in the north and south and the ends of the pointed barrel vaults in the east and west. The apse vault is pointed as well. Simple impost marks the arch and vault springers in the domed bay. The barrel-vaulted bays show roughly pointed lateral recesses, one side of which springs from the eastern and western walls respectively. The whole wall surfaces of this original church are covered in an almost complete but heavily damaged cycle of paintings. It shows a standard iconographic program, with a Virgin Orans and bishops in the apse, saints in the lower zones and scenes from the life of Christ and Mary in the upper zones. The dome is occupied by a Pantokrator, surrounded by angels, his disciples etc. In the pendentifs, the four evangelists are discernible. The paintings are, here one can agree with Gunnis, of a 'crude' style and indeed seem to date from the (early) 16th century.

The western bay of the interior does not possess paintings. It was clearly once a narthex – separated from the naos by a wall, the imprint of which is still visible in the barrel vault, between the plaster of the narthex and the paintings of the naos. In its lateral walls are two wide, pointed blind arches.

Neither dome-hall nor narthex are securely datable. The paintings provide a 16th century *terminus ante quem* for the naos; however, it might well have been built a century earlier. Despite its archaic appearance, it is probably not earlier than the 14th century. The paintings were executed before the western expansion was built, otherwise it would surprise that no traces remain there. Furthermore, the Koimesis scene, often depicted on a western wall, is missing from the preserved iconographical programme – it might have occupied the vanished western wall of the naos. Thus, the western extension was either built during the 16th century or later, or it was a separate narthex at first, the western wall of which was removed in the 19th–early 20th century restoration.

LOCALITY: Vathylakas	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.477753, 34.186072		CAT. NO: 237
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: on the southern fringes of the village of Vathylakas		
TYPOLOGY: elongated single nave structure with semicircular eastern apse and southern porch		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed, chamfered; western portal: pointed with moulded jambs and imposts		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with four transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- 16th century: erection of the original church of three bays- 17th–18th century: western expansion of two bays, southern porch- 19th–early 20th century: addition of bell tower- mid-20th century: restoration, concrete roof to porch		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Various independent fragments, mainly destroyed in the past decades. On the northern nave wall, a Saint George disturbed by an early 20 th century Icon frame. On the southern nave wall, two defaced saints and an unidentifiable scene. The paintings are hard to date due to their state of preservation but seem to be rather late creations.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 456; Yapıcıoğlu 2007, p 238; Chotzakoglou 2006, p 110; Chotzakoglou 2010, p 36–37.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2010		

The cemetery church of Vathylakas, dedicated to Saint George, is an elongated single nave structure with southern open porch, remodelled several times after the medieval period and now derelict. Of the first building, the three eastern bays of the five-bayed nave remain. The apse, which has lost the plaster, shows that the building is made from irregular rubble masonry of poor quality. The southern portal, leading into the porch, is simple, pointed, with a chamfered frame. On the inside, the barrel vault is supported by the usual transversal arches. The two eastern ones belong to the first church. They spring from rough double quarter circle corbels, with the exception of the south-western one: here, one finds a trapezoidal corbel with a moulded impost. Fragments of paintings are preserved in the second and third bay from east: on the northern wall a Saint George, damaged by an icon frame of the early 20th century, on the southern wall two saints, strangely disturbed by the arch corbel (while the corbel opposite is even itself covered with ornamental painting), and an almost entirely destroyed scene.

Even if the paintings are not securely datable due to their bad state, they seem rather late. A date of the original church in the 16th century is corroborated by the shape of the vault corbels.

The porch and western end of the nave were apparently added in the 17th or 18th century, even if there was an apparent will to match the new parts to the style of the original structure. The portals of the porch and the western façade are pointed, with profiled imposts and moulded arches, and imitate medieval models. The same is true for the round piers of the arcade, which carry square, moulded imposts as capitals.

Bell tower and smaller changes were executed in the 19th century.

LOCALITY: Vatili	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.134428, 33.656868		CAT. NO: 238
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Vatili		
TYPOLOGY: today: single nave with polygonal apse		
WINDOWS: [new]		
PORTALS: western portal: stepped with engaged column and moulded jambs, foliage capitals, archivolt with dentil and pearl-string moulding, hood mould on conic corbels; northern and central southern portal: rectangular doorway with moulded continuous frame, cavetto-corbels, recessed pointed tympanum with roll-moulded frame and hood mould; south-eastern portal: pointed with roll-moulded frame and hood mould.		
VAULTING: [new]		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 16 th century: erection of the previous church, perhaps integrating an older structure		
- 1856: rebuilt, maintaining the portals and north-western corner of the old building		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
—		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 456; Harris 2009, p 291–295.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012		

The parish church of Vatili, dedicated to Saint George, is a large building, which took its current shape in 1856. Already Gunnis remarked that fragments of the medieval structure survive, but claimed that this was restricted to the south wall and the 'Gothic' west door. In fact, there are more remains, even if the current plaster on the walls does only allow an investigation of those parts, where it fell off.

The building is of a single nave, with a polygonal eastern apse and an open, arched porch to the south – indeed a typical structure of the mid-19th century. Nevertheless, already the western façade should cast doubt: the western portal, mentioned by Gunnis, is placed asymmetrically in the northern half. It is of elaborate, decorative character and modelled on the 14th century urban examples from Famagusta. Its stepped jambs show a sequence of roll moulded edges and an engaged colonette. The capital zone above is decorated with simple, doughy foliage. The archivolt shows a relatively complex moulding, beginning with an inner roll, a quirked hollow, followed by a bell moulding; the outer archivolt is decorated with a pearl-string, a hollow, a dentil frieze and another bell moulding. Cone-and-sphere motifs decorate the hollows. The protruding rounded hood mould with a fillet rests on conic corbels. The portal, despite reminding the 14th century models, betrays its late date in the use of the dentil frieze, which is only in use from ca. 1500 onwards. We must thus assume that the church was built or remodelled in the 16th century.

The adjoining northern wall presents some irregularities as well, apart from the fact that it bends at about half its length. In the western half, there are two deep blind arches, a narrow and a wider one. The situation on the inside (here, the 19th century interior reveals some traces of the previous building) is puzzling. In the place of the narrower blind arch, there is indeed a corresponding blind arch in the inner wall. However, the second exterior blind arch seems to correspond in its placement with the 19th century inner blind arch, which cuts through an ashlar arch embedded in the masonry. The latter is interrupted by the current northern portal. This portal itself is certainly of 16th century origin as well: the rectangular doorway is formed by a continuous bell moulding, cavetto-corbels are placed in the corners. The recessed pointed tympanum above possesses a roll-moulded frame and a protruding hood mould with horizontal returns. Presumably, it will only be possible to interpret this evidence, once the plaster is removed entirely and perhaps the area north of the current church excavated. Either, the northern portal was placed here in the 19th century, or during an early 16th century remodelling of an older church with a northern aisle.

Apart from the evidence of this north-western corner, there are as well the two portals of the southern wall: the central one of identical design as the northern portal, the one in

the south-east a smaller pointed arch with continuous roll moulding and hood mould. Again, the situation is not entirely clear. Does the southern wall indeed remain of the medieval structure, as suggested by Gunnis? Then the medieval building would have been a fairly large church with aisles, considering that the main western portal is placed off-centre to the north today. This idea could be corroborated by a strange wall on the inside, protruding at a right angle from the southern nave wall and forming the southern end of the (lost) iconostasis. It was apparently once decorated with a painting of Saint George, even if renewed in the early 19th century according to Gunnis (unfortunately, it is overpainted today). Could this be the former eastern wall of a southern aisle? Tempting as that thought might seem, the portals could have been placed here only in 1856 as well. In fact, this is certainly the case for the smaller south-eastern one: today, it forms part of the lower wall of the 19th century bell tower.

Even if many questions about the shape of the original church remain to be solved in a future restoration, the elaborate portals indicate that it was a building of considerable importance artistic quality, clearly built or heavily remodelled in the first half of the 16th century. Perhaps, the building was connected to the same family Protopapa, who commissioned, one or two generations later, a large icon to commemorate the deaths of two of its members in 1582 and 1604.²³⁰

²³⁰ On the icon, already described by Gunnis, see more comprehensively Kyrris 1968.

LOCALITY: Vitsada	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas
GEO-DATA: 35.242539, 33.652348		CAT. NO: 239

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the fields east of Vitsada, marking the site of the old cemetery

TYPOLOGY: [ruined] single nave with polygonal apse [and destroyed northern dome-hall nave?]

WINDOWS: apse window: rectangular; [rest destroyed]

PORTALS: [destroyed]

VAULTING: barrel vault with three transversal arches

MISCELLANEOUS: –

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- Middle Byzantine period (?): erection of the original dome-hall church
- 15th–16th century: addition of the southern nave
- 18th century: destruction of the dome-hall, remodelling of the southern nave as single-nave structure
- 19th century: collapse of the southern wall

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Gunnis 1936, p 457; Kaffenberger forthcoming-c.

PLAN MATERIAL:

Ground plan: Kaffenberger 2014.

DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 12.04.2012; 21.02.2013

East of the village of Vitsada, today surrounded by fields but marking the place of the former cemetery, stands the ruined church of Saint Mamas. The remaining fabric comprises the northern wall and apse of an elongated nave, which shows, in particular on the preserved northern side, numerous traces of rebuilding and a second attached nave. The better-preserved southern nave, built from rubble, was barrel-vaulted, with three transversal arches on quarter circle corbels supporting the vault. The apse in the east is polygonal on the outside, the central face pierced by a rectangular window. The portals, in the western and southern wall, are destroyed. The foundations of the southern wall indicate that it was lined by flat buttresses.

The most striking hint at a former northern nave is a wide arch with roll-moulded soffit, placed in the centre of the preserved wall, today walled up. Seen from the south, this arch integrates well with the remaining structure. Two springers for the transversal arches are placed on both sides and east of the wide arch, a smaller round arched recess occupies the wall. The northern side of the same wall is far less homogenous. The wide arch is not only walled up, with a window placed within, but also cut by one of the flat buttresses placed against the northern side. This buttress was evidently executed, when the arch was walled up and the adjoining northern nave removed. East of the wide arch, there is a stronger engaged pier, separating the wide arch from the imprint of a narrower, slightly pointed arch. The latter used the engaged pier and the eastern wall, of which the foundation and some fragments on the corner remain, as jambs. Above this arch imprint, a horizontal line indicates the former roofline of the northern nave. This roofline ends above the large engaged pier, where a vertical line can be seen. This evidence clearly shows, that the central bay of the northern nave was raised, the eastern bay lower. Certainly, the original building was of dome-hall shape. Of this dome-hall, the south-eastern arched recess was preserved during the rebuilding, while the southern dome arch and south-western recess were replaced by the new wide connecting arch. Examples for this process are manifold in Cyprus: most prominently the Panagia in Trikomo [232] or the Panagia in Kampyli [92], where the arch is today part of the exterior wall as well, due to the destruction of the southern nave. More information about the shape of this first church, which might have dated to the 12th or 13th century, could only be generated in an excavation.

The addition of the southern nave did not take place before the 15th century, presumably at some point in the Venetian period. It seems that the dome-hall collapsed during the Ottoman period, probably in the 18th century. As a result, the southern nave was transformed into a single nave church. The arch was walled up and buttresses added to the northern (and southern) exterior walls of the nave. It seems, that in the same process the church was expanded by one bay to the west, perhaps also the vault renewed according to the 16th century shape.

This remodelled church did not survive for long – it was already ruined in the early 20th century, thus it had collapsed most likely during the 19th century.

LOCALITY: Vouno	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Romanos
GEO-DATA: 35.271549, 33.390986		CAT. NO: 240

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Vouno

TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse

WINDOWS: –

PORTALS: [replaced]

VAULTING: pointed barrel vault

MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the apse

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: –

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 15th–16th century: erection of the building

- early 20th century: restored, portal replaced

PAINTED DECORATION:

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BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 276; Gunnis 1936, p 464.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 02.04.2012

In the village centre of Vouno stands the small church of Saint Romanos. Before 1974, the building was in use as church of the Maronites, as is described by Gunnis in 1936. The village is known as being inhabited by parts of the Maronite community at least since 1596, when it is mentioned by Dandidni. The account of Jeffery from 1918 raises some doubt concerning the original dedication of the church: he speaks of a church of Saint Romanos, used by the Maronites, which was situated next to a mule path between Vouno and the Chrysostomos monastery near Koutsovendis. Could this be the ruin known by the name of Saint George today?²³¹ The village church itself, described as 'recently restored', is not mentioned with a dedication by Jeffery.

Be this as it may, the church was either still built for the Greek community or is at least totally in accordance with the most modest of late medieval Greek churches of the island. It is of a short single nave with an externally polygonal, three-sided apse. Buttresses are placed on all four corners. Except for a moulded flagstaff holder above the apse, the exterior is plain and devoid of sculptural decoration. The portal was replaced in the restoration mentioned by Jeffery. The barrel-vaulted interior was restored after 1974; it is entirely whitewashed and devoid of any element of interest.

²³¹ Most recently Prokopiou 2006, p 318–322.

LOCALITY: Vrysoulles	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 35.076699, 33.879850		CAT. NO: 241

DESCRIPTION:

ENVIRONMENT: in the modern village of Vrysoulles, in an area that had been largely deserted at the beginning of the 20th century

TYPOLOGY: dome-hall church with semicircular apse, [destroyed southern nave with apse and narthex]

WINDOWS: apse: pointed, chamfered, with horizontal drip mould; dome: chamfered, round arched; western gable: rectangular, chamfered

PORTALS: western portal: rectangular doorway with quarter circle corbels, pointed horseshoe-shaped recessed tympanum above

VAULTING: pointed barrel vaults, central dome

MISCELLANEOUS: four flagstaff holders on the dome drum

SOURCES:

WRITTEN: –

PICTORIAL: Drawings by Edmond Duthoit, 1862 (in: Bonato, Severis 1999, fig 11, 12); DOA J.23.799–803 (1971); B.47.889–893 (1978); B.51.464, 52.602,369–70, 598 (1979); B.53.328, 390–392 (1980).

OTHER: –

BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:

- 14th century: erection of the dome-hall church
- 16th century: addition of a southern nave and narthex
- before 1862: destruction of the southern nave and narthex

PAINTED DECORATION:

Numerous fragments of a painted decoration in all parts of the church. Jeffery saw them still “fairly well preserved”. Today most of the fragmented parts are blackened, so except for the Virgin Orans in the apse and an archangel in the southern dome arch, no scenes can be identified. The paintings were executed after the expansion, probably in the 16th century.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

Jeffery 1918, p 229; Gunnis 1936, p 153–154.
ARDAC 1999, p 25.

PLAN MATERIAL:

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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010; 16.04.2012

About the church of Saint George in Vrysoulles, George Jeffery writes in 1918 that “the well preserved dome of St. George [...] forms a conspicuous landmark for many miles in this flat region”. This visual impact was presumably the factor, which attracted Edmond Duthoit in 1862 to draw the church – one of the few rural Greek churches in the pictorial documentation of his travels through Cyprus. Much has changed in the surroundings since then: the church now stands in the modern village of Vrysoulles and can only be found with the help of numerous signposts. The church itself, in contrast, changed only marginally since the 19th century.

The medieval building consisted of two naves, the northern of which is preserved, and a narthex. The preserved building is a dome-hall structure of the classical hierarchized type, with lower corner compartments and triangular gables to each side, all surmounted by a round, high dome drum. In the east, there is a rather narrow semicircular apse. Only the building corners are accentuated with ashlar masonry, but the sculptural details of the exterior reveal a considerable level of architectural quality. The apse window is pointed, framed by a deep chamfer and surmounted by a horizontal drip mould. The latter only appears in one other occasion in Cyprus, at the church of Saint Nicholas of the Greeks in Famagusta [70]. The dome windows are round arched, chamfered, while a rectangular chamfered window is placed in the western gable. Of the originally two portals, the western one is preserved: it is rectangular, with heavy quarter circle corbels and surmounted by a recessed tympanum of pointed horseshoe-shape. Most parts of the building show a pronounced chamfered cornice, which has been strongly restored but, as the drawing of Duthoit shows, is based on the original design. Four flagstaff holders with ornamented flat bases adorn the dome drum.

The interior is of surprisingly steep proportions. The deep lateral dome arches and the barrel vaults in the west and east are sharply pointed; the dome rises seamlessly from the high, round drum. High arched recesses are placed in the lateral walls of the western and eastern bay. A string course, resembling that of the exterior, serves as impost for the dome arches and the barrel vaults as well as for the semidome of the apse. The fragments of a painted cycle, still ‘fairly well preserved’ in 1918, are now damaged to an extent that hardly any scene can be identified.

The date of erection of this dome-hall lies certainly in the earlier Latin period. Gunnis suggested the 13th century, perhaps due to the classical hierarchized layout, which can also be found in, among others, the 13th century church of Saint Demetrianos in Dali.²³²

²³² See chapter 2.4.

Nevertheless, the decoration forms of windows and portal are most comparable with 14th century designs from nearby Famagusta – except for the flagstaff holders, which seem to be a later design.

To the south of this 14th century building, a now destroyed second nave had been added at some later point. In this process, the southern dome arch of the old church was opened and subsequently walled up again above a lower pointed archway, which connected both naves. The same principle was used for the south-eastern lateral recess, which was transformed into a connection between the bema bays of both naves. The remains of the southern nave show that it was narrower and longer than the previous building, covered with a barrel vault with transversal arches on trapezoidal corbels (one is preserved). In the east, there was a semicircular apse. The western bay opened up towards north with a wide arch, still shown on the drawing of Duthoit as last part of the southern nave (today, only the eastern arch springer remains). This evidence is rather problematic, as the western portal of the old church had not been removed and no foundations can be found west of it. Was there a wooden narthex, which communicated with the northern nave through the original portal, but with the southern one through the documented wide arch? Or was it planned to build a western expansion to the northern nave as well, but this plan then given up? In any case, in the same phase the dome-hall received its painted decoration: in the southern dome arch, the fragments continue on those surfaces, which were only created by the changes of the second building phase. As the paintings are hard to date, the trapezoidal shape of the vault corbel must suffice to date the second phase to the 16th century.

LOCALITY: Xylofagou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint George
GEO-DATA: 34.976286, 33.848459		CAT. NO: 242
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the village centre of Xylofagou; immediately north of the 20 th century successor		
TYPOLOGY: single nave church with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: western portal: chamfered rectangular doorway with moulded corbels, recessed rounded tympanum above monolithic lintel; northern portal: chamfered rectangular doorway with moulded corbels; southern portal: chamfered rectangular doorway with corbels, decorated with coat of arms		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: flagstaff holder above the western gable		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: –		
PICTORIAL: DOA B.39.909–911 (1975); B.49.862–873, 50.300–302, 318–322 (1979); J.72.175–179 (1993) [only of the paintings].		
OTHER: –		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- around 1500: erection of the church- 18th century: additional western bay- 19th century: replacement of the windows		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ in the vault of the eastern bays, dated to the late 15 th century by Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 438 (but appear to be later). A Saint George with vita scenes on the southern wall dated 1772 by an inscription. Further Christological scenes in the western bay and an Archangel Michael on the northern wall painted 1805.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 465; Stylianos, Stylianos 1997, p 438–439; Der Parthog 2006, p 314. ARDAC 1993, p 22; 1994, p 22; 2003, p 27; 2008, p 29–30.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 16.04.2012 [exterior only]		

The old village church of Xylophagou, today dwarfed by its modern successor immediately to the south, is a simple, elongated single nave structure, built from rubble with ashlar inserted in the corners. The semicircular apse is flanked by the protruding lateral wall ends, which are sloped at the height of the apse cornice. The latter is the only element of sculpture, except for the portals; it shows a roll-and-cavetto moulding.

The three portals, in the north, south and west, are of similar designs: rectangular, chamfered doorways with corbels. The latter are moulded in two cases with a sequence of a chamfer, hollow, roll and hollow, all separated by quirks. In the southern portal, where only the eastern corbel is preserved, it carries the relief of a coat of arms. It shows a double-headed eagle, above the shield two bird heads and, in the corners, crosses erected on hills.

This coat of arms resembles to some extent the one, which is painted above the apex of the apse on the inside, and described by Stylianou as "blazoned per pale gules and argent, a double-headed eagle displayed with wings inverted sable, crowned or, in each talon a roundel".²³³ Stylianou continues in interpreting the coat of arms as sign of a noble donor, who presumably was of Greek origin. The suggestion that the double-headed eagle indicates a connection with Helena Palaeologina might be supported by the tombstone of Demetri Paleologo, bearing a coat of arms with a double-headed eagle as well. However, the motif is rather generic or at least widely disseminated with smaller variations: double headed eagles also appear in armorial context for example in the 16th century paintings of Saint Andronikos, Tersefanou [224] or on the (repainted) iconostasis of the church of the Archangel in Pedoulas (commonly dated to the later 15th century).²³⁴ Therefore, a precise identification requires further research.

In any case, the well-preserved painted decoration of the interior, in particular that of the eastern vault bays, helps to date the church. Stylianou suggests a late-15th century date for the scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ of the first phase of the decoration, but it might also be of the first decades of the 16th century. Thus, the eastern bays of the church were built around 1500.

Even if there is no conspicuous joint in the lateral church walls, the position of the lateral portals (which were in the centre of the original walls) and the interruption of the 15th/16th century paintings prove that the western bay of the church was added subsequently. In the process, the flagstaff holder and portal of the old western façade were reused in the new context. This rebuilding might have taken place in around 1770, surely before 1805, when the western vault was decorated with those scenes that had previously occupied the now destroyed western wall.

²³³ Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 438.

²³⁴ For Pedoulas Stylianou, Stylianou 1997, p 331–343.

LOCALITY: Xylofagou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint George Potamou
GEO-DATA: 34.969192, 33.900222		CAT. NO: 243
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: 4 km east of Xylofagou at the site of Potamos, the harbour of the surrounding villages; right next to the Demitriou fish taverna		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: unarticulated		
PORTALS: [replaced]		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches		
MISCELLANEOUS: lateral pointed recesses		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: —		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- 14 th –15 th century (?): erection of the church above the ruin of an older building		
- 20 th century: western wall rebuilt		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
Gunnis claims that "all frescoes are whitewashed". Today there is no plaster and no trace of a painted decoration, so it is not clear if it was lost or never there.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Gunnis 1936, p 465; Der Parthog 2006, p 315.		
ARDAC 2003, p 29; 2004, p 38 [16 th century date suggested].		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
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DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 04.03.2013		

Near the modern harbour of Potamos stands the chapel of Saint George, a small building of rustic description. It consists of a single nave with a semicircular apse. The latter is flanked by the protruding ends of the lateral walls, functioning as abutment. The masonry is a mixture of rubble and (reused) ashlar. Not only the building material indicates that the church was built over the ruin of a more ancient structure, but also the presence of massive foundation walls just beside the current lateral walls. In the west, these continue to form an additional space, perhaps what was described as 'ruined narthex' by Gunnis. In the southern wall, there is a low flat arch, within which five column shafts are placed on the ground. This is entirely unique and hardly explicable – perhaps, it was an open niche or access to a subterranean space, which was later filled with the material remaining on site?

The interior is covered with a roughly pointed barrel vault, which is supported by a transversal arch springing from amorphous corbels. In the southern wall, there is a large pointed recess, two smaller lateral recesses are in the eastern bema area. The masonry, despite a certain homogeneity (a result of a 20th century restoration), reveals several irregularities and joints, such as one in the southern wall west of the recess. It is likely that the structure was rebuilt or repaired on several subsequent occasions. The western wall seems to be entirely new. Gunnis suspected that there should be paintings under the whitewash, which covered the interior, when he saw the church in the 1930s. However, today there is no plaster and no trace of a painted decoration, so it is not clear if the latter was lost or only product of an idea of Gunnis.

Due to its archaic character, it is nearly impossible to date the church. Details such as the protruding lateral walls in the east and the pointed recess on the inside indicate that at least an important building phase or general rebuilding might have taken place during the 14th or 15th century.

LOCALITY: Xylotymvou	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Marina
GEO-DATA: 35.020436, 33.733322		CAT. NO: 244
DESCRIPTION:		
ENVIRONMENT: in the centre of a large monastic complex, currently consisting of not less than nine churches, if those of Saint Basilios (12 th or 13 th century) and Saint Jonah (20 th century) 200 m further north are included		
TYPOLOGY: single nave with semicircular apse		
WINDOWS: [replaced]		
PORTALS: southern portal: pointed arch		
VAULTING: pointed barrel vault with two transversal arches on corbels and one on engaged piers		
MISCELLANEOUS: —		
SOURCES:		
WRITTEN: —		
PICTORIAL: DOA J.15.833 (1969); B.77.773, J.57.782–783 (1988); J.61.703–712, 770, 785 (1989).		
OTHER: —		
BUILDING CHRONOLOGY:		
- around 1500: erection of the church		
- 16 th –17 th century: eastern expansion by one bay		
PAINTED DECORATION:		
In the western parts of the vault, large parts of a Christological cycle remain. Best preserved are the Empty Tomb, the Anastasis and the Presentation in the Temple. The vault ribs are adorned by foliage ornaments and busts of prophets. The unpublished paintings seem to be of around 1500.		
BIBLIOGRAPHY:		
Jeffery 1918, p 197; Gunnis 1936, p 466.		
ARDAC 1988, p 25, fig 19–20.		
PLAN MATERIAL:		
—		
DATE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION: 13.04.2010		

The church of Saint Marina, north-west of Xylotymvou, was situated in a vast empty field until the 1980s. Today, it is surrounded by an agglomeration of several modern churches of partly impressive scale, owing to the reestablishment of an important ecclesiastic centre at the site. The church of Saint Marina now is surrounded by the central cloister.

It is a low, single nave building with a semicircular apse. Built from rubble, the exterior is devoid of any decorative elements – even the pointed southern portal is very plain. The interior is divided into four bays by transversal arches, the two in the west springing from vaguely trapezoidal corbels, while the eastern one, narrower and pointed, rests on engaged piers. This variation is easily explained by the presence of a painted Passion cycle in the vault of the eastern bays – the western bay in contrast is empty: apparently, the original apse was taken down at some point, so that only the former apse wall remained as transversal arch. The added bay served as new bema area, so that the stronger separation from the nave was even beneficial in a functional context.

The paintings, which are unpublished, seem to date to around 1500. This is most likely also the date of erection of the original church, while the expansion might date to the 16th or 17th century.

PART II

CATALOGUE OF VANISHED CHURCHES

LOCALITY: Agioi Trimithias [35.114616, 33.210411]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saints Sergios and Bacchos CAT. No. CCXLV
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 301, only mentions the current building, erected around 1900.

Gunnis 1936, p 193: "Little remains from the original building except a fine west doorway, and the fragment of another doorway is built into the north wall."

DESCRIPTION:

Uncertain shape and date – certainly late medieval, as Gunnis would probably only have called the portal 'fine', if it was more elaborately decorated, so in a style hardly thinkable before the 14th century.

TODAY:

The church from around 1900, described already by Jeffery and Gunnis, still exists. However, it seems to have been renovated and enlarged in the 1950s, which erased the traces of its predecessor entirely.

LOCALITY: Agios Isidoros [35.002884, 32.472543]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCXLVI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 433: "Near Steni are the Turkish hamlets of St. Isidoros and Myrimikoph; each still contains the ruins of a mediaeval church dating from before the time of the Turkish conquest."

DESCRIPTION:

The church presumably was a simple single nave building with semicircular apse. The date is unknown.

TODAY:

There is a modern garage-like chapel of poorest quality on the same site, built around 2010. Only the irregular shape of the apse indicates that parts of the ruin were integrated.

LOCALITY: Akrotiri [34.602186, 32.954341]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Holy Cross CAT. No. CCXLVII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 373: "[...] small rustic church [...]"

Gunnis 1936, p 155: "[...] large, ugly, modern building [...]"

DESCRIPTION:

Uncertain shape and date. Probably the usual single nave building with semicircular apse.

TODAY:

The location is occupied by the church of 1920 seen by Gunnis, which was again remodelled in the second half of the 20th century.

LOCALITY: Anageia [35.071364, 33.253688]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saints Vichinos and Nomon (?) CAT. No. CCXLVIII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 301: "[...] dedicated to Ay. Bissianos [...]. Ruins of an older church, which the present building evidently replaces, adjoin it on the north."

Gunnis 1936, p 164: "The church of Ss Vichinos and Nomon was built in 1866 and the ruins of its medieval predecessor lie to the north. From a former church comes an early eighteenth century rood cross, and above the west door a sixteenth century marble shield with a coat of arms of four quarterings."

DESCRIPTION:

Not much can be said about the original church. The unidentified coat of arms shows a division into four quarterings, with four crosses each, and could not be identified. It is framed by a cusped arch with a putto-like head, the latter indicating a rather late date, and might or might not come from the ruined predecessor. If we assume Gunnis' suggestion to be true, this would have likely been a 16th century church.

TODAY:

The ruins observed by Jeffery and Gunnis have since vanished. The current church was built in two phases (the walls were all raised by several layers), so that the 1866 date could refer to the extension rather than the erection. The coat of arms might thus have been placed above the western door already during the presumed first phase, maybe in the 18th century.

LOCALITY: Androlikou [location unknown]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Andronikos (?) CAT. No. CCXLIX
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 411: "[...] a few traces survive of early Byzantine Art in the village church."

Gunnis 1936, p 165: "The mosque of this Turkish village is built on the site of the Church of St. Andronikos, of which a few fragments can still be seen built into the walls."

DESCRIPTION:

Jeffery seems to describe the church of Saint Andronikos, apparently a medieval building, which included older *spolia*, perhaps the same that were as well built into the new mosque. Shape and date of the former church remain uncertain. A 15th century tombstone seen in the village by Gunnis, now lost, could indicate a former importance of the settlement during this period.

TODAY:

The mosque has recently been plastered anew and is kept locked. No traces of the fragments reported by Gunnis are visible on the outside.

LOCALITY: Arediou [35.047494, 33.195882]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCL
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 300: "Near the high road is another church, St. George, of some antiquity, but now undergoing rebuilding."

Gunnis 1936, p 172: "[...] modern church [...]".

DESCRIPTION:

Uncertain shape and date. An apparently ancient church (Gunnis reports 16th century plates in the treasure) was, as many others, replaced by a larger new building in 1908–1915.

TODAY:

The 20th century building still stands; apart from the furnishings, a late antique cross-shaped baptismal font in the courtyard testifies to the historicity of the church in this location.

LOCALITY: Avdimou [34.693734, 32.760772]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: ? CAT. No. CCLI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 233: "The principal mosque is erected on the site of the ancient church, a number of stones from which are built into its walls."

DESCRIPTION:

Uncertain shape and date.

TODAY:

Gunnis' assumption cannot be verified today, as the mosque is almost entirely plastered. No traces of ancient dressed or sculpted stones are visible. Bağışkan 2009, p 303–305, does not mention *spolia*; however, this is not surprising as he saw the mosque in the same, plastered state.

LOCALITY: Dora [34.780168, 32.737995]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Marina CAT. No. CCLII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 220: "The Church of St. Marina is carefully built of well-cut stone. On the south side is an arcade with five arches carried on square pillars. The south door has an inscription recording the building of the church in 1598. Above this is a tympanum with

zigzag moulding. The interior is without interest – save for an early sixteenth-century icon of Christ supported by St. John the Baptist and St. John the Divine.”

DESCRIPTION:

The building itself was presumably built from ashlar, but of uncertain shape, except for the open porch flanking the south side. Gunnis’ description of the southern portal allows us to identify it as a chevron portal, surely resembling those in the nearby churches of Potamiou [189] and Fini [78], created in the 1550s. If we follow Gunnis, the church of Dora was built in 1598, so after the period discussed in this catalogue. It was nevertheless included due to the apparent relation of the described portal with the other 16th century churches. Furthermore, it seems possible that Gunnis misread the date, which was probably carved onto the lintel in Greek numerals, as in Potamiou. In a clumsy, carved inscription, the 90, written as a ‘koppa’ (Ϟ) could have easily resembled a minuscule ‘xi’ for 60 (ξ). Unfortunately, it is impossible to verify this, as no pictures of the church remain.

TODAY:

The church was replaced by a new building in the second half of the 20th century. Nothing remains of the predecessor, except for the icons described by Gunnis.

LOCALITY: Dora [34.777163, 32.737865]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Pantanasa CAT. No. CCLIII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 220: “Above the village is a large church dedicated to the Virgin. According to a local legend an ancient church stood here, but was destroyed some years ago.”

DESCRIPTION:

Uncertain shape and date.

TODAY:

The ancient church, not mentioned by Jeffery, was replaced by a new building in the 1920s, as described by Gunnis.

LOCALITY: Elia [35.335723, 33.219493]	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael CAT. No. CCLIV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 222: “[...] medieval ruined church [...]”.

Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 147–148, describes a church with semicircular apse and western portal. The adjoining picture of the overgrown site shows a double quarter circle corbel with traces of a painted decoration.

DESCRIPTION:

Apparently, the church was a usual single nave building with semicircular apse, a barrel vault and double quarter circle corbels.

TODAY:

The church is in the last state of decay. A heap of rubble close to the location marked on older Ordnance Survey maps, strongly overgrown, might be the only remaining rest of the building. A clearing of the site would certainly produce new evidence.

LOCALITY: Elia [35.336074, 33.215550]	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas CAT. No. CCLV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 221–222: “The Church of St. Nicholas has been recently rebuilt. Placed against one of the buttresses of the north wall is a gypsum tomb slab with the life-size figure of a man in armour, with a coat of arms on his shield. From the style of the armour this probably dates from the end of the fifteenth century. The Greek inscription which runs round the edge is much destroyed and the only words still legible are ‘died February 23rd’.

Another curious mediaeval relic is placed on the roof of the apse, a headless figure holding two shields with coats of arms: The armorial bearings are much destroyed but appear to be lions rampant.”

Imhaus 2004, I, p 273 on the tombstone: “Effigie d’un homme d’armes chypriote, peut-être un chevalier portant un écu à ses armes.”; Inscription: “[... son âme est] dans le cieux et son corps est resté en terre, lui qui est mort le 23 février 15[...]

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape of the church is unknown. The two fragments, which seem to come from the previous building on the same site, attest its Greek foundation and a certain importance at the time when it was built. The tombstone is complete but heavily abraded – the date, not deciphered by Gunnis, revealing only the first two numbers 15, thus a *terminus post quem* of 1500. The figure holding the shield, still placed above the eastern gable, might come from a funerary monument, perhaps connected to the same burial place (a funerary chapel?) as the tombstone – even if this (hypothetical suggestion) would be unique for Cyprus. The coat of arms of the figure does not show a lion rampant but something that appears to be a (double-headed?) eagle – the coat of arms on the tombstone is abraded beyond recognition, but the vague, symmetric motif in the upper part might well be two eagles’ heads.

The tombstone hardly suffices to date the vanished church, but parallel cases such as the Acheiropoietos church in Lambousa [126] would make it seem possible that a significant phase of restoration or enlargement happened contemporaneously with the interment.

TODAY:

The church of 1876 (1925–1930 according to Imhaus) is unchanged although currently disused. Both fragments appear to be in a slightly but not shockingly worse state than in the 1930s.

LOCALITY: Episkopi [precise location unknown]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Mamas CAT. NO. CCLVI
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REFERENCE:

Du Plat Taylor 1938, p 55–61: “Nothing now remains of the church and its surrounding buildings but a mound of stones. A few of the villagers said that the walls were standing some fifty years ago, but the stones were then taken to build the new church.”

Thompson 2006, p 44–45, refers to the evidence presented by Du Plat Taylor.

DESCRIPTION:

Du Plat Taylor uncovered the footings of two apses, one built within the other, during excavation works in 1934. The outer apse was built of regular limestone, the inner of less regular material. Du Plat Taylor interprets this as two phases. The first phase would have been a multi nave building (no date or evidence for the existence of a second nave is given); the second phase a *Reduktionsbau* of max. 15 m to 20 m length. The published pictures and plans do not allow for a more detailed interpretation of the evidence.

TODAY:

Nothing is left as the stones were reused as material for the new village church of Saint Paraskevi in 1909.

LOCALITY: Episkopi [site not located]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia Chrysanayiotissa CAT. NO. CCLVII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 228: “[...] ruins of a large and important medieval church [...], nothing [...] remains except the west end [...]”.

Du Plat Taylor 1938, p 61–72: “This church is situated on a ridge to the southwest of the village. It stands just below the brow of the hill, but now only the west end of the barrel vault remains. This church also was depleted to construct the present building.”

Thompson 2006, p 46, refers to the evidence presented by Du Plat Taylor.

Prokopiou 2013, p 263, assumes it to have been a cross-in-square church of the middle Byzantine period, but points out that the site is awaiting future excavations.

DESCRIPTION:

The historic descriptions of the western end, still standing in the 1930s, indicate a simple but rather large single nave structure with a barrel vault. Du Plat Taylor uncovered the footings of a (five-sided?) polygonal apse during excavation works in 1934 (Du Plat Taylor 1938, plan IIIa), presumably indicating a post-1400 date. Only future excavations will show if this assumption is true, or rather the middle Byzantine date proposed by Prokopiou.

TODAY:

The precise site could not be located, as the church is not marked on the cadastral maps. Nothing is left over ground, as the stones of the western end were removed after the 1930s.

LOCALITY: Episkopi [34.668590, 32.905399]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Anthony CAT. No. CCLVIII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 228: "[...] the ruins of a tiny chapel dedicated to St. Anthony, but nothing now remains save the apse with a charming double lancet window."

DESCRIPTION:

One might assume a single nave church with semicircular apse, the latter pierced by a double window. This might hint towards a pre-14th century date, when biforate round arched windows could be found occasionally in the Cypriot architecture. However, the term "lancet" evokes the image of a later window such as the one in Saint George Akrotiri [26], there a triple lancet.

TODAY:

The ruin has been replaced by a modern house or was removed during the widening of the adjoining street or sidewalk.

LOCALITY: Eptagonia [precise location unknown]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint Photios CAT. No. CCLIX
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 226: "[...] the poorly repaired chapel of St. Photios, in which is preserved a superb iconostasis of the late sixteenth century in an excellent state of repair."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape and age is uncertain, but the presence of a 16th century iconostasis might indicate this as original date of erection.

TODAY:

Saint Photios is venerated in a recent roadside shrine. No traces of an ancient chapel are visible. The whereabouts of the iconostasis are uncertain.

LOCALITY: Erimi [34.666165, 32.921427]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCLX
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 233: "[...] now in ruins, save for the west end, in which the ribs of the vaulting are carried on pillars with plain capitals."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. It does not seem to have been a church of the standard barrel-vaulted type, even if it is possible that Gunnis described the remains of a rib-vaulted narthex rather than nave.

TODAY:

The present church is a garage-like building, probably of the 1950s. No traces of the predecessor are visible.

LOCALITY: Galateia [35.422541, 34.072731]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Marina CAT. NO. CCLXI
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REFERENCE:

Bağışkan 2009, p 237–239: “Quarrying and gathering apart, stones were taken from nearby Venetian churches, from the medieval graveyard west to the mosque, and especially from the church of Agia Marina in the location called Gopsa to the west of the village pool.”

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. The church was made from regular ashlar, which were, according to the local tradition recounted by Bağışkan, reused in the building of the village mosque in 1882–98.

TODAY:

It is not clear, if the mosque occupies the site of the medieval church. Bağışkan 2009, p 238, refers to a church of Saint Marina that was used as mosque from the 16th century on, thus the predecessor of the 19th century mosque, and to a church of Saint Marina in a different location (see above). The latter remains as a ruin and is known as Saint Sozomenos [84] as well. It is somewhat improbable that a small village such as Galateia possessed two churches dedicated to Saint Marina (a dedication, which is not encountered as often as the more widespread Saint George or the Panagia). In consequence, it seems more likely that stones came from both churches alike. In any case, no traces of the former main village church, except for the allegedly reused ashlar, remain.

LOCALITY: Galinoporni [precise location unknown]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Anne CAT. NO. CCLXII
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REFERENCE:

Enlart 1899, p 409: “Galinoporni [...] conserve deux petites églises dès longtemps désaffectées; elles appartiennent à un style mixte et bâtard.”

[Enlart 1987, p 313: “[In] Galinoporni [...] there are two small churches that have been deconsecrated for a long time. They are specimen of a mixed and bastard style.”]

Gunnis 1936, p 238: “About a mile outside and close to the ruined church of Saint Anna is a remarkable tomb [...]”

Photographic Archive of the Department of Antiquities, A.3790 (ca 1900).

DESCRIPTION:

It is not entirely clear, which of the two churches of Galinoporni referred to by Enlart, was dedicated to Saint Anne, which to Saint George. To make matters more complicated, the two photographs preserved of ruined churches in Galinoporni (taken around 1900) clearly show two different buildings but only give the latter dedication. The cadastral map of 1915

indicates one 'church in ruins' near the village mosque. As this is not near the large tomb cave (east of the village), as described by Gunnis for Saint Anne, the village church might have been that of Saint George.

One of the preserved photographs shows a church ruin without surrounding houses, more likely to be the one dedicated to Saint Anne. It was already heavily ruined in 1900 and only parts of the lateral walls and the apse remained of the building. It was a single nave church, erected largely from regular ashlar (with some rubble forming the lower courses of the inner wall shell, perhaps late repairs). Two transversal arches, springing from flat quarter circle corbels, carried the vault (surely a barrel vault). The apse possessed a heavy, chamfered string course.

The church was certainly built in the later Latin period, presumably in the 16th century, and fell into ruin when the Greek Christian community left the village during the Ottoman period.

TODAY:

Nothing remains of a church at the approximate location.

LOCALITY: Galinoporni [35.521132, 34.300982]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. NO. CCLXIII
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REFERENCE:

Enlart 1899, p 409: "Galinoporni [...] conserve deux petites églises dès longtemps désaffectées; elles appartiennent à un style mixte et bâtard : l'une d'elles a au nord un portail en tiers-point orné d'une baguette et d'un gros boudin flanqué de deux gorges remplies de fleurettes en pointe de diamant; il s'encadre d'une archivoltte en cavet avec retours horizontaux chargés de deux disques ou besants. Ce portail semble rapporté à la place qu'il occupe. [...] il est probable, toutefois, qu'il est assez ancien, car il ne présente pas le tore à méplat de la fin du style gothique, qui a été adopté en Chypre avec une véritable prédilection."

[Enlart 1987, p 313: "[In] Galinoporni [...] there are two small churches that have been deconsecrated for a long time. They are specimen of a mixed and bastard style. One of them has a pointed doorway on its north side carved with a bead mould and a thick torus with, on either side, grooves filled with a diaper of small flowers. Over it is a cavetto hood-mould with horizontal returns charged with two discs or besants. This doorway appears to have been brought here from somewhere else. [...] it is probably fairly old since it makes no use of the flattened variety of torus which marks the late Gothic style and which enjoyed a powerful vogue when adopted in Cyprus."]

De Vaivre 2012, p 76. The image of the portal was taken by Camille Enlart in 1896 and is here wrongly described as "porte de maison".

Photographic Archive of the Department of Antiquities, A.3791 (ca 1900).

DESCRIPTION:

It is not entirely clear, which of the two churches of Galinoporni referred to by Enlart, was dedicated to Saint Anne, which to Saint George. To make matters more complicated, the two photographs preserved of ruined churches in Galinoporni (taken around 1900) clearly

show two different buildings but only give the latter dedication. The cadastral map of 1915 indicates one 'church in ruins' near the village mosque. As this is not near the large tomb cave (east of the village), as described by Gunnis for Saint Anne, the village church might have been that of Saint George.

One of the preserved photographs shows the inside of the eastern end of a church ruin. It is less heavily ruined than the church of Saint Anne; as it seems only the vault is missing. It is a single nave structure with a wide, rather high semicircular apse. The barrel vault seems to have rested on transversal arches with semicircular corbels. The most important feature of the church was the northern portal, described in detail by Enlart and known from his photograph. It was of the stepped type and employed a continuous moulding for jambs and archivolt. The moulding profile consisted of a central roll without fillet flanked by flat hollows, occupied by dogtooth moulding, and a lateral roll. The hood mould shows a cavetto profile and is decorated with small rose reliefs on the horizontal returns.

The church was certainly built in the later Latin period. The portal can be dated to the mid- or later 15th century. Enlart suggested that it was placed here in secondary use, but the horizontal joints could also indicate that it was just commissioned in Famagusta and brought here in parts, instead of being carved on site.

TODAY:

Nothing remains of a church in the location marked on the 1915 cadastral map.

LOCALITY: Gypsou [35.260415, 33.786732]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCLXIV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 240: "In the centre of the village stands the sixteenth-century Church of St. George, a double-aisled building, perhaps originally a single-aisled church with a second aisle added at a later date, for the exterior of one of the apses is hexagonal, while the other is rounded. The altar is formed from a magnificent fragment of a Byzantine marble plaque carved with a geometric pattern, possibly dating from the twelfth century. The early eighteenth-century proskenetaron has an unusual feature, in that the lower panels are painted, with portraits of the four evangelists. Outside lies a vast circular stone font, which according to village tradition was used for the baptism of those of riper years."

DESCRIPTION:

The spatial arrangement of the church is well known thanks to Gunnis' description. It used to be a structure of two naves, of which at least the one nave with a polygonal apse surely dated to the 15th or 16th century. The two apses are confirmed by the plan of the church on the cadastral map, which also shows a slight recess in the western end of the northern nave. The outer shape might have originally resembled the nearby church of Lapathos [124], but there are no photographs of the building to verify this. Two cross-shaped arcade capitals of slightly different size and design in the present churchyard, if indeed part of the original structure, might indicate that both naves could have possessed groin vaults with transversal arches. However, they might as well be part of a 19th century remodelling, as similar capitals were used for example in the mid-19th century church of Saint Menas in Lapithos (there, in

turn, some of the capitals and columns might remain from a more ancient building on the same site as well).²³⁵

TODAY:

The present building (used as a mosque since 1974) was erected in 1968, as an inscription on the bell tower states. Numerous fragments of several predecessors are preserved in the churchyard. Two marble columns and a capital, as well as the ornamented marble plaque with interlacing pattern mentioned by Gunnis – now placed above the southern door –, should be dated to the 6th century rather than the 12th century.²³⁶ These *spolia* either were brought here from Salamis or, more likely, indicate the presence of a yet unknown Late Antique church below or nearby. The cross-shaped capitals could perhaps be part of the central arcade of the medieval or post-medieval church (see above). The stone basin mentioned by Gunnis is still on site, albeit heavily weathered.

LOCALITY: Ineia [34.954817, 32.394353]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael CAT. NO. CCLXV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 240: "[...] ruined, but a fine boss with a cross in relief lies amid the tumbled stonework."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape and date of the church are uncertain. The mentioned "boss with a cross relief" could have been a lintel or central keystone of a portal arch, but also part of the vaulting system.

TODAY:

The present building was erected in 1950, replacing the ruin of its predecessor. It is a small single nave structure with a polygonal apse, entirely built from (mostly modern?) ashlar. The apse might use the foundations of the older church.

LOCALITY: Ineia [location unknown]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint James CAT. NO. CCLXVI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 240: "[...] a small mediaeval building with fragments of frescoes on its walls. A most unusual feature is that a small Chapel of St. Agapios is joined to the main Church of St. James, the apse forming its west end; the only entrance is on the south side. It is impossible to explain this except by the supposition that the second church formed the tomb chamber of some saint."

²³⁵ Hadjichristodoulou 2006, p 335–336.

²³⁶ Kiessel 2012, p 377.

DESCRIPTION:

Since Gunnis' short description is the only reference to this highly interesting building, nothing more precise can be said about its style or age. While the idea of adding smaller building units onto slightly larger, older ones was rather common in Cyprus, this seems to have been one of the few example of a 'church family' i.e. two adjoined churches with independent, here even opposed apses.

Machairas mentions Saint Agapios to be venerated, together with Saint Kelandios and Saint Varlaam, in Arodhes - just two km south of Ineia.²³⁷ There, however, only a church of Saint Kelandios with the alleged tombs of Kelandios and Varlaam can be found. In consequence, the church seen by Gunnis might have been located between the villages and indeed functioned as place of veneration for Agapios since the Middle Ages.

TODAY:

It was impossible to locate the building site.

LOCALITY: Kallepia [34.844419, 32.500051]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. NO. CCLXVII
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REFERENCE:

Hogarth 1889, p 28 (quoted in Jeffery 1918, p 412–413): "The church has both the reputation and the appearance of great antiquity, and was formerly dependent on a monastery whose ruins are to be seen north-east of the village: the massive walls and narrow deep-set windows speak of a different period from that of most Cypriot churches, and I searched among the piles of mouldy service books rotting in the corners, with some hope of lighting upon MSS., but could only find the tattered leaves of a XVth century 'Minaia'. However, seated upon the top of the apse outside is a much older relic, a headless limestone statue, unearthed somewhere and brought here, no one could tell me when."

Gunnis 1936, p 243–244: "The ancient Church of St. George is now disused. It is a building of unusual shape, being as much as ninety feet long, but very narrow, and the walls are of great thickness. On the apse has been erected a headless female stone statue, probably from some Roman temple in the neighbourhood. All the icons and furnishings have been removed from the church and placed in a modern building, also dedicated to St. George."

Dumbarton Oaks Image Archive: one photograph of the 1960s (?).

DESCRIPTION:

As indicated by Hogarth and Gunnis, the church was apparently a single nave building of unusual length, a fact that is corroborated by the sketch plan shown on the cadastral map of 1915. Both authors refer to the remarkable wall thickness and an antique statue above the apse, but give no further information. A photograph, taken in around 1960 and kept in the Dumbarton Oaks Image Collection, might show the same building after half a century of disuse. Half overgrown, the building, erected from large ashlar, possesses a low, polygonal apse, which is flanked by heavy buttresses. Together with the bay west of the apse, it is covered with a pitched roof. There is no antique statue visible on the picture. The rest of the building is much higher on its southern front and covered with a single-pitch-roof, sloping

²³⁷ Machairas, § 32, in: Dawkins 1932, p 62.

towards the northern side and thus reminding of a domestic structure. The southern front seems to have been erected in several phases, as parts of it are set back. Due to the angle of the picture, not much more can be concluded about the original shape of the church. It seems as if the higher parts of the southern front were an addition of the 1930s, using material of other parts of the church to convert it for domestic use. The further story of its final ruin is unknown, as well as the original date of building. The polygonal apse, erected in ashlar masonry, might indicate a date in the 15th century for this part of the building.

TODAY:

In recent years, the site was apparently cleared and a new chapel built. This chapel possesses a polygonal apse, which might stand on the foundations of its predecessor – but no ancient fabric was included in the erection of the new building.

LOCALITY: Kalogenata [34.688546, 32.739296]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCLXVIII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 385: "An insignificant hamlet with a rustic chapel [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

Unclear shape and date. Presumably medieval (considering the type of buildings subsumed by Jeffery under the term 'rustic').

TODAY:

Still marked on the cadastral maps as "in ruin", the village has vanished except for few ruined domestic buildings.

LOCALITY: Kalopsida [35.094441, 33.795444]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia CAT. No. CCLXIX
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 200: "A small hamlet with an ancient church. [...] the church, built in the poorest style, is probably mediaeval in origin. It contains an iconostasis which retains portions of an earlier screen, and there is a well in the usual position – a mediaeval characteristic of Cyprus churches – on the north side of the sanctuary. Some rather good examples of icons may be observed in the interior, especially a large St. George. The church is dedicated to the B.V.M. [...]."

Gunnis 1936, p 248: "The principal church, dedicated to the B.V.M., is probably mediaeval. A hexagonal marble column with a Byzantine capital lies outside the west door. The church contains a well-painted icon of the Dormition of the Virgin, of the late sixteenth century, which has unfortunately at some period been damaged by fire."

DESCRIPTION:

It is not entirely clear, to which building Jeffery and Gunnis are referring, as they describe the church of Saint John in the same village as 'chapel'. The latter still exists but is rather

large and certainly served as main church for most of the 20th century until 1974. Nevertheless, the fact that the Panagia is not described as double nave building (which Saint John is), suggests that indeed a second church with medieval origins of considerable size existed in the village. Of this church, we only know that it was built over a well and possessed some ancient icons.

TODAY:

There is a church of the Panagia in Kalopsida, located in the south-eastern part of the village, which is a modern shed-like concrete structure. This might have replaced the medieval building in the 20th century. There is a large marble column base in front of the western façade, but the Byzantine column, seen by Gunnis, has vanished.

LOCALITY: Kantou	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia
		Chrysopolitissa
[location unknown]		CAT. NO. CCLXX

REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 251: "[...] of the fifteenth century B.V.M. Chrysopolitissa [...] little remains [...]".

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain, as the church was already heavily ruined in 1936, when Gunnis described it. Even the date might be doubted, as Gunnis also misdated the other two churches of Kantou to the 15th/16th century (Saint Marina and Saint Napa, probably 11th and 12th centuries).

TODAY:

It was impossible to locate the original site of the building, as it is not marked on any of the historic or modern maps reviewed by the author.

LOCALITY: Kiados	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Therapon (?)
[35.255786, 33.603166]		CAT. NO. CCLXXI

REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 242: "The village of Chatos is marked on the old map as 'Chiadis' and possesses some traces of antiquity in a mosque which appears to have been built out of a Latin church, possibly a seigneurial chapel."

Gunnis 1936, p 215: "The mosque is modern, though built on the site of a mediaeval church; fragments of which can be seen built into its walls, including part of a fine doorway with dog-tooth moulding."

Bağışkan 2009, p 234–236 gives a detailed account of the building history of the mosque, with reference to its past as church.

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain, as only sculptural fragments remain. These are, most notably, a hood mould with a double dogtooth profile above the modern west door of the mosque, fragments of a second hood mould included in the eastern and western gable windows, both with a roll moulding, and five book corbels placed in the façades of the mosque. The character of these fragments strongly suggests a 16th century date of the original building. Jeffery's identification as Latin seigneurial chapel is somehow more likely to be wrong than right, even if Bağışkan also speaks of a 'Catholic' origin. The suggested dedication to Saint Therapon is apparently based on the fact that the community of Kiados went to the church of Saint Therapon in nearby Angastina from a certain point on.

TODAY:

The current mosque, in which the fragments are included, was built in 1908–1909. Jeffery reports it as in use as a house in 1918, but probably he was only misled by the modest character of the rebuilding, which had taken place a decade before. The building is entirely plastered, so it is not possible to assess, how much of the original church remains. Bağışkan seems to suggest that either the foundations or even parts of the walls were reused. The hood mould indeed occupies a place, where it might have originally been. The mitred inner lintel of the doorway would corroborate this thought; the modern door jambs might have replaced the deteriorated medieval ones. The corbels and fragments of the other hood moulds are certainly not in their original place.

LOCALITY: Kofinou
[34.826814, 33.399960]

DISTRICT: Larnaca

DEDICATION: Saint Marina (?)
CAT. NO. CCLXXII

REFERENCE:

Drawing of Edmond Duthoit, with the title "ΚΟΦΙΝΟΥ, petite église grecque (en ruine), postérieure au XVe siècle", in: Bonato, Severis 1999, p 169.

DESCRIPTION:

The drawing includes a plan, transversal and longitudinal sections and an elevation of the southern front. Thus, we can get a comprehensive idea of the building. It was a short but relatively high dome-hall church of the hierarchized type (i.e. with lower corner compartments). The church was situated on top of a small hill, resulting in the apse being placed on top of a large massive foundation levelling the sloping hillside. Of the three portals in the north, west and south only the southern one is shown. Presumably, all were simple, rectangular, but seem to have been decorated with a continuous roll moulding and quarter circle corbels. Simple protruding hood moulds covered all three of them. On the inside, the corner compartments appeared as pointed recesses occupying most of the lateral walls in the eastern and western bays. These were covered in pointed barrel vaults, while a dome with high drum was placed over the central bay. The low apse and the dome drum possessed large round arched windows, while the wall above the apse was occupied by an oculus.

The type of portals and in particular the large round arched windows seem to indicate a rather late date of erection, perhaps in the mid-16th century.

TODAY:

The church evidently does not correspond to the preserved medieval church of the Panagia in Kofinou.²³⁸ As no dedication of the church is mentioned, it is unclear, where exactly it was located. The ruined church of Saint Iraklios north of the Panagia would stand in a matching topographical site, considering that it is built on top of a sloping hill, but the heavily ruined remains do not accord with the building shown by Duthoit. More likely, the latter was the old village church of Saint Marina, which is still shown on the topographical map of Kato Kofinou, a quarter, which is at the latest since 1974 almost entirely abandoned and today in most parts used for agricultural production.

LOCALITY: Koutrafas [35.103941, 32.977240]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia CAT. NO. CCLXXIII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 293: "[...] it is originally said to have been erected by that mysterious queen [...] of this original building remain the west and north doors [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape of the church is uncertain. Two portals, included in the 18th century building on the same site, seem to be assembled from fragments of the older structure. The western portal has (strongly restored) ashlar jambs with a roll moulding, hollowed marble chamfers, which carry a monolithic marble lintel. The lintel has a chamfer on its lower side, which reaches over the corbels, thus suggesting that the original portal opening was wider. The tympanum above is round arched and recessed; its frame is assembled from small voussoirs with a roll and hollow moulding. These appear not to be curved but rather cut trapezoidal from former jamb ashlars. The northern portal has restored jambs with a roll moulding as well, but here these lateral rolls end in small foliage capitals. The marble lintel, which rests on top, shows a chamfer on the bottom as well, but here it is aligned with the width of the portal.

The date of the original structure is hard to identify. The foliage capitals might be of the 14th or early 15th century. The use of marble *spolia* in rural churches of secondary importance is rather rare during this period and becomes only slightly more frequent in the Venetian period. Perhaps, the portals belonged to a 16th century building on the same site, which already included 14th century *spolia*.

TODAY:

The portals are part of the well-preserved 18th century church seen by Gunnis.

LOCALITY: Kyra [35.202751, 33.061746]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Stephen CAT. NO. CCLXXIV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 307: "Outside the west door [of the Panagia church] lie two very fine spirally fluted columns said to come from the ruined Church of St. Stephen".

²³⁸ On the Panagia see most recently Prokopiou 2006, p 369–383.

DESCRIPTION:

Situated in the centre of the village, it was presumably the original parish of Kyra before the rebuilding of the Panagia church [118] in 1879. The original shape of the church is uncertain, even if its imprint on the cadastral map seems to indicate a moderately sized single nave building with eastern apse. As the columns described by Gunnis are probably lost, due to the current use of Kyra as an army garrison, it is not possible to determine if they were rather late antique or Byzantine *spolia*, or showed a rope motif typical for the late medieval Venetian architecture – not to speak of the question, if they indeed came from the church.

TODAY:

According to the satellite image on Google Earth, the site of the church in the village centre seems to be occupied by a park for the soldiers stationed in the army garrison. It is not accessible for civilians, so it has to remain open whether any built traces of the church ruin remain, or if the site has been cleared.

LOCALITY: Kythrea	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Khardakiotissa
[35.258949, 33.485258]		CAT. No. CCLXXV

REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 270: "Panayia Khardakiotissa is the most important ancient monument in Kythrea. This church has however been fated to become one of the unfortunate victims of a universal desire on the part of Cyprus villagers to pull down and rebuild their ancient churches merely because they are old-fashioned. The building is now completely dismantled, and portions of the exterior masonry have been removed; the interior survives intact but for the removal of the iconostasion. Planned with three aisles and a central apse, the nave arcades consist of three arches on each side resting on short round columns with cushion capitals. The barrel vaulting of all three aisles is strengthened with ribs which on the south side descend on half columns forming a wall arcade. The effect of the picturesque interior is ancient although it is difficult to appreciate the date of such a building, which to judge by its perfect state of preservation may not be older than the XVIth century."

DESCRIPTION:

The unusually detailed description given by Jeffery reveals several surprising peculiarities of the vanished church, making this loss one of the most deplorable ones. The plan comprised a (short) nave and two aisles, resulting in an almost square imprint (still indicated on the early 20th century cadastral map). Only the central nave ended in an apse, linking the church with buildings such as Morfou [149] or the Neofytos Katholikon [222]. However, no dome is mentioned, suggesting a hall church with three barrel vaults of similar height. The nave arcades consisted of only three arches each, resting on round piers with 'cushion capitals'. Presumably, the ribs mentioned by Jeffery are the transversal arches, which typically underpin the Cypriot barrel vaults. These did not rest on the almost ubiquitous corbels but on engaged semicolumns, which probably mirrored the nave piers. If these indeed formed a wall arcade, as described by Jeffery, the lateral barrel vaults must have been pierced by lunette caps, perhaps providing space for windows.

From the description, it seems indeed probable that the church was built during the Venetian period. Cushion capitals, integral part of the central European Romanesque style, appear in several 16th century churches throughout Cyprus – most prominently the church of Saint Marina in Potamiou of 1551 [189], a church with aisles and a single central apse as well. Engaged semicolumns as responds for a barrel vault were unique in Cyprus, but might have been inspired by the semicolumns carrying the (16th century?) rib vault in nave of the Greek cathedral of the Panagia in Nicosia [156].

If the church was indeed built according to a consistent plan (and not a product of a sequence of phases), it seems to have fit well in a group of important churches built in a period of considerable wealth in Cyprus. Its small dimensions of approximately 15 m by 15 m did not make it one of the most prominent examples, but the interior decoration might have been somehow extravagant. The lack of the dome is surprising in this context, but might (hypothetically!) be explained with an interruption of the works by the Ottoman occupation of the island. Perhaps, the central barrel vault remained unfinished and was closed only later in the most inexpensive way. The possibility of a sequence of building phases could, on the other hand be indicated by the presence of the engaged semi columns only in the southern aisle, which seems to be slightly shorter on the cadastral map. Then, the original structure would have been a single nave church, while the two aisles were added subsequently.

TODAY:

Nothing but a heap of rubble and a handful of ashlar remains on the site indicated on the cadastral map of 1922, right to the north of the 20th century church.

LOCALITY: Kythrea [35.262198, 33.484780]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Anna CAT. NO. CCLXXVI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 308: "The Church of St. Anna, an ancient vaulted building on the side of a hill, which is rapidly disappearing; indeed, the north wall has recently fallen owing to a landslide. The church probably dates from the early sixteenth century, and from its style of building may possibly have been a Latin church."

DESCRIPTION:

The approximate plan given on the cadastral map of 1922 suggests a fairly large single nave church with an apse of almost 20 m length. The map indicates lateral buttresses as well. As only Gunnis refers to this church, little more is known about the precise shape or date of the church. It was unsurprisingly vaulted and might have been built from ashlar or showed elaborately carved building details (considering Gunnis' remark on the style). This might indicate a 16th century date. Nevertheless, the size and (if the cadastral plan can be considered to be reliable) corner buttresses would leave the option of a 17th or 18th century origin open.

TODAY:

There are no built remains on the overgrown site indicated on the cadastral map. Presumably, the rest of the church fell in the 1930s and the site was cleared subsequently.

LOCALITY: Lefkara [34.865546, 33.308864]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George Exorinos CAT. No. CCLXXVII
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REFERENCE:

Watercolour of Edmond Duthoit, 1862 (in Bonato, Severis 1999, fig 21).

DESCRIPTION:

The church is shown in the foreground of the famous Byzantine church of the Holy Cross, (which was also remodelled beyond recognition in the aftermath).²³⁹ It is a small building of a single nave with an eastern apse. A large porch, opening southwards with a pointed arch, shelters the southern portal. The latter is rectangular, with an apparently moulded lintel and a narrower recessed tympanum. The church seems to be already in a ruined state, considering the gaping hole above the portal. The roof has a lateral southern gable, indicating a transversal structure on the inside. If this is the result of a simplified rebuilding of a former dome-hall church or indicates a cross-vaulted central bay, cannot be said.

The date is almost impossible to narrow down. Nevertheless, the portal somewhat reminds of the Venetian-period rectangular framed portals, which were most frequently in use around the mid-16th century.

TODAY:

The unvaulted single nave church of Saint Xenophonos Exorinos stands on the site of the church depicted by Duthoit. Its northern wall seems to remain from the ancient building, while the rest was rebuilt with old stone material during the mid-20th century.

LOCALITY: Louroukina [35.013366, 33.464794]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia CAT. No. CCLXXVIII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 205: "There are also the ruins of two chapels of the Panayia and a chapel of St. Marina. All these buildings appear ancient but of a small and commonplace character [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The second Panagia-church stood in the village centre, between the medieval church of Saint Epifanios [XXXVI] and the 18th century church of Saint Andronikos. According to the cadastral map, it was of a single nave with eastern apse.

TODAY:

The church (ruin) has been removed since.

²³⁹ Papacostas 2006a.

LOCALITY: Louroukina [35.013578, 33.492533]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Philidiotissa CAT. NO. CCLXXIX
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 205: "There are also the ruins of two chapels of the Panayia and a chapel of St. Marina. All these buildings appear ancient but of a small and commonplace character [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The church of Saint Marina, east of the village centre, is a 12th or 13th century dome-hall building, which still stands and was recently restored. Nothing is left, however, of the two churches of the Panagia. One of these was situated south of Saint Marina, as it is marked on most cadastral and Ordnance Survey maps. Nothing more can be said about its date and appearance.

TODAY:

The site of the church, in a modern field, seems to have been cleared and ploughed over.

LOCALITY: Louroukina [35.013658, 33.465371]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Epifanios CAT. NO. CCLXXX
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 205: "[...] the two uninteresting 'restored' little churches of St. Epiphanius (1864) and St. Andronicos (1856)."

Gunnis 1936, p 329–330: "On a hillock above the village is built the small fifteenth century Church of St. Epiphanius, which was unhappily restored in 1864, when the painted interior was whitewashed. On the dome can still be seen the four equidistant standard sockets."

Papageorgiou 2010, p 234 (here 'church of the Transfiguration'): "The Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, standing on a hill overlooking the village, was of the dome-hall (Kuppel-hallen) type. Built in the 14th or 15th century, it is said to have been adorned with wall paintings which, over the centuries, became so covered with soot and dust that they were eventually quite indistinct. In 1864 the church underwent repairs and the wall paintings were whitewashed over but later the lime-wash detached in some places and the paintings were revealed once again. The church was demolished by the Turks in 1958 when the last Greek Cypriot residents were evicted from their homes."

There are two photographs of the church preserved, showing the state in the beginning and mid-20th century (one in the DOA archive, No A.2240; the other one from a private collection).

DESCRIPTION:

The church was of the usual dome-hall type, as described by Papageorgiou. In the 1930s, it somewhat resembled the church of Saint Timothy in Lefkara [130], in that it did not possess lower corner compartments but a continuous pitched roof interrupted by two lateral gables. Perhaps this was, as in Lefkara, result of the 19th century restoration, which might have heightened the corner compartments and removed the hierarchized structure. Dome and apse were semicircular on the exterior; flagstaff holders and high, slit-like windows

occupied the dome drum. The 1950s photograph shows that, by that time, the church was already heavily damaged, with the apse, the portals and other parts of the lower masonry courses having been removed deliberately. As also some plaster is missing, one can see that the church was built from rubble with some more regular stones in the dome drum and ashlar at the building corners.

The interior, according to Gunnis adorned with paintings, is not depicted in any old photograph. It is unclear, to what Gunnis refers, when he speaks of "standard sockets".

The original church, which seems to have remained largely intact until 1958 even in spite of the 1864 restoration, was certainly late medieval. The use of flagstaff holders and ashlar on the corners might indeed indicate a 14th or 15th century date.

TODAY:

There are no built remains except for a few overgrown heaps of stones on the site indicated on the cadastral map.²⁴⁰ The ruin was almost certainly removed after the Turkish occupation of the area in 1974.

LOCALITY: Makrasyka [35.073317, 33.762660]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Saint Efstathios CAT. No. CCLXXXI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 336: "There is also a church dedicated to St. Eustathios; the remains of paintings on the north walls include three saints with raised haloes."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. It presumably had a semicircular apse and was, as mentioned by Gunnis, decorated with (15th–16th century?) paintings.

TODAY:

A disused concrete-built church of the 20th century stands in the south-eastern quarter of the village (depicted in Yapicioğlu 2007, p 410, wrongly named Saint George). Perhaps it was erected on the foundations of the church of Saint Efstathios seen by Gunnis. There are no traces of paintings in the current building, which seems to be entirely modern except for the possibly ancient apse.

LOCALITY: Meniko [35.109218, 33.144177]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Kyprianos CAT. No. CCLXXXII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 221: "The village church, dedicated to Ay. Kyprianos is a somewhat famous mediaeval shrine, originally built by Peter I. (1359–1369). According to Machaeras, a small church in the village of Meniko contained the heads of Cyprian and Justina, two martyrs who suffered at Nicomedia in Bythinia under Claudius II. (A.D. 268). Their relics are said to

²⁴⁰ I wish to thank Marko Kiessel for providing photographs of the site, which is within an area of restricted access.

have been removed from Syria to Cyprus at the time of some Moslem invasion of the former country, and deposited within this church. A well of water within the building was considered of great efficacy in the cure of hysteria and fevers, by virtue of these relics. King Peter I. suffering from a quartan ague which defied medical treatment was recommended to make a pilgrimage to Meniko which was attended with the happiest results, and in token of gratitude, he caused the church to be rebuilt on a larger scale, and placed the sacred relics in silver shrines with hinged tops which could be opened to allow of the osculations by the faithful. The church of the XIVth century described by Machaeras may still survive to some extent in the north aisle of the present rebuilt or enlarged edifice, and the miraculous well also remains within the apse now used for the table of prothesis."

Gunnis 1936, p 342: "The principal church is dedicated to St. Kyprianos; it was of considerable importance during the Middle Ages [...] the north aisle probably dates from the medieval building."

ARDAC 1984, p 18, mentions fragments of medieval woodwork in the iconostasis.

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. Even if the north aisle indeed contains evidence of the medieval building, notably fragmentary paintings discovered in certain areas of the bema and on the northern wall, little more than these parts of perimeter walls can have been included in the new structure. Photographs taken during the restoration of the church in 1994 (Archive of the Department of Antiquities) show that single ashlar of the apse vault carry fragments of frescoes, suggesting that most of the old church was indeed taken down and used as building material.

TODAY:

The church was presumably rebuilt twice in the Ottoman period. The northern aisle seems to largely date from 1755, date carved into the western portal, and its exterior does not indicate if parts of the outer wall shell remain from the medieval church as well. The southern aisle was presumably added in the 19th century (the iconostasis dates of 1818, which might have been the date of the second rebuilding as well). Another restoration of the early 20th century seems to have added the northern portal and other exterior features. The interior was entirely repainted in the last decades, making an evaluation of building phases impossible in the foreseeable future.

LOCALITY: Milia
[35.226190, 33.792016]

DISTRICT: Famagusta

DEDICATION: Saint George
CAT. NO. CCLXXXIII

REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 388: "About a mile from the village is a mediaeval Church of St. George, with ruins of a former settlement round it. An unhappy restoration has destroyed all the paintings, and added a loathsome sky-blue iconostasis."

Photograph in the Archive of the Department of Antiquities.

DESCRIPTION:

A photograph in the Archive of the Department of Antiquities, labelled as Saint George Milia, shows a dome-hall structure with round dome drum and plain exterior walls. There is no portal in the depicted northern wall, so there is little evidence to help with a dating of the church.

TODAY:

The site marked on the cadastral maps (at the location 'Paleoklisia' = old church) is occupied with a modern farm complex. On site, access could not be gained to see, if the church is hidden between the newer buildings, but the aerial images of Google Earth suggest that the church has been demolished. Perhaps, this happened at the same time, when the nearby monastery church of Avgasida [208] was destroyed as well.

LOCALITY: Nata [34.778936, 32.571443]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Nicholas CAT. No. CCLXXXIV
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 388: "[...] a small church dedicated to St. Nicholas possessing an elaborately carved iconostasis and icon-stands of the XVIIIth century. It is referred to by W. Turner in 1815 as a 'Venetian building'."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. The building referred to by Turner is almost certainly the Panagia Eleousa [151], but the fact that Jeffery mistook the church of Saint Nicholas for a Venetian building suggests that it was of considerable age as well.

TODAY:

A church of the 20th century, with a 19th century iconostasis, occupies the site of the old building.

LOCALITY: Nicosia [35.156808, 33.371315]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi CAT. No. CCLXXXV
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 201: "An Orthodox monastery enclosure on the right hand side of the road, surrounded by the quarries of soft sandstone from which the building stone of the district is chiefly extracted. In the centre of the half completed enclosure stands a small monotholos of early XIXth century date, built out of the ruins of a mediaeval church. Within is an iconostasis of the XVIIth century 'shell pattern' in blue and gold, a good deal repaired. On this site it is supposed that a church, dedicated to Sainte Verredi or Vendredi, existed during the middle ages, which is frequently referred to in the chronicles. The name is presumably enshrined in the modern Greek which means the same thing. The mediaeval building was no doubt ruined at the time of the Turkish invasion when batteries were planted on or near this site."

DESCRIPTION:

The shape of the medieval church is uncertain. Most likely, it was a single nave building of the 16th century.

TODAY:

The church of Saint Paraskevi, described by Jeffery, still stands in the modern quarter of Strovolos. Many irregularities in its walls and the (re)use of ashlar masonry with mason's marks similar to those at the Archangel Trypites [153] indicate that a further investigation of the structure might reveal substantial remains of the medieval predecessor.

LOCALITY: Oroklini [35.003783, 33.651946]	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Thomas CAT. NO. CCLXXXVI
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REFERENCE:

Unpublished.

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain. The church was built from regular ashlar masonry of late medieval character. It seems to have possessed a dome, fragments of which remain among the debris.

TODAY:

The old church is hardly recognizable, as the heap of collapsed ashlar is mainly overgrown. Future excavations might shed more light on the shape and age of the church. There is a church of the 21st century built several metres south in a distinctly medieval style. Remarkably, the new church resembles closely the unidentified one drawn by Sydney Vacher in 1883 [LXIX] – was this perhaps the old church of Saint Thomas, which remained present in local memory throughout the 20th century and formed the base for the new design?

LOCALITY: Palaikythro [35.205314, 33.493912]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine CAT. NO. CCLXXXVII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 271: "Here, in one of its churches, was preserved the miraculous icon used against locusts which received the special devotion of King Hugh IV. A ruined mediaeval church still survives known as St. Katherine or St. Irene, once used as a mosque."

Gunnis 1936, p 360: "[...] except the ruined medieval church dedicated to St. Katherine. It may have been in this church that the icon was kept which stopped the plague of locusts in 1344."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or precise date is uncertain.

TODAY:

No church except for the main village church, built in 1895 as mentioned by Jeffery, is marked on the cadastral map. A site marked as place of a ruined mosque might indeed mean the church described by Jeffery and Gunnis. The site is cleared and empty today.

LOCALITY: Pafos [34.757166, 32.415789]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Theoskepaste CAT. No. CCLXXXVIII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 403–404: "Amongst the heaps of debris, a few very small native chapels exist, known by such names as [...] Panayia Theoskepastos [...]. Lying loose in the churchyard of this little monastery is a small and early gravestone of considerable interest, provenance unknown [...]."

Gunnis 1936, p 142: "[...] the original church has been destroyed and the new one erected in the usual mean, vulgar form."

One photograph of John P. Foscolo (1878) shows the church from south.

DESCRIPTION:

The church was apparently built in at least two phases and of a remarkable, unusual ground plan. Foscolo's photograph shows a square main building with a drumless dome, immediately adjoining eastern apse and a later western nave. In its squat proportions, the church somewhat reminds of the 15th / 16th century Panagia in Thermeia [226]. Nevertheless, its core, which could well be a modest dome-hall structure, might have been built before the Latin occupation. The later changes are certainly of the 14th to 16th centuries, even if the lack of sculptural details depicted on the photograph does not allow for a more precise assessment.

The church was of some importance due to it holding an icon of the Virgin considered to be one of those painted by Saint Luke himself. The tombstone seen by Jeffery was of a Latin named Bernart of the year 1247, but as it was not found within the church, there might not be an immediate connection.

TODAY:

The church built in the 1920s still occupies the conspicuous site on a small rock in Kato Pafos. Contrary to Gunnis' dismissal, it is of unusual architectural quality for buildings of the period.

LOCALITY: Pafos [34.756155, 32.416497]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George (?) CAT. No. CCLXXXIX
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 142: "The Church of St. George is now completely ruined and little remains save fragments of the ribs of the vaulting lying amongst the debris. Here, too, can be seen two mediaeval tombstones, one of which is a memorial of a certain Harior Beduin and his

father. The family of Beduin was one of the earliest Latin families to settle in Cyprus, and a certain Thomas Beduin is mentioned as having a position at Court in the year 1223."

Der Parthog 2006, p 56, claims that the church still stands, but evidently just copied the text from Gunnis.

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or precise date is uncertain. The described rib fragments might have belonged to the former vault, but could also be misinterpreted fragments of a decorated portal. The presence of Latin tombstones might suggest a formerly Latin church. However, the parallel evidence of an early Latin tombstone at the Panagia Theoskepaste in the 1910s proves that Saint George might have been a Greek church as well.

TODAY:

The site is occupied by the Porto Pafos Residence, which replaced an older hotel. The repeated building activities on the site certainly destroyed all evidence of the church down to its foundations.

LOCALITY: Pafos [34.776057, 32.420580]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint Kendeas CAT. NO. CCXC
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 406: "A small ancient building without architectural character."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or precise date is uncertain. Presumably, it was a single nave building of modest dimensions.

TODAY:

A modern church of Saint Kendeas stands in the centre of Ktima Pafos, presumably occupying the site of the previous church, which replaced the ancient building already in 1926.

LOCALITY: Pafos [precise location unknown]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint John Prodromos CAT. NO. CCXCI
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 406: "A small chapel within a private garden, restored of recent years, but of no architectural importance."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or precise date is uncertain. Perhaps, it was a single nave building of modest dimensions. Jeffery's choice of words ('restored' instead of 'rebuilt') suggests that it was an ancient structure.

TODAY:

No church of Saint John Prodromos can be located in Pafos.

LOCALITY: Parekklesia [34.743678, 33.160865]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael CAT. No. CCXCII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 354: "Parekklesia, with two village churches, Stavros and St. Michael."

Gunnis 1936, p 369: "The Church of the Archangel Michael is an ancient building with a narthex added later. The north door survives from an even earlier building and has fragments of an inscription in Gothic script on it. The church was once painted; but frescoes only remain on the founders' tombs in the north and south walls. The church contains a large icon of St. John the Baptist, dating from the late seventeenth century."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or precise date are uncertain. The mention of 'founders' tombs' might suggest a single nave structure, either barrel-vaulted with arched recesses or of the dome-hall type.

TODAY:

The current large church of the Archangel Michael was built in 1970, very likely replacing the undocumented medieval predecessor.

LOCALITY: Pentageia [35.140759, 32.879088]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCXCIII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 354: "[...] the ruins of another important monastery are conspicuous towards the south."

Gunnis 1936, p 369: "About a mile and a half from the village are the ruins of the Church of St. George. A number of Roman tombs surround it. During the Middle Ages Pendayia was one of the twelve baronies into which the Island was divided."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or date are uncertain, even if an erection during the heyday of the village in the late Middle Ages is probable. The monastery is still depicted on the cadastral map of 1926, showing three wings of an enclosure (north, east and south) with a freestanding single nave church with eastern apse.

TODAY:

The site is inaccessible, but the aerial images available on Google Earth suggest the complete clearing of the site. As the monastery is not marked on the 1970s Ordnance Survey maps, this might have happened already in the mid-20th century.

LOCALITY: Pileri (Plechchia) [precise location unknown]	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Unknown CAT. NO. CCXCIV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 388: "Close by is the ruined village of Bilescha. The remains of the church is [sic] easily identified and traces of wall paintings still remain."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape or date are uncertain, even if an erection during the heyday of the village in the late Middle Ages is probable. (Jeffery 1918, p 277: "It [Plechchia] occupies the site of the "Casal Blessia" mentioned in the chronicles as the fief of the Counts Roccas"). It is unclear if the church was used for the Latin or Greek rite.

TODAY:

The formerly Muslim village was already deserted in the 1930s; neither the cadastral map of 1917 nor the Ordnance Survey maps mark a church at its site. Today, only the toponym remains of the settlement, the ruins of which have all but gone.

LOCALITY: Polis [35.035991, 32.413670]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Panagia Venetiotissa CAT. NO. CCXCV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 394: "About a mile from the village is the tiny Chapel of the B.V.M. Venetiotissa, which has recently been completely rebuilt by a wealthy caroub merchant. The name, however, suggests that a mediaeval chapel once stood here."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape is uncertain, as is if the church was used for the Latin or Greek rite. The name indicates that it was originally built in the Venetian period (or by a 'Venetian?').

TODAY:

The chapel of 1925, mentioned by Gunnis, was replaced by a modern one in 2008. Of the medieval structure, only the toponym remains.

LOCALITY: Potamia [35.047698, 33.440992]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Catherine CAT. NO. CCXCVI
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REFERENCE:

Enlart 1899, p 557: "A cinquante mètres environ de ce bâtiment, en dehors du chifflack et sur le bord du fleuve, se trouve une petite éminence en partie formée de décombres. Les chrétiens du pays la vénèrent comme l'emplacement d'une chapelle dédiée à Sainte Catherine; elle dépendait évidemment de la villa royale."

[Enlart 1987, p 414: "About fifty metres away, outside the tchiflik [sic] and on the banks of the stream, is a small mound partly consisting of debris. The local Cristians venerate it as the site of a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine; it was obviously connected with the villa."]

Jeffery 1918, p 204: "At a short distance from the chiftlik is a mound of debris considered by the villagers to mark the site of a chapel dedicated to St. Catherine. This may possibly, as Enlart suggests, be the ruin of the private chapel of the villa."

Gunnis 1936, p 400: "Close [...] are the foundations of a church still called, by the villagers, Santa Catherina."

Lécuyer et al. 2001, p 670–672: full excavation report, including ground plan.

Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 257: "Sainte-Catherine ou Santa Caterina, comme l'appellent encore les habitants de Potamia, est une chapelle en ruine dont le vocable est relatif à la Vénitienne Catherine Cornaro, veuve de Jacques II (1460–1473), le dernier des Lusignan à régner sur Chypre. Comme le suggère C. Enlart cette construction, sans doute antérieure au XVe siècle, est à rattacher à la chapelle privée du manoir de Potamia édifié dès le XIVe siècle. Seules subsistent aujourd'hui les fondations de cette chapelle. L'étude archéologique de ses vestiges a permis d'identifier deux phases de construction: il est probable qu'à une nef unique se terminant par une abside saillante à l'est, ait succédé un bâtiment comprenant deux nefs achevées à l'est par autant d'absides semi-circulaires."

DESCRIPTION:

As the excavations of 2001 revealed, at first, the church consisted of an (ashlar-built) single nave with a semicircular apse. The symmetric buttresses on both lateral walls would suggest a barrel vault supported by a central transversal arch, a very common solution for smaller rural churches of the medieval period. In a subsequent phase, the building was apparently shortened and a second nave added: foundations of two apses, placed on the axis of the two buttresses, were uncovered. A connecting arch might have existed in the place, where a modern icon stand has been placed over the remains of the northern wall.

The interpretation of the church as Latin palace chapel is solely based on the (relative) proximity to the palace ruin and seems to be copied from Enlart in all subsequent studies. While this is surely possible, the modest character of the architecture and the later redoubling of the naves might also indicate that it served as (Greek?) village church.

TODAY:

The chapel was excavated in 2001, the remaining 1–2 layers of stone left visible, albeit overgrown. A concrete icon stand marks the site, which is still used by locals.

LOCALITY: Potamia [35.047544, 33.436545]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Archangel Michael CAT. NO. CCXCVII
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REFERENCE:

Lécuyer et al. 2001, p 672–674: excavation report, including ground plan

Nicolaïdès, Vanderheyde 2004, p 257–258: "Cette chapelle totalement ruinée, située près du Yialias, a fait l'objet de sondages archéologiques menés sous la direction de D. Michaelidis au cours du mois de juillet 2000. Seul le mur de fondation ouest de cet édifice affleure au niveau du sol actuel. Il était percé d'une ouverture. La largeur de la nef principale est de

5,50 m, tandis qu'un vaisseau latéral semble avoir été ajouté au sud. Le matériel céramique mis au jour date du XVI^e siècle alors que le niveau d'occupation semble être du XIV^e siècle. Par ses dimensions, sa technique de construction et l'adjonction d'une nef latérale, cette chapelle se révèle très proche de celle dédiée à sainte Catherine."

DESCRIPTION:

The state of the ruin does not permit a full reconstruction of its plan, even after the excavation. It seems likely that, similar to the church of Saint Catherine on the other side of the river Gialia, the church was first built with a single nave and later an aisle added, here to the south.

TODAY:

The chapel was excavated in 2000, but the site, near a part of an ancient irrigation system, is overgrown again.

LOCALITY: Prastio Avdimou [34.714620, 32.764044]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Saint Helena CAT. No. CCXCVIII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 402: "In the fields belonging to the village are the ruins of two mediaeval chapels dedicated to the Archangel Michael and St. Helena respectively."

DESCRIPTION:

Shape and precise date are unknown.

TODAY:

The site of the church is marked even on recent maps, but no traces of a ruin seem to remain.

LOCALITY: Psimolofou [35.060945, 33.258255]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia CAT. No. CCXCIX
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 406: "The Church of the B.V.M. was almost completely rebuilt in 1847, and of the earlier building little remains, except part of the south wall, which contains late mural paintings of the forty martyrs."

DESCRIPTION:

The shape of the original church is unknown. Only the painting mentioned by Gunnis, which in fact shows a Last Judgement (in an unusual place, on the southern wall) testifies to the inclusion of parts of the older church. The surrounding blind arch cuts through parts of the scene, so it was surely built in front of a previously straight wall in 1847. The walls west and east of the painted part are on slightly different axis, indicating an irregularity in this part of the building, without providing further evidence for the original appearance. As the painting

dates to the Venetian period, we can be sure that the original church was either built or remodelled during the late 15th or 16th century.

TODAY:

The church of 1847 still stands and its regular architecture and plastered / painted walls do not allow for a closer assessment of how much of the previous church was integrated in the current building. None of the many elements of sculptural decoration of the exterior seem to have been part of that older church, even if they sometimes imitate the medieval models.

LOCALITY: Pyla [35.012211, 33.692070]	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCC
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 194: "There is also a ruined church of St. George."

Gunnis 1936, p 406: "There is also a small ruined Chapel of St. George. Here is kept a stone with a footprint of the saint's horse on it."

DESCRIPTION:

Shape and precise date of the church are unknown.

TODAY:

The site is occupied by a modern church of impressive size and little artistic value.

LOCALITY: Silikou [34.824431, 32.896550]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Panagia tis Syrkas CAT. No. CCCI
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 406: "A number of ruined chapels lie round the village [...]"

ARDAC 1995, p 22, mentions preliminary excavations, but does not describe the outcome.

DESCRIPTION:

Judging from the fragmentary lateral walls flanking the church of 1897, it must have been a building of considerable size, perhaps a single nave church. If a small piece of wall adjoining the north-eastern corner can be interpreted as original masonry, the apse was polygonal, indicating a 15th or 16th century date.

TODAY:

The church built in 1897 incorporates parts of the former northern wall; the original eastern wall with a small piece of the apse protrudes from the north-eastern corner of the current church. The original southern wall is marked by a large fragment, which stands free around 1 m south of the modern church. Presumably, the ruin was further damaged in 1897, as the new church was built from the material of the old structure.

The other chapels mentioned by Gunnis, among which one dedicated to Saint John, are still marked on the first Ordnance Survey maps but already absent from the cadastral maps. They are most likely entirely destroyed today.

LOCALITY: Skilloura [35.230394, 33.168324]	DISTRICT: Nicosia	DEDICATION: Panagia Eleousa CAT. NO. CCCII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 276–277: “[...] an ancient village with a modern church [...] and an older one dedicated to the B.V.M. Eleousa. The latter is of some interest as retaining, in spite of a recent disastrous rebuilding, some traces of mediaeval workmanship. [...] The south nave of the church is covered with two ribbed quadripartite vaults of mediaeval character, and the buttresses of this portion are evidently copied from the western front of Nicosia Cathedral. But the apse is of the usual semicircular Byzantine construction which to some extent militates against the idea that this could ever have been a Latin building. The recent rebuilding has however completely injured the mediaeval character which seemed at one time to survive.”

Gunnis 1936, p 426: “The Church of the B.V.M. Skillouriotissa is a large restored mediaeval building. Originally three-aisled, only the centre one now remains; several Gothic details survive in the exterior walls.”

The ground plan is indicated on the cadastral map.

DESCRIPTION:

The original church was either of a central nave and two lateral aisles (if we follow Gunnis), or, more likely, of a nave and a southern aisle (if we follow the cadastral map). Jeffery, who saw the church after a first restoration, describes this southern aisle as of two bays with buttresses. The comparison with those of the cathedral in Nicosia might mean that they were interrupted by drip moulds, above which they were decorated with polygonal mouldings on the corners. The description of the vaults as quadripartite and ribbed surprises and indicates that for the southern aisle of the church, despite the semicircular apse, an urban 14th century vocabulary was employed (but it might have been as well built in the 15th or 16th century). Perhaps, the church shared some architectural aspects with the 16th century Archangel church of Lakatamia [123], one of the few rib-vaulted late medieval Greek churches on the island and located only 15 km south-east.

Of the main nave, we know little, except that it seems to have ended in a polygonal apse, indicated on the cadastral map. The latter also shows a western expansion with a single, semicircular apse, which shows that presumably between 1918 and 1936, the western end of nave and aisle were replaced. Except for a partly preserved portal with imposts and profiled hood mould, the ‘Gothic details’ mentioned by Gunnis have vanished.

TODAY:

The church still stands, albeit in use as a mosque. It seems to be a building of the first half of the 20th century (as the portals reveal), perhaps changed in a second 20th century phase matching the remarks of Jeffery and Gunnis. However, it is entirely plastered, so that except for the fragmentary southern portal no ancient element is visible in the walls.

LOCALITY: Tala [34.830893, 32.430015]	DISTRICT: Limassol	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCCIII
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 406: "About a mile from the village are the ruins of a large church dedicated to St. George. Founders' tombs remain on the north and south walls, with traces of paintings in their arches."

Photographs of the ruin: DOA B.55.561–563 (undated)

DESCRIPTION:

The church was a sizable building of a main nave and two aisles with three western entrances, partly built from rubble, mixed with regular ashlar. Whether this church was barrel-vaulted throughout or possessed a dome is unclear. The precise date is unknown, but a date in the earlier Latin period probable. At some point, later in the Latin period (16th century (?)), the aisles were given up and the main nave transformed into a single nave church. This church survived as ruin until the 1930s, when Gunnis described it. The "founder's tombs" might have been the walled up nave arcades. On three images in the Department of Antiquities archive, apparently from the late 1980s, little but large mounds of debris around a number of exterior walls in the process of rebuilding are visible.

Judging from the size and structural type of the church, it must have been a fairly important church in the medieval period.

TODAY:

The church was once more rebuilt as a single nave church from the late 1980s until 1993, on behalf of the nearby Neofytos Monastery. In this process, the material on site was used, without specifying, which parts remained of the medieval structure. Nothing is visible of the lateral arches described by Gunnis, so the nave of the church seems to be entirely new, despite attempts to make it look like an ancient structure (for example through the use of a cornice with dentil moulding). Only in its western wall, the ancient roots of the church become visible: while the central portal is modern, the lateral parts of the former western wall remain up to the inner jambs of the lateral portals. The latter are the only proof for the original presence of aisles.

Apparently, neither was an excavation done in the process of rebuilding, nor was the ruin recorded apart from the three above mentioned, hardly helpful images.

LOCALITY: Tera [location uncertain]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint George CAT. No. CCCIV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 436: "A number of ancient churches lie round the village, all now in ruins. The best preserved are St. George and St. John the Baptist, and both still show traces of their ancient mural decoration."

DESCRIPTION:

Shape and date unknown, the attested traces of paintings indicate a medieval origin.

TODAY:

Two churches of Saint George are marked (not as ruined!) on the cadastral map of the 1920s, both on top of hills east of the village. There are no traces of a building today on both sites. According to the community council, there are not less than six or seven locations of chapels dedicated to Saint George in the closer region, one of which is said to be well-preserved [www.sakrite.com/about-kritou-terra.html, accessed on 31.03.2016]. It was not possible to locate this well-preserved church of Saint George.

LOCALITY: Tera [location uncertain]	DISTRICT: Pafos	DEDICATION: Saint John the Baptist CAT. NO. CCCV
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 436: "A number of ancient churches lie round the village, all now in ruins. The best preserved are St. George and St. John the Baptist, and both still show traces of their ancient mural decoration."

DESCRIPTION:

Shape and date unknown, the attested traces of paintings indicate a medieval origin.

TODAY:

As the church is not marked on the cadastral map, nothing can be said about the current state. Gunnis might have confused the name with one of the many chapels in the surroundings, of which Saint Theodore [not visited] seems to be the only ruin remaining above ground level.

LOCALITY: Tersefanou [34.857427, 33.548724]	DISTRICT: Larnaca	DEDICATION: Saint Demetrianos CAT. NO. CCCVI
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REFERENCE:

Unpublished

[listed on www.tersefanou.org/gr/churches-lgr; accessed 01.04.2016]

DESCRIPTION:

Original shape unknown, the remaining fragments indicate a late medieval building.

TODAY:

The church was not marked on the cadastral map, thus it had been demolished before the early 20th century. In 2000, it was rebuilt, incorporating stones from the old church. Most of them seem to be parts of the same moulded string course, placed as imposts or corbels below the windows and prothesis niche of the new church. The corbels of the modern doorways seem ancient, as well. A *cippus* forms the altar base, presumably repeating the medieval setting.

LOCALITY: Trachonas
[35.197993, 33.354220]

DISTRICT: Nicosia

DEDICATION: Panagia
CAT. No. CCCVII

REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 220: "The village church dedicated to the Panagia, is a small ancient monotholos, now in course of gradual reconstruction on a larger scale. The eastern part still survives with its iconostasis of XVIIIth century style, and in front of it two grave slabs from which the effigies have entirely disappeared. Over the south door within a picturesque narthex or loggia is a mediaeval shield of arms: p.p.p. a plain cross, a fess; also a square panel containing an elaborate XVIth century shield beneath a helmet with the coat of arms, barry of three. The wooden door beneath is dated 1773. Several fine fragments of some mediaeval building are inserted in the south wall, amongst others a beautiful XIVth century capital with a human face and foliage."

Gunnis 1936, p 442: "The Church of the B.V.M. was completely rebuilt in 1916, when the extremely interesting mediaeval church was destroyed. Carved capitals, stones, and fragments of architectural details from the former church lie scattered round, while above the south door of the present building is an early sixteenth-century marble coat of arms barry of three with a plumed helm above."

DESCRIPTION:

The previous church was of a single nave, surely with an eastern apse, and a southern porch surrounding the main doorway. Into the walls, considerable sculptural fragments of a previous building (on the same site?) had been integrated. While the 14th century capital described by Jeffery surely came from this former structure, the 16th century coat of arms might have been connected to the rebuilding of the church.

TODAY:

The church of 1916 remains unchanged, albeit disused. The coat of arms above the southern door seems to be the only remaining trace of the medieval structure today.

LOCALITY: Trapeza
[35.128383, 33.856508]

DISTRICT: Famagusta

DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi
CAT. No. CCCVIII

REFERENCE:

Ross 1852, p 117: "Ich ritt von hier [Kalopsida] durch die trocknen Sümpfe nach Trapeza, einem zerstörten Dorfe mit zwei großen verfallenen Kirchen."

De Vogüé 1862 (in Masson 1995, p 19): "Grande plaine déserte coupée de ravines. Église abandonnée indiquant l'emplacement d'un village ruiné. Deux [églises] à coupole, une St-Georges, très jolie."

Jeffery 1918, p 200: "The extent of the ancient settlement is marked by two important ruined churches, one of which is fairly well preserved."

Gunnis 1936, p 442: "Nothing now remains except the ruins of two important churches, one of which is fairly well preserved. [...] The other church is completely ruined."

DESCRIPTION:

The date of the church is unknown, but its medieval origin undisputed. It was of a single nave and, following De Vogüé, possessed a dome still in 1862. It must have been of considerable sophistication, if referred to as an "important church" by Jeffery.

TODAY:

The site of the church is only marked on older large-scale maps, while it was omitted in the available cadastral map of 1970. During repeated on-site visits, it was not possible to locate the entirely overgrown ruin. Current Google Earth satellite images, which were apparently taken after a drought, show that the foundations of a church of approximately 12 m by 5 m still occupy the site.

LOCALITY: Tsada [34.825333, 32.494615]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Holy Cross CAT. NO. CCCIX
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REFERENCE:

Gunnis 1936, p 442: "[....] the small monastery of the Holy Cross [...]. The doorway into the monastery shows gothic influence and the south doorway of the church appears to be work of the early sixteenth century. The iconostasis is dated 1740 [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape of the medieval church is unknown, but it was surely built in the Venetian period. One of its portals is preserved in the western (not southern, as claimed by Gunnis) portal of the current church. The portal consists of a rectangular doorway, framed by a roll moulding. The roll-moulded corbels and the lintel are both made of marble – an exceptional fact for Cyprus, where any piece of marble had to be reused from an older building, even in a period of increasing use of marble spolia. The pointed tympanum is framed by a simple roll moulding. Overall, the portal is a very typical example of 16th century architecture and might well date to the first half, even if not necessarily 'early' as claimed by Gunnis. To the same church or the corresponding monastic buildings might belong other sculptural fragments such as the moulded imposts of the northern portal, the corbelled apse window, the roll-moulded oculus of the western façade, or a column with flat rectangular capital in the southern wing of the cloister.

TODAY:

The church was built in the 18th century, perhaps before 1740, date of the iconostasis. From the same period are some parts of the monastic buildings. They all show decorative elements, which clearly go back to medieval models, including the southern portal of the church and the main entrance arch.

LOCALITY: Vasileia [35.340943, 33.125787]	DISTRICT: Kyrenia	DEDICATION: Saint Paraskevi CAT. No. CCCX
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REFERENCE:

Vasily Barsky 1735, in Grishin 1996, p 34: "[...]the church is small and frail and ready to collapse. Only in the narthex, there are two handsome columns of white marble. [The patron's] name, together with that of his wife and children, is written in Greek inside the church. The name of this donor is: Ανδρέας Μαυρεσιος Καβαλλάριος αφιη [1518]."

DESCRIPTION:

The original shape of the church is unknown, except that it seems to have possessed a narthex. The patron's inscription reproduced by Barsky, mentioning the year 1518, might refer to the erection of the church or to a renovation. The monastery, a *metochion* of the Sinai monastery, is surely older (see Papageorgiou 2010, p 441–442).

TODAY:

The church collapsed in the 19th century. Its large successor is, again, ready to collapse entirely, since it was partly destroyed in the aftermath of the 1974 conflict.

LOCALITY: Vatili [35.142108, 33.664837]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Panagia CAT. No. CCCXI
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 200: "About a mile north of [Vatili] is the ancient site of the mediaeval village of Vatili. Here amongst heaps of stones and rubbish may be traced the plans of several mediaeval churches. The place is of considerable interest although completely ruined [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The shape and date of the church are unknown, but Jeffery implies a late medieval origin. The village can probably be identified with the vanished settlement of Stefani (or Stefanovatili), mentioned between 1310 and 1565, abandoned before 1825 (see Grivaud 1998, p 162 and 167).

TODAY:

The site (nearby [LXVIII]) is marked on the 1:25000 OS map and (without the church name) on the cadastral map. Today, there remains nothing but an overgrown patch spared out by the surrounding fields. According to Harris 2009, p 297, a new church was built over the foundations in 1912, but this evidently refers to a different site.

LOCALITY: Vatili [35.140678, 33.663668]	DISTRICT: Famagusta	DEDICATION: Archangel (Michael?) CAT. NO. CCCXII
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REFERENCE:

Jeffery 1918, p 200: "About a mile north of [Vatili] is the ancient site of the mediaeval village of Vati. Here amongst heaps of stones and rubbish may be traced the plans of several mediaeval churches. The place is of considerable interest although completely ruined [...]."

DESCRIPTION:

The shape and date of the church are unknown, but Jeffery implies a late medieval origin. The village can probably be identified with the vanished settlement of Stefani (or Stefanovatili), mentioned between 1310 and 1565, abandoned before 1825 (see Grivaud 1998, p 162 and 167).

TODAY:

The site (nearby [LXVII]) is marked on the 1:25000 Ordnance Survey map, but also (without the church name) on the cadastral map. Today, there is a field in the same site. According to Harris 2009, p 297–298, a new church was built over the foundations in 1950, but this evidently refers to a different site.

LOCALITY: Unknown	DISTRICT: Unknown (Larnaca / Famagusta ?)	DEDICATION: Unknown ("Chapel E") CAT. NO. CCCXIII
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REFERENCE:

L'Anson, Vacher 1883, p 26: "One a little later in date, but of the same style, is the ruin E: four walls covered with a painted barrel vault and a dome in the centre."; figs 46, 47.

DESCRIPTION:

The church, shown on an accurate ground plan and a cross section, is an elongated dome-hall structure with two western nave bays and a smaller bema area east of the square, domed bay. An apse with three-sided polygonal exterior concluded the building to the east, the lateral walls were supported by later added buttresses. The barrel vault was sharply pointed, the whole proportions rather steep at a width of 6 m as compared to a height of the dome of 10 m. While there is no depiction of the two portals included, other remarkable building details testify to a certain sophistication. The dome piers were apparently profiled with what seem to be engaged colonettes on the edges. Elaborate moulding profiles were used for the string courses of the dome drum and the formerets of the dome bay. All show a sequence of roll and hollow mouldings, but one was also decorated with dentil friezes. The latter ornament indicates that the church was built in the Venetian period. While Vacher only suggests that the buttresses were later addition, the unusual ground plan would suggest that the western bays were also added, replacing a smaller western bay of the same design as the bema bay. When this happened, has to remain open.

Apparently, the church was painted, but Vacher omitted any notion of these paintings in the drawings.

TODAY:

Vacher does not reveal, where the church was located, thus, its position is unclear. It seems not to be any of the churches reviewed for this study. In consequence, it was most likely replaced by a new building in the early 20th century.

ERKLÄRUNG

(gemäß § 6 Abs. 2 h) und i) der Promotionsordnung der Fachbereiche 02, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10 vom 26. Juli 2000; in der Fassung vom 21. Juni 2012)

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